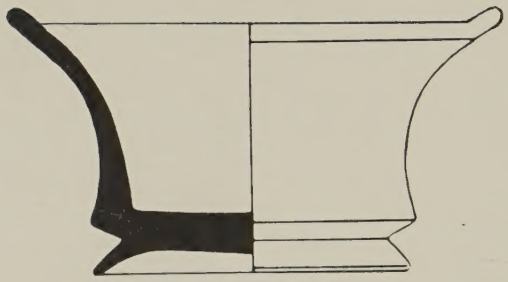

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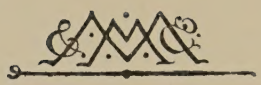

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PUBLII OVIDII NASONIS
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The *Fasti* of Ovid

EDITED WITH A TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

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IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. II

COMMENTARY ON BOOKS I. AND II

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BOOK I

The Month of January

I. 1. **The order of the calendar throughout the Latin year, its causes.**—Ovid here proposes to describe the divisions of the Roman year, together with the risings and settings of the constellations which marked the times and seasons on the celestial dial-plate. Among the times ("*tempora*") he had no doubt in mind, though he does not expressly mention them, the religious festivals, to the description and explanation of which a great part of the work is devoted. The causes which he announces his intention of expounding include not only the historical or mythical origins of the festivals but also the stories told to account for the form and position of the constellations, to which the poet pays some attention. It has been suggested that Ovid borrowed the idea of writing the *Fasti* from the *Aitia* or "Causes" of Callimachus, an elegiac poem in four books in which the learned Alexandrian poet set forth many myths and legends explanatory of Greek customs and rites. The *Aitia* as a whole is lost, but in recent years some considerable fragments of it have been recovered from Egyptian papyri.[1] The last book of the elegies of Propertius, in which that poet relates a number of Roman legends, may have served as the immediate model of the *Fasti*.

I. 3. **Caesar Germanicus, accept with brow serene this work.**—Caesar Germanicus, to whom Ovid here dedicates the *Fasti*, was a son of Drusus Claudius Nero, who died in Germany in 9 B.C. in consequence of a fall from his horse.[2] This Drusus Claudius Nero was the brother of Tiberius

[1] See Professor A. W. Mair's edition of Callimachus (London, 1921), pp. 183 *sqq.* (Loeb Classical Library).

[2] Livy, *Per.* cxlii.; Dio Cassius, lv. 27; Suetonius, *Claudius*, i. 6.

Claudius Nero, who became the Emperor Tiberius on the death of Augustus in A.D. 14. Thus Germanicus was the nephew of Tiberius, who adopted him as his son in A.D. 4, ten years before his own accession to the throne.[1] He was the brother of the Emperor Claudius and father of the Emperor Caligula.[2] He died at Antioch in Syria in A.D. 19. under strong suspicion of poison, to the great grief of the Roman people; for he was a most amiable and popular prince, of fine presence and noble carriage.[3] It is said that in their frenzy at the death of their favourite the people stoned the temples and cast down the altars of the gods; some even threw the images of their household gods (*Lares*) out into the streets.[4] On the other hand, when a false report of the invalid's recovery had reached Rome late in the evening, the populace had rushed by torchlight to the Capitol to offer prayers and sacrifices for the safety of their beloved prince, almost breaking in the door of the temple in their haste to enter and besiege the gods with vain supplications.[5] Among the circumstances which excited the suspicion of foul play was the reported discovery of leaden tablets inscribed with curses directed at Germanicus.[6] Such tablets so inscribed were common instruments of black magic in antiquity. They often exhibited a rude likeness of the person cursed, probably to ensure that the imprecation should be delivered at the correct address. Thus launched on their errand of mischief the tablets were deposited in graves or other underground places. Hundreds of them have been dug up in Attica, at Cnidus, and Carthage, also in Cyprus, Italy, and elsewhere. Some of those from Cnidus are now in the British Museum. They appear to have been nailed to the precinct of Demeter, where they were found by Sir Charles Newton. In Latin they were called *defixiones* because they were thought to fasten down the person against whom they were directed.[7]

[1] Dio Cassius, lv. 13.
[2] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 7; *id.*, *Claudius*, 1. 6.
[3] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 1-7; Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 69-73; Dio Cassius, lvii. 18.
[4] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 5.
[5] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 6.
[6] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 69; Dio Cassius, lvii. 18. 9.
[7] C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* (London, 1865), ii. 178-180; W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*[3], ii.

In a long epistle written in exile Ovid tells us that he dedicated the *Fasti* to Augustus;[1] and the statement is confirmed by passages in the later books of the *Fasti* in which he addresses that Emperor directly.[2] Hence we seem driven to conclude, with modern editors,[3] that the present dedication of the poem to Germanicus was written after the death of Augustus, in A.D. 14, and substituted for the original dedication to Augustus in the hope that, pleased with the compliment, the prince would recall the banished author to Rome. The well-known clemency and humanity of Germanicus[4] gave Ovid some ground for hope, but the hope was vain.

I. 7. **holy rites unearthed from annals old.**—Gierig well compares a passage of Cicero in which the orator, addressing a nobleman whose immediate ancestors were undistinguished, says that the memory of his nobility had to be unearthed (*eruenda*) from ancient annals.[5] Ovid seems to have liked the phrase, for he repeats it later on.[6]

I. 9. **the festivals pertaining to thy house.**—Each of the great Roman families, such as the Claudian, the Aemilian, the Julian, and the Cornelian, had its own private or domestic festivals.[7] These, of course, were quite distinct from the public or national festivals, and it is to be regretted that we know little about them.

I. 10. **the names of thy sire and grandsire will meet thee on the page.**—The "sire" of Germanicus was Tiberius, afterwards emperor; his "grandsire" was Augustus. But

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729; A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae quotquot innotuerunt . . . praeter Atticas in Corpore Inscriptionum Atticarum editas* (Paris, 1904); R. Wuensch, *Antike Fluchtafeln* (Bonn, 1907), pp. 3 *sqq.*; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 8746-8757 (vol. ii. pars ii. pp. 996-1000); Th. Birt. *Kritik und Hermeneutik nebst Abriss der antiken Buchwesens* (München, 1913) p. 258; *British Museum, Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life*[2] (London, 1920), pp. 55 *sq.*

[1] Ovid, *Tristia*, ii. 549-552.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 15-18, 63-66, 127 *sqq.*, iii. 419-428, iv. 19 *sq.*

[3] H. Peter, pp. 11 *sq.* of his Fourth Edition of the *Fasti*.

[4] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 3. 3; Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 73.

[5] Cicero, *Pro Murena*, 7. 16, "*Non ex sermone hominum recenti, sed ex annalium vetustate eruenda memoria est nobilitatis tuae*".

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 11.

[7] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 7, "*Sunt praeterea feriae propriae familiarum, ut familiae Claudiae vel Aemiliae seu Iuliae sive Corneliae, et si quas ferias proprias quaeque familia ex usu domesticae celebritatis observat*".

just as Germanicus was only the adopted son of Tiberius, so Tiberius himself was only the adopted son of Augustus. Hence there was no blood relationship between Germanicus and Augustus. In inscriptions Germanicus is often called the son of Tiberius and the grandson of Augustus ;[1] in some of them he is further described as the great-grandson of Julius Caesar (*divus Julius*).[2]

I. 11. **The laurels . . . that adorn the painted calendar.**—" The painted calendar " ("*pictos . . . fastos*") refers to the illuminations or red letters with which the manuscripts were adorned. Martial twice mentions " the purple calendar " ("*fasti purpurei*") with special reference to the list of consuls.[3] Fine rolls were sometimes enclosed in purple wrappers, and had their titles written in vermilion or scarlet.[4] Pliny notices the use of vermilion to give prominence to letters not only in manuscripts but on walls, and marbles, and tombs.[5]

I. 12. **in company with thy brother Drusus.**—This Drusus was the son of the Emperor Tiberius ; hence he was the brother of Germanicus by adoption. By blood Germanicus and Drusus were first cousins, their fathers being brothers.

I. 13. **my theme be Caesar's altars.**—Ovid means, not altars dedicated to the worship of Caesar, that is, of Augustus, but altars built or restored by Augustus. In the great inscription known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, because the most complete copy of it was found at Ancyra (Angora) in Asia Minor, Augustus reckons in his long roll of glory the many temples which he had caused to be built or restored.[6] The historian Livy, a contemporary of Augustus and of Ovid, speaks of Augustus as the founder and restorer of all temples.[7] Later on in the poem Ovid lauds the Emperor's

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 107^3, 173, 174, 176, 177, 178, 222^1, 5426.

[2] H. Dessau, *op. cit.* Nos. 107^3, 177, 178, 222^1.

[3] Martial, xi. 4. 5, xii. 26. 5.

[4] Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 1. 1-10 ; Martial, iii. 2. 7-11.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 122, "*Minium in voluminum quoque scriptura usurpatur clarioresque litteras vel in muro vel in marmore etiam in sepulchris facit*".

[6] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 2-8, p. 91 ed. E. G. Hardy (Oxford, 1923), pp. 22-26 ed. E. Diehl[4] (Bonn, 1925). Compare Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29-30.

[7] Livy, iv. 20. 7, "*Augustum Caesarem, templorum omnium conditorem ac restitutorem*".

pious care in founding temples and restoring such as had fallen into decay.[1] In his house at Tomi the exiled poet had a shrine dedicated to Augustus and the Imperial family. In it stood images of Augustus, Tiberius and his wife, and Drusus and Germanicus. At this shrine Ovid offered incense and prayers every morning.[2] But from this it would doubtless be a mistake to infer that in the present passage the poet refers to the altars, whether public or private, on which worship was daily offered to the deified Emperor.

I. 20. **the Clarian god.**—The Clarian god is Apollo, who had an ancient and famous oracle in a grove at Claros, a place near Colophon in Ionia.[3] There was a bronze image of the Clarian Apollo at Corinth.[4] At Claros a secret spring rose in a cave or underground chamber, and when the priest desired to give an oracle, he descended into the cave and drank of the water; then being inspired he uttered the oracular responses in regular verses, though he was usually an illiterate man. He was always chosen from certain families; generally he came from Miletus. In A.D. 18, in his travels in the East, Germanicus visited and consulted the Clarian oracle. It is said that he received an ambiguous answer which foreshadowed his approaching death.[5] It is thus a curious coincidence that Ovid should have mentioned the Clarian oracle in connexion with Germanicus; for the poet died in the same year in which Germanicus consulted the oracle, and the news of the prince's visit to the shrine can hardly have reached the poet before his death in his remote place of exile on the Black Sea. Many years after the death both of Germanicus and of Ovid, the crafty and unscrupulous Agrippina, wife of the Emperor Claudius, accused her rival Lollia of inquiring of the Clarian god as to her chances of marrying the emperor.[6] The oracular spring at Claros is said to have originated in the tears which the prophetess Manto shed on hearing of the sack of Thebes, her native city. Hence some people derived the name Claros (*Klaros*) from the Greek word for a tear (*dakruon*).

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 59-64.
[2] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 9. 105-112.
[3] Strabo, xiv. 1. 27, p. 642; Pausanias, vii. 3. 1-4, vii. 5. 4; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 308.
[4] Pausanias, ii. 2. 8.
[5] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 54; Jamblichus, *De mysteriis*, iii. 11, pp. 123, 124 ed. Parthey.
[6] Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 22.

However, others preferred to derive Claros (*Klaros*) from *klaros* or *kleros*, "a lot", and this etymology has the advantage of doing less violence to the consonants.[1]

The ruins of the Clarian sanctuary are buried under the silt of the Hales river, but the oracular cave is situated some five hundred yards to the north, in a narrow gorge which has been scooped out by a tributary of the Hales. The sacred spring is calcareous, and by its water has created a forest of stalactites and stalagmites in the cave. Potsherds found in the cavern prove that it must have been a place of worship, the resort of pilgrims, from pre-hellenic times down to the period of the Roman Empire. The oldest pottery resembles that found in the lowest strata at Hissarlik, being a rude hand-made ware of blackish clay with zigzag incisions.[2]

Claros was not the only seat of an oracle of Apollo at which the source of inspiration was a draught of water from a sacred spring. At Delphi there was a spring called Cassotis, the water of which was conveyed underground to the temple and inspired the priestess before she gave the oracle.[3] In the course of the French excavations at Delphi an aqueduct or conduit was discovered extending under the foundations of the temple;[4] it probably carried the water of Cassotis. Again, at Hysiae in Boeotia there was a temple of Apollo with a sacred well, and according to tradition people used to divine by drinking the water of the well; but when Pausanias visited the place in the second century of our era the oracular virtue of the water appears to have long vanished.[5] Again, at Branchidae near Miletus there was a great and famous temple of Apollo, the seat of an oracle which was associated with a certain spring. It is said that before the time of Alexander the Great the spring, and with it the oracle, had failed; but that in the days of the Macedonian conqueror the water rose again, and with it the oracle revived. Hence ambassadors were sent from Miletus

[1] Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 308.

[2] Ch. Picard, *Claros et Éphèse* (Paris, 1922), pp. 10, 66-68. As to the history of the oracle see Ch. Picard, *op. cit.* pp. 107-126; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, iii. 249-255.

[3] Pausanias, x. 24. 7.

[4] *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, xvii. (1893) p. 614.

[5] Pausanias, ix. 2. 1.

to Alexander at Memphis, charged with an oracle from Apollo which ratified his claim to be a son of Zeus, and foretold his victory at Arbela.[1] It appears that at Branchidae the prophetesses became inspired by inhaling the vapour of the sacred spring rather than by drinking the water.[2] However, Lucian says that at Branchidae, as well as at all the other oracles of Apollo, the prophetess always drank of a sacred water and chewed the sacred laurel as a means of divine inspiration.[3] Yet the oracular water was not without its danger: Pliny tells us that the water of the Clarian Apollo at Colophon, while it inspired wonderful oracles, shortened the lives of the prophets who quaffed it.[4]

I. 21. **On thy accomplished lips what eloquence attends.**— Under the Republic young men of good family pleaded gratuitously at the bar, their only reward being the fame or political influence which they acquired by their eloquence. But after the overthrow of the Republic, when the favour of the people had ceased to be the regular avenue to political power, noblemen had not the same inducements to court popular applause, and the old custom of pleading gratuitously at the bar gradually fell out of fashion.[5] However, the example of Germanicus proves that in the early years of the Empire the tradition of acting as a barrister without a fee was still maintained to some extent at Rome by men of aristocratic and even princely birth. Suetonius tells us that Germanicus continued to plead in the courts even after he had been accorded the honour of a triumph;[6] and Dio Cassius informs us that the prince used to plead at the bar in the year of his consulship (A.D. 12).[7] Elsewhere Ovid pays a fulsome compliment to the eloquence of the prince, which he declares to be worthy not only of a prince but of a god.[8] We cannot doubt that the flattery was designed to interest the prince in the poet's fortunes and to secure his recall from banishment. If any doubt could remain on this

[1] Strabo, xvii. 1. 43, p. 814. As to the temple at Branchidae see Strabo, xiv. 1. 5, p. 634; Pausanias, vii. 5. 4.

[2] Jamblichus, *De mysteriis*, iii. 11, pp. 123 *sq.* ed. Parthey, *οἱ δ' ἐξ ὑδάτων ἀτμιζόμενοι, καθάπερ αἱ ἐν Βραγχίδαις προφήτιδες*.

[3] Lucian, *Bis accusatus*, 1.

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 232.

[5] W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*[7]. pp. 311-313.

[6] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 3. 2.

[7] Dio Cassius, lvi. 26. 1.

[8] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, ii. 5. 41-56.

point it would be set at rest by the direct appeal which, after the death of Augustus, Ovid addressed to Germanicus, entreating the prince to recall him from exile, or at least to change his place of banishment for some country not so far from Rome, and promising to devote all that was left of his poetical genius to singing the praises of his deliverer, if only his prayer were granted. The address contains a noble panegyric on poetry as the surest foundation of lasting fame.[1]

I. 23. **when to poetry thy fancy turns.**—Suetonius tells us that among the fruits of his studies Germanicus left some comedies in Greek ;[2] and in his appeal to the prince Ovid declares that, if his high station had not called him to greater things, Germanicus would have been the supreme glory of the Muses.[3] In the same appeal, much as in the present passage (lines 19-20), our author styles Germanicus a scholar and a prince ;[4] nor is this the only resemblance between the two passages, which may very well have been written about the same time.[5] A monument of the poetical activity of Germanicus survives in his translation of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus into Latin hexameters ; between eight and nine hundred lines of the version are extant.[6] There have also come down to us a series of scholia on the translation which are not without their value.[7]

I. 28. **he ordained that there should be twice five months in his year.**—According to Roman tradition, which Ovid here follows, Romulus instituted a year of ten months, with a total of three hundred and four days. The months began with March and ended with December in the order which they still keep in our calendar, but the months of January and February were wanting. Of the ten months, six, namely April, June, August, September, November, and December, were composed each of thirty days ; while the remaining

[1] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 7. 21-90.
[2] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 3. 2.
[3] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 8. 69 *sq.*
[4] *Ex Ponto*, iv. 8. 78, "*Sic tibi nec docti desunt nec principis artes*".
[5] Compare *Fasti*, i. 25, "*Vates rege vatis habenas*", with *Ex Ponto*, iv. 8. 67, "*Non potes officium vatis contemnere vates*", where *officium* in the sense of "homage" answers to *officio* in line 5 of the present passage.
[6] *Poetae Latini Minores*, ed. Baehrens, vol. i. (Leipzig, 1879) pp. 142-200.
[7] *Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, appended to Fr. Eyssenhardt's edition of Martianus Capella (Leipzig, 1866), pp. 377-422.

four, namely March, May, July, and October, were composed each of thirty-one days, making a total of three hundred and four days.[1] This peculiar calendar was said to be derived from Alba Longa, the metropolis of Rome.[2] Ovid thought that the ten months were lunar.[3] Afterwards two months (January and February) were added to the ten, making a total of twelve months, with three hundred and fifty-five days, which constituted approximately a lunar year. According to Fulvius Nobilior, whose view Ovid follows,[4] the addition of the two supplementary months was made by Numa ;[5] according to Junius Gracchanus, it was made by Tarquin,[6] by whom he probably meant Tarquin the Elder (Priscus), for he held that the practice of intercalating days in order to equate the lunar with the solar year was first introduced by Servius Tullius, the immediate successor of Tarquin the Elder.[7] On this year of three hundred and fifty-five days the acute and accurate Censorinus observes that it exceeds the true lunar year by one day ; and he supposes that the day was added either in error or rather, as he preferred to believe, in order to avoid an even number for the days of the year, which to Roman thinking would have been very unlucky.[8] Two old Roman historians, indeed, Licinius Macer and Fenestella, held that the Roman year had comprised twelve months from the beginning ;[9] but the tradition of an old year of ten months had the support of Varro and of Fulvius Nobilior (consul in 189 B.C.), the earliest Roman writer on the calendar, and it was followed by Junius Gracchanus and other Roman antiquaries.[10] In modern times the tradition has been accepted by some of the best

[1] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 2-3 ; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 3 ; Solinus, i. 36 ; Aulus Gellius, iii. 16. 16 ; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 97-156 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 43 ; Plutarch, *Numa*, 18 ; *id.*, *Quaest. Rom.* 19 ; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, i. 16, p. 9 ed. Wuensch.

[2] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 2.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 121, "*Annus erat, decimum cum luna receperat orbem*".

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 43 *sq.*, iii. 151 *sq.*

[5] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 4.

[6] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 4.

[7] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 20.

[8] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 4.

[9] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 2.

[10] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 2. As to the work of Fulvius Nobilior on the calendar see Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 16.

Roman historians and chronologers, including Niebuhr,[1] Ideler,[2] Mommsen,[3] and Ginzel,[4] though they have differed widely in their interpretation of it. On the other hand, the tradition was contemptuously rejected by Joseph Scaliger and G. F. Unger. Scaliger declared that such a year was perfectly useless for every purpose,[5] and Unger described it as nonsensical and a mere creation of the fancy.[6]

Before giving what seems the most probable solution of this long-debated problem, it may be well to notice some of the explanations offered by scholars in the past. The admirable German chronologer Ludvig Ideler set forth the principal divergent theories that had been propounded on the subject down to his time, that is, down to about a century ago, and I will follow so far his exposition, which is marked by all his characteristic, almost unrivalled, clarity and conciseness.[7]

Our English chronologer Dodwell gave up the year of three hundred and four days, which he truly observed to be conformable neither to a lunar nor to a solar year and judged to be quite unsuitable to the purposes of civil life. But he defended the tradition of a year of ten months. He supposed that the months were longer than in the later Roman year, and that together they made up approximately a solar year. In support of this view he could appeal to the evidence of Censorinus, who reports a remarkable discrepancy in the length of the months in use among the Latin towns. Thus he tells us that at Alba, from which, according to some good authorities, the Romans derived their year of ten months, the month of March numbered thirty-six days, May twenty-two, August eighteen, and September sixteen; that at

[1] B. G. Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, translated by Hare and Thirlwall, vol. i. (London, 1837) pp. 275 *sqq.* "On the secular Cycle".

[2] L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (Berlin, 1825-1826), ii. 27.

[3] Th. Mommsen, *Die römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), p. 47.

[4] F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, vol. ii. (Leipzig, 1911) pp. 223-225.

[5] "*Ad omnia et per omnia inutilissimum*," *Emend. temp.* ii. pp. 172 ff., quoted L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 23.

[6] G. F. Unger, "Zeitrechnung der Griechen und Römer", Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, i. (Nördlingen, 1886) pp. 615 *sq.*

[7] L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 23-31.

Tusculum the month of July had thirty-six days and October thirty-two ; and that at Aricia the month of October had no less than thirty-nine days.[1] Now Plutarch, who apparently rejected the tradition of a ten-month year, tells us that in the time of Romulus the Roman months were similarly irregular in length, some of them being of less than twenty days, others of thirty-five days and more, but that the sum total of days in the year was regularly fixed at three hundred and sixty.[2] Hence Dodwell concluded that in the time of Romulus the Roman year consisted of three hundred and sixty days divided into ten months, or rather divisions, of various lengths, which had no reference either to moon or sun, though their total made a more or less judicious compromise between a lunar and a solar year. But in later times people, remembering the number of the ancient months but not their length, supposed that they must have been of the same length as in their own day, and that consequently in the ten-month year of Romulus there must have been two months wanting to complete the solar year.[3] Such was the theory of Dodwell.

On the other hand Erycius Puteanus accepted the year of three hundred and four days as a beautiful invention. He observed that the number three hundred and four is exactly divisible by eight, that the Roman market-day (*nundinae*) recurred every eighth day, and that accordingly the number of market-days in a year of three hundred and four days was precisely thirty-eight, neither more nor less. Such a year, he pointed out, would be constant and unvarying : it would stand in no need of intercalation or of a cycle to bring it into harmony with the solar year, which indeed it set at defiance : traders could meet regularly for the transaction of business every market-day from now till the day of judgement without once needing to consult an almanac. The practical advantages of such a system are obvious ; but why the Romans should have fixed the number of market-days in a year at thirty-eight precisely, instead of, let us say, at forty-five, which would have given them a year of three hundred and sixty days and therefore one much more nearly

[1] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 5-6.
[2] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 18. [3] L. Ideler, *op. cit.* ii. 23 *sq.*

in harmony with the solar year, on these questions, apparently Erycius Puteanus was mum.[1]

Another champion of the year of ten months was Julius Pontedera, who published his lucubrations on the subject at Padua in 1740. Like Puteanus, he discerned in the system a practical advantage which had escaped the sagacity of Scaliger. According to him, the great beauty of the system consisted in this that it took no account either of winter or summer, but revolved impartially through all the seasons, thus keeping the human race, so to say, perpetually on the run and contributing more than anything else to the encouragement of industry. However, unlike Puteanus, he attempted to bring this strenuous and hustling year into some sort of harmony with the laggard course of the sun. He pointed out that a year of three hundred and four days is short of a solar year by about a sixth, so that six such years are nearly equal to five solar years, since the number of days in them amounts to 1824, which is only $2\frac{1}{4}$ days short of five Julian years. This period of six years he called a *hexaeteris*. At its conclusion the calendar year and the solar year started fair again; though, handicapped by the two additional months, the solar year soon fell behind again.[2]

A more complicated theory was devised by Niebuhr to account for the traditional Romulean year of ten months. Starting from the observation that six such years were nearly equivalent to five solar years, he identified this period of six Romulean or five solar years with the *lustrum*, which by some ancient authorities was regarded as a period of five years, though others reckoned it to be a period of four years only. Further, Niebuhr observed that multiplied by twenty-two a period of six Romulean or five solar years made a total of 132 Romulean or 110 solar years, and he identified this period of 110 solar years with the Roman *saeculum*, which some ancient authorities, including Horace, reckoned at 110 years, though others, including the historian Valerius

[1] L. Ideler, *op. cit.* ii. 24, referring to the treatise of Erycius Puteanus *De Nundinis Romanis*, in Graevius, *Thesaurus*, vol. viii.

[2] L. Ideler, *op. cit.* ii. 25, citing Julius Pontedera, *Antiquitatum Latinarum Graecarumque enarrationes atque emendationes, praecipue ad veteris anni rationem attinentes* (Petavii, 1740), ep. 30 and 33.

Antias, Varro, and Livy, reckoned it at 100 years only.[1] This assumed *saeculum* of 110 solar years was, according to Niebuhr, the cycle within which the year of three hundred and four days was brought into harmony with the solar year of three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days; but in order to effect the harmony it was necessary to intercalate a month of three Roman weeks, that is, of twenty-four days, twice in the cycle of 110 solar years. Niebuhr suggested that the intercalation took place after the eleventh and twenty-second *lustrum* or period of five solar years. If we assume these two intercalations to have been made, then the total number of days in the cycle of 132 Romulean or 110 solar years amounts to 40,176 days, which is within fifteen hours of 110 true solar years, whereas 110 Julian years differ from the tropical or true solar years by twenty-one hours. Thus on the assumption of a year of three hundred and four days and a cycle of 132 such years or of 110 solar years, we arrive at a result which is about six hours nearer to the true time than the Julian calendar for the same period. This elaborate calendar Niebuhr supposed to have been borrowed by the Romans from the Etruscans, of whose "profound science" he speaks with respect.[2]

The theory is a very pretty one and it only suffers from a single defect, which is that it is entirely destitute of evidence. It is built on the twofold assumption that in Latin the *lustrum* and the *saeculum* always designated periods of 5 and 110 years respectively, whereas we know from the express and well-authenticated testimony of Censorinus that the Romans differed much among themselves as to the true length of both periods; for by some of them, as we have seen, the *lustrum* was treated as a period of five, but by others as a period of four years; while similarly some people reckoned the *saeculum* at a hundred and ten years, but others at a hundred years only. Further, there appears to be no evidence that either the *lustrum* or the *saeculum* was

[1] Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, 21 *sq.*; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xvii. 7-9 (referring to Valerius Antias and quoting Varro, Livy, and Horace).

[2] G. B. Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, translated by J. C. Hare and C. Thirlwall, i. (London, 1837) pp. 275-280; L. Ideler, *op. cit.* ii. 26 *sq.* I follow Ideler's exposition, which is much clearer and, in regard to the astronomical data, presumably more exact than that of Niebuhr himself.

ever employed by the Romans for the adjustment of the calendar. As for the intercalation of two months, each of three Roman weeks, in a period of 110 solar years, it is a mere creation of Niebuhr's fancy devised to eke out the correct number of days in his imaginary cycle; there is no allusion, so far as I am aware, to any such intercalation in the whole range of Roman literature; certainly if there is such an allusion, Niebuhr has failed to produce it. Thus when we have knocked away the three props on which the theory is raised, to wit, the *lustrum*, the *saeculum*, and the two intercalary months, the whole towering superstructure of hypothesis collapses like a house of cards.

But the old Roman year of ten months remains attested by too many and too good authorities to be lightly dismissed as a fiction. The admirable chronologer Ideler, in rejecting Niebuhr's ingenious theory as destitute of evidence, inclined substantially to the solution proposed by Dodwell. He believed that the ancients were right as to the number of the months but wrong as to their length. He supposed that the months in old Rome, like the months at Alba Longa, from which they were probably derived, varied in length, that they bore no relation to the revolutions of the sun and moon, but corresponded to certain natural divisions of the year, whether these were determined by observation of the rising and setting of the stars, or by the various occupations that shifted with the changes of the seasons. In this last respect he aptly compared the calendar of the Kamchadales, who divide the year into ten unequal parts according to the different pursuits they followed in each of them. In this comparison Ideler gave the first hint of the direction in which the true solution of the difficulty was to be sought. But however the ten months of the old Roman year may have been divided and determined, their sum made up, in Ideler's opinion, a total which corresponded more or less exactly to the length of the solar year, so that there was no glaring discrepancy between the calendar and the course of nature.[1]

Mommsen held that at Rome a year of ten months did not precede, but coexisted with, a year of twelve lunar

[1] L. Ideler, *op. cit.* ii. 27-31. As to the calendar of the Kamchadales (Kamtchatkans) see below, pp. 27 *sq.*

months corrected by intercalation. He thought that it was adopted for the purposes of business, particularly for the reckoning of interest, the calculation of which would have been inconvenient for years that varied from 355 days in an ordinary year to 382 or 383 in an intercalary year ; whereas no such complications and difficulties arose in calculating interest, making contracts, and so forth, for years like the year of ten months, which never varied but ran on uniformly with the same number of days, year in, year out.[1] This notion of a business year, distinct from but concurrent with a calendar year, Mommsen perhaps borrowed from Niebuhr, who had noted that the year of ten months was the term for mourning, for paying portions left by will, for credit on the sale of yearly profits, and most probably for all loans ; and it was the measure for the most ancient rate of interest.[2] But such a duplication of the Roman year seems unproved and improbable, though it might perhaps be supported by the analogy of Mohammedan peoples, who, while they observe the purely lunar year imposed on them by their Prophet, simultaneously observe a solar year for the convenience of practical life, especially in country districts, where the occupations of the people are mainly regulated by the seasons.[3]

An explanation of the ten-month year entirely different from all the preceding was proposed by the German chronologer, O. E. Hartmann. He thought that in the old days the time from midwinter to spring, during which the labours of the husbandman were for the most part suspended and nature herself appeared to be dormant, if not dead, was looked on as a period of rest and repose and was therefore, so to say, excluded from the calendar, the object of which was to regulate the activities of the people during the remainder of the year, from the opening of spring with the first of

[1] Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), pp. 47 *sqq.*

[2] B. G. Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, i. 284. As to the ten months' period of mourning see Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 35 *sq.*, with the note. As to the year of ten months observed for the payment of portions left by will see Polybius, xxxii. 13. As to a credit of ten months (from November 1st) on the sale of oil see Cato, *De re rustica*, 146, with the commentators. As to the rate of interest calculated on a year of ten months see Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson (London, 1868), i. 171 ; W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*[3], i. 834.

[3] E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), ii. 159.

March, to the depth of winter with the last day of December. This interval of inactivity, accordingly, which was afterwards divided between January and February, was originally regarded as a block or whole without being distributed into months. The number of three hundred and four days, which does not correspond to any number of lunar months, Hartmann supposed to be a later invention.[1]

This explanation of the old Roman year of ten months I regard as probably the true one. It is supported by analogies, which had suggested the explanation to me before I learned that it had been anticipated by Hartmann. But before adducing the evidence it may be well to observe that in all probability the year of ten months was not instituted by Romulus or by the first king of Rome, whoever he was; rather we must suppose that the colonists from Alba Longa, who founded the city on the Tiber, imported the calendar of ten months from their mother-city, where it had been in use from time immemorial. Indeed, as we have seen, this derivation of the ten-month year from Alba Longa was accepted by some of the best Roman antiquaries, including Fulvius Nobilior, Junius Gracchanus, and Varro.[2] Similarly we may well believe with Varro that the names of the months were not invented by Romulus, as Fulvius Nobilior and Junius Gracchanus supposed, but borrowed from the Latins, and that the names of the Roman months were therefore older than the city of Rome.[3] Indeed, if Hartmann's explanation of the ten-month year is accepted, we seem driven to conclude that the calendar in that form must date from a prehistoric age when the Latins were still a rude people, subsisting mainly by agriculture, but too ignorant of mathematics and astronomy to frame for themselves a calendar based on accurate observation of the heavenly bodies. There is no evidence or probability that the Indo-Europeans, of whom the Latins were a branch, had a year of twelve months, the existence of which always implies a double reckoning by sun and moon and an attempt

[1] O. E. Hartmann, *Der römische Kalender* (Leipzig, 1882), pp. 10-14; F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. (Leipzig, 1911) pp. 222 *sq.*

[2] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 2.

[3] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 9-13.

to reconcile the divergence between the two celestial time-keepers. To all appearance our remote ancestors recognized only lunar months, which they allowed to run on without attempting to fit them into the solar year by intercalation.[1]

To find analogies to the Roman year of ten months we must go to backward peoples who, living for centuries remote from contact with European civilization, have remained till to-day or yesterday in much the same state of culture which the ancestors of the Romans had attained at the dawn of history. Among such peoples we may reckon the negro tribes of Southern Nigeria, who for ages have been settled on the land and subsist mainly by the practice of agriculture. Their calendar has lately been described by Mr. P. Amaury Talbot, who has spent the best years of his life among them and knows them well. From his description I will quote such passages as seem to bear on the present question. He says: "Throughout the country time was measured entirely by the moon, except among the Edo, where the year seems to have been distinctly recognised. This lunar month was divided into weeks of four or eight days in the west and, with a few exceptions, of five or six days in the east. . . . The sub-divisions into weeks in all likelihood originated chiefly from the necessity of differentiating between the days on which the various markets were held. . . . The most ancient of the tribes—the Ijaw and many of the semi-Bantu—still have no way of distinguishing between days than by calling them after the names of the markets held on them. . . . Almost every tribe has one day on which no farm or other hard work may be done, though often it is the principal market day, but attendance at these was accounted a pleasure, and not a labour. Probably these rest days had a great deal to do with the origin of the week. The fitting of the weeks into the month is by no means perfect, and the matter seems to have been regarded as of little consequence. . . . As a rule little notice was taken of the time when there was no moon, and there is rarely any sign

[1] O. Schrader, *Reallexicon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* (Strassburg, 1901), *s.v.* "Mond und Monat", pp. 547 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*[3], ii. 2 (Jena, 1907), pp. 228 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Die Indogermanen*[3] (Leipzig, 1919), pp. 51-53.

of an attempt to synchronise the weeks with the month, which, with most of the semi-Bantu, as among the ancient Egyptians, consisted of thirty days. The same consideration applied to the year. As a rule those months from about November-December to January-February, when no farm work was being done, were thought negligible and hardly included. In fact the word translated by our ' year ' more often meant the season, which was generally the largest division of time used. . . . There was usually no thought about the number of months in the year or any attempt to adjust them to the solar period ; the figure twelve given in the list at the end probably, for the most part, represents European influence." [1]

Such is Mr. Talbot's general account of the calendar observed by the tribes of Southern Nigeria. In regard to the Yoruba in particular, who inhabit the western part of the province,[2] Mr. Talbot tells us that their ordinary method of naming the lunar months is to begin with January, which is by some called *Awdun*, " the year ", and count backwards to May, which is usually called *Aga*, that is, " starving ", because there is little food left then and the new crops have not yet been harvested. For all these months from May to January there are native names, but the remaining three months (February, March, and April) are generally given no specific name.[3] Again, as to the Ijaw, who inhabit the swamps of the Niger delta and are, in Mr. Talbot's opinion, the earliest inhabitants of the province,[4] he informs us that among them the days are named after the markets, and a week of eight days is now usually employed. Further, he says that " only about ten months to the year are counted ; November and December, when no farming takes place, are excluded." [5]

Thus the calendar of these Nigerian tribes presents a fairly close analogy to that of early Rome. In the Nigerian as in the Roman calendar the great time-keeper is the moon ;

[1] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, London, 1926), iii. 869 *sq.*

[2] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, iii. map facing p. 976.

[3] P. Amaury Talbot, *op. cit.* iii. 872.

[4] P. Amaury Talbot, *op. cit.* i. 12, 317.

[5] P. Amaury Talbot, *op. cit.* iii. 873.

the months are lunar but so little attempt is made to fit them into the solar year that a considerable part of that year, amounting in some tribes to two months and in others to three, is not divided into months, or at all events if the months are noticed they are not named. Further, in Nigeria, as at Rome, the period which is thus left out of the calendar is precisely the period when little or no work is done on the farms. Have we not here a simple and probable explanation of the tradition that under Romulus the calendar year consisted only of ten months, from March to December, while the period which was afterwards divided into January and February, and which marked what we may call the low tide of agricultural labour, was left entirely out of account ?

Another point in which the African calendar resembles the old Roman is its system of an eight-day week based on the recurrence of markets at that interval ; these market-days correspond exactly to the Roman *nundinae*, which recurred every eighth day, though according to Roman numeration they were counted and named as if they recurred every ninth day. These Roman market-days, we are told, were instituted in order that the rural population might work for seven days at a stretch on the farms and come into Rome on the eighth day for the purpose of marketing and other business in the city.[1] Originally these market days were unlawful (*nefasti*), that is, no law courts were open and no popular assemblies were held on them, lest the business of the market should be interrupted.[2] But by the Hortensian law of 287 B.C., which marked the final triumph of the democracy at Rome,[3] it was enacted that the market-days should henceforth be lawful (*fasti*), that is, that the law courts should be open on these days, in order that the country people who came into town on them might bring their suits into court.[4] But in the olden time

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 33 *sq.* ; Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. praef. 1 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vii. 58. 3.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* " Nundinas ", p. 176 ed. Lindsay, "*Nundinas feriatum diem esse voluerunt antiqui, ut rustici convenirent mercandi vendendique causa, eumque nefastum, ne (si) liceret cum populo agi, interpellarentur nundinatores* ". As to *nefastus* see further below, pp. 63 *sq.*

[3] J. S. Reid, in *Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by Sir J. E. Sandys[3] (Cambridge, 1921), p. 263.

[4] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 13.

the market-days were not only days on which no legal business might be transacted, they were also days on which none but the most necessary work might be done on the farms. This follows from the statement that the market-days were reckoned holy days (*feriae*) of Jupiter, since it was the custom for the Flaminica Dialis to sacrifice a ram to Jupiter on every market-day.[1] Now when the great jurist Publius Mucius Scaevola was asked what work might be done on holy days (*feriae*), he answered, "Such work as cannot be neglected without loss or damage. Thus, for example, if an ox should have fallen into a pit, and the householder with the help of his men should have rescued the animal from the pit, he was not to be considered as having broken the holy day. Or again if a roof-beam were to crack and threaten to fall, the householder who propped it up was also not deemed to have broken the holy day."[2] From this we may conclude that on Roman market-days, as on the Jewish sabbath, all ordinary work in the fields was strictly forbidden. But the same rule is observed, as we have learned from Mr. Talbot, on the market-days of Southern Nigeria, where, as in ancient Rome, the market-days commonly recur every eighth day. Thus in respect of the days as well as of the months, or rather the absence of months, ancient Rome has a close parallel in modern Nigeria.

With regard to the calendar of the tribes of the Uganda Protectorate, which on the whole stand at a lower level of culture than the tribes of Southern Nigeria, I have consulted my friend the Rev. John Roscoe, whose knowledge of Uganda is unrivalled. He writes to me as follows: "As far as I have had time I have tried to recall the various customs of the Uganda tribes as regards the year. There is one clear decisive impression that all their time was divided up by lunar months until they took in Western ideas. So far as I can at present recall, it was chiefly the agricultural people who concerned themselves about a year. Naturally the pastorals only thought about moons and the number of moons a cow would run before it calved. On the other hand agricultural pursuits called for a year in order to know when

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 30.

[2] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 11.

to dig, to sow, and to expect harvest. The year had no fixed number of moons, it varied, but rarely exceeded five moons except under peculiar and for them trying circumstances of drought. The first rumblings of thunder, with the gathering clouds and rain, was the beginning of the year. They said, ' The year has come '. Digging had been begun by counting the moons and the expectation of the rain. When the first thunder was heard there were renewed efforts to complete the digging and to commence sowing. Then came the four to five months for the crops to grow, and then came the year of sunshine when harvest was reaped. There were always some spare months which were of an undecided character and were not strictly belonging to the rainy season or to the dry season. Such roughly is what I recall of the custom." [1]

Thus it appears that, before these tribes of Uganda came into contact with Europeans, they knew none but lunar months and counted even them only in the seasons when it was practically convenient to do so for the sake of their agricultural labours, while at other times they neglected the moons and took no pains to correlate them with the annual course of the sun ; in this way they had a number of superfluous moons which they hardly reckoned within the year. This is, I apprehend, much the same state in which the early Romans were when they reckoned only ten months to the year and took no count of the two slack months from midwinter to spring when there was little or nothing doing on the farms.

Further, Mr. Roscoe tells us that the pastoral tribes only counted moons in order to know when a cow would drop her calf. The statement is interesting, for the period of gestation of a cow is about 280 days [2] or ten lunar months of 28 days each. Can it be that some pastoral tribes have framed for themselves a year of ten lunar months based on the period of gestation of their cows ? If that was so, Ovid's plea in defence of Numa's year of ten months was not so

[1] The Rev. John Roscoe, in a letter to me dated Ovington Rectory, Thetford, 22nd December 1922 (*mistake for 1926*).

[2] *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, New Edition, vol. v. (Edinburgh and London, 1925), p. 199, *s.v.* " Gestation ".

wide of the mark, for the period of gestation of a woman is identical with that of a cow.[1]

But so far as concerns agricultural tribes the parallelism with Rome is not confined to Africa. It extends much farther. We may follow it, for example, to New Zealand. An English missionary, who lived for seven years among the Maori in the early part of the nineteenth century and described their customs from personal observation, writes as follows: "Nine months in the year, a great portion of the natives are employed on their grounds; and there are only two months in which they can say they have nothing to do. It is a remarkable circumstance, that these two months are not in their calendar; they do not reckon them; nor are they in any way accounted of. 'It is a time', the natives say, 'not worthy to be reckoned, as it is only spent in visiting, feasting, talking, playing, and sleeping.' They compute time by moons, of which they count ten in the course of the year, reckoning three moons for one at the latter end of autumn. The reason they give for this is, that during two months between autumn and winter, they have nothing to do in the way of cultivation: their time, consequently, is then occupied, as has been stated above, in comparative idleness. They are generally very correct in their time; and take their season for planting by the blossoms which appear upon some of the early shrubs."[2]

This account of the Maori calendar is substantially confirmed by Mr. Elsdon Best, the highest living authority on the Maoris, though he informs us that the Maoris recognize twelve lunar months in the year and have names for them all. Speaking of the Maori calendar he says: "Our Maori based his system on the moon, its phases being more easily discernible than those of the sun; the lunar month and the nights of the moon were his units in the measurement of time. The solar year he had not adopted, but, like other peoples, he was compelled to make his twelve lunar months agree with the true solar year. Information collected is not copious, and several matters

[1] *Chambers's Encyclopaedia, l.c.*

[2] Rev. William Yate, *An Account of New Zealand*, Second Edition (London, 1835), pp. 106-107.

are yet unexplained. It appears, however, that a mode of intercalation was employed, though the method probably differed in different parts of Polynesia." [1] "In some lists we note that the names of the eleventh and twelfth months are what may be termed makeshift names, such as Ngahuru tuhoehoe and Ngahuru kaipaenga. This fact has led some to assert that the Maori had names for ten months only, and took no notice of the other two months. This is not correct, but these two months were deemed the unimportant months of the year by agricultural tribes; the crops had been garnered and stored, and the preparation of the ground for next season's crop was not commenced until later. The Maori had names for the twelve months, and was never at a loss to denote any month of the year." [2]

Mr. Raymond Firth, of the University of London, has in preparation a work on the economic system of the Maoris, from which he kindly allows me to quote the following passage: "Some lists of months given by natives contain only ten names, and inquiry reveals that it is the last two month-names of the year which have been omitted. It must not be concluded from this, however, that the Maori of these districts did not recognize the existence of the final two months. Even though the specific name for neither of them was in use, they were not dropped completely out of reckoning, but were alluded to jointly by a vague and general term. It seems probable that the absence of precise names in this respect can be correlated with the character of the economic pursuits of certain of the Maori tribes. Agriculture played a great part in the economy of many tribes, especially of the North and of the East Coast. The tenth month was the month of harvest, when the crops were dug and stored, which really ended for these people the labours of the year. This can be seen from a study of the calendar of work. The eleventh and twelfth months brought no tasks of great importance. They were utilized for casual pursuits, visiting,

[1] Elsdon Best, *The Maori* (Wellington, N.Z., 1924), ii. 180.

[2] Elsdon Best, *The Maori*, ii. 187. Compare *id.*, *Maori Agriculture* (Wellington, 1925), pp. 113 *sq.*, "The Maori year began about two months after the harvest was gathered, but little notice was taken of these two months, which are held to be of no importance and were not so precisely named as the other ten months".

and social intercourse; the compelling drive to work was removed for a season. It seems clear that it was to the comparative unimportance of this period in the working life of the native that we can attribute the absence of specific names for these last two months of the year."

Again, another good authority on the Maoris, Mr. Edward Tregear, informs us that among them "there is a curious legend to the effect that the ancient year was of ten months only, till a certain teacher, full of the wisdom of the gods, came to men and instructed them to make the year twelve months long, and his precepts have been followed to the present day".[1] This Maori legend curiously resembles the Roman tradition that the ancient year was of ten months only, till the sage King Numa, inspired by the nymph Egeria, added the two months of January and February to the year, thus making the total number of the months twelve. The parallel between Rome and New Zealand is still closer when we remember that the two months said to have been added to the year were those which elapsed between the time when the crops had been garnered and stored and the time when the ground was prepared for the next season's crop. Thus the position of the two new months in the Maori agricultural year corresponded closely to the position of the two new months, January and February, in the Roman agricultural year.

In the Trobriand Islands, to the east of New Guinea, as I learn from my friend Dr. Bronislaw Malinowski, the cycle of the year is determined neither by the position of the sun or stars nor by a given number of moons, but chiefly by the economic round of gardening or agriculture, above all by the cultivation of the yam, the staple food of the people. Indeed, so closely associated in their minds is the yam with the year that the name for the two things is one and the same (*taytu*). It is true that they also take note of the lunar months and have names for many of them, but for the most part they have not names for more than ten months. Most mature men can count, often with mistakes and omissions, up to eight and sometimes up to ten moons (lunar months); only a few men specially trained can enumerate correctly

[1] Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganni, N.Z., 1904), p. 143.

twelve months; and it is significant that while the first ten names of the months are everywhere identical and easily obtainable, there is apparently no such consensus as to the names of the remaining two or three moons (lunar months); indeed, it is doubtful whether there is a name for the thirteenth moon at all. Usually the natives divide the ten recognized lunar months into two groups of five months each, one group corresponding to the time when food is plentiful, and the other to the time when food is scarce, while the remaining two or three moons are left out of account and remain nameless. This period of nameless months is the time when work in the gardens is finished, when harvesting goes on without much variety or interruption, when there is no hunger, but food has not yet accumulated in sufficient abundance to be used for festivities or ceremonies, which are reserved for the following month. To the native this quiescent period of two or three lunar months is uninteresting, and accordingly he as a rule does not trouble to distinguish the months or to give them special names. These two or three nameless months correspond to the two nameless months in the ten-month year of the ancient Roman calendar. In both cases the calendar was based primarily upon agriculture and not on observation of the heavenly bodies: the motive of its construction was not scientific curiosity but hunger.[1]

[1] The above account of the Trobriand calendar is based on information kindly furnished me by Dr. Malinowski, who has since published a full description of the system. See Br. Malinowski, "Lunar and Seasonal Calendar in the Trobriands", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, lvii. (1927) pp. 203-215. In this essay, speaking about the natives who gave him information concerning the moons, that is, the lunar months, Dr. Malinowski observes (pp. 214 *sq.*): "It is always garden food, the contrast between plenty and hunger, the processes of growth and maturing, which occupy their minds. The first five moons are thought of in terms of green process and growth, the subsequent five by development of tubers and the activity of harvest. It is very clear that in all these divisions there are certain moons which are of much smaller importance than the rest. The native telling the story breaks off after the *utokaka* (tenth). The native who distinguishes between the ripe and unripe, the lean and fat, leaves two moons outside, and the time after the cycle of the gardens is really the finished time in which harvesting goes on without much variety or interruption, the time when there is never hunger but when plenty cannot be used for festivities or ceremonial purposes. This period of time is uninteresting to the native and generally remains nameless. . . . It is significant that the first ten names (of the moons) are identical everywhere and easily obtained, while the remaining odd moons, for which sometimes one to three names are obtained, always fall outside the scheme division of two groups of five."

Another people who reckon years by agricultural operations and not by moons are the Dusuns of British North Borneo. Among these people, "as far as I have been able to gather, there is no method of reckoning years other than by rice seasons. The plainsmen go by the wet-rice seasons —from planting to harvest eight or nine months; the inhabitants of the uplands by the hill-rice year or season —from sowing to reaping six months—with, of course, in each case complementary periods between harvest-time and sowing or planting."[1]

There are some indications that in other parts of the world the original calendar reckoned only ten months in the year, to which at some later date two months were added to make twelve, thus bringing the calendar year into closer correspondence with the solar year. Among such indications is a system of numbering the months from one up to ten and then designating the eleventh and twelfth months, not by numbers, but by special names. Such a system is found among the Chams of Indo-China[2] and in some islands of the Indian Archipelago, including Java and Bali,[3] and among the Bataks and Gurus of Sumatra.[4] Of these calendars that of the Javanese is particularly instructive. In Java the ancient agricultural year falls into twelve unequal divisions called *mangsas*, of which the first ten are designated by ordinal numbers, while the eleventh and twelfth are known by names borrowed from the Sanscrit. In the old Javanese calendars the *mangsas* or months, as we may call them, were determined by observation of Orion's Belt and the Pleiades, because the appearance of these constellations marked the seasons for the various labours of the husbandman. These labours extend from July till April, when with

[1] I. H. N. Evans, *Studies in Religion, Folk-lore, and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 44.

[2] Henry Baudesson, *Indo-China and its Primitive People* (London, N.D.), pp. 231 *sq.*, "The year begins in April-May and comprises twelve lunar months of thirty and twenty-nine days alternatively. They are numbered from one up to ten, but the eleventh and twelfth have special names. Every three years a month is added, and it may well be imagined to what difficulties and disputes this proceeding gives rise in the absence of agreement between the villages."

[3] F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, i. 420, 425.

[4] F. K. Ginzel, *op. cit.* i. 427 (as to the Bataks); J. von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras* (Würzburg, 1893), p. 233 (as to the Gurus).

the rice-harvest the annual cycle of agricultural operations comes to an end. The two succeeding months, May and June, when the rains are over and Orion is invisible, is for the husbandman a dead season ; all field work is at a standstill. Now it is precisely these two months which, in contrast to the first ten numbered months, are known by Sanscrit names. Thus we seem driven to conclude that, if the Javanese numbered the first ten months and failed to number the last two, it was because the farmer was only interested in the first ten, which engaged the whole of his attention and excited all his activities, while he regarded the two idle months with indifference and hardly reckoned them a part of the year.[1]

Thus far we have dealt only with agricultural peoples whose energies are absorbed by field work for nine or ten months of the year, and who allow the remaining three or two months to pass almost unnoticed because there is little or nothing in them to rouse the activity of the husbandman. But a division of the year into ten parts, we can hardly call them months, is found also among peoples who have never attained to the stage of agriculture, but still earn a precarious subsistence by hunting, fishing, and collecting wild fruits and roots. Thus along the Kamtchatka river in Kamtchatka, where a rigorous climate forbids the cultivation of the ground, the natives reckon only ten months, or rather divisions, in the year, and these they determine, not by moons, but by events which interest them, such as excessive heat and cold, the seasons for catching fish of various sorts, and so forth ; and these divisions, which together fill up the whole length of the year, vary in length ; the last of them, which is named after the falling of the leaves in autumn, is as long as three of our months. The first month, or division, coincides with our November and is named, like the Roman February, after a ceremonial purification from sin which the natives

[1] F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 128 *sq.* ; compare *id.*, i. 420. Compare J. Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago* (Edinburgh, 1820), i. 295-297. Crawfurd agrees that the names of the first ten months of the Javanese rural calendar are numbers, and he adds that the names for the eleventh and twelfth months were not the corresponding Javanese numerals, but he could not ascertain their etymology ; he had expected to find that they were Sanscrit, but was assured by Colebrooke that they could not be traced to that language.

perform at that season.[1] Again, the Thompson Indians of British Columbia, who live by fishing, hunting, and picking berries, have names for ten or eleven months, while the rest of the year they call the autumn. The Lower Thompson Indians designated the months by numbers up to ten or sometimes eleven; after the tenth or eleventh month they reckoned "the late fall, which takes up the rest of the year. This indefinite period of unnamed months enabled the Indians to bring the lunar and solar years into harmony." This last observation suggests a practical advantage of a ten-month year; it dispenses with the need of intercalation, which is always a difficult and troublesome process for peoples with no more than a very rudimentary knowledge of astronomy.[2] The Stseelis, another Indian tribe of British Columbia, similarly divide the year into ten months, of which the first four bear names, while the last six are only known by numbers, thus presenting a curious parallel to the old Roman year, of which the first four months (March, April, May, and June) similarly bore special names, while the last six (Quintilis, Sextilis, September, October, November, and December) were designated only by numbers. The ten months of the Stseelis calendar covered the period from the beginning of October to the end of July; while the interval, corresponding to our August and September, was called by a name which signified the coming together of the two ends of the year. The latter portion of the interval was known also by a native term which meant "time of the dying salmon", because at that time of the year the creeks are full of dead and dying salmon.[3]

Lastly, it is perhaps worth noting that the Changs, a Naga tribe of Assam, reckon eleven months in the year and

[1] S. Krascheninnikow, *Beschreibung des Landes Kamtschatka* (Lemgo, 1766), pp. 216 *sq.* However, in other parts of Kamtchatka the natives recognize twelve months in the year and have names for them all, derived mostly from natural events, such as the arrival of certain birds, the blossoming of certain plants, and the fall of the leaves. See G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka* (Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1774), pp. 359-361.

[2] James Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii. (New York, 1900) pp. 237-239.

[3] C. Hill Tout, "Ethnological Report on the Stseelis and Skaulits tribes of the Halokmelem Division of the Salish of British Columbia", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) pp. 334 *sq.*

fill in the blank with what they call *naklig*, a period which is not reckoned at all, but is regarded as night. It is forbidden to count this period, because it belongs to the spirits.[1] A similar scruple may originally have prevented the Romans from reckoning February among the months of the year, because part of it was devoted to the worship of the dead.

There is some ground for thinking that the Anglo-Saxons at one time recognized, or at least named, only ten months in the year; for according to Bede they had only one name (Giuli) for December and January, and only one name (Lida) for June and July; which seems to suggest that originally their year comprised only ten months, and that when they afterwards added two to make twelve, they named the new months after two of the old ones, thus making the old names do double duty.[2]

Taken altogether, the foregoing evidence seems to render it probable that if a period equal to two months was originally excluded from the Roman calendar, it was because in that period field work was for the most part at a standstill, and people were occupied with the religious duty of propitiating the spirits of their departed kinsfolk.[3]

I. 33. **The time that suffices for a child to come forth from its mother's womb.**—Here Ovid agrees with the Decemvirs, who in the code of the Ten Tables laid it down as a rule that a posthumous child born in the tenth month after its father's death was legitimate, but that a child born in the eleventh month after the death of its putative father was illegitimate and could not succeed to the inheritance. A more lenient view of posthumous children was taken by the Emperor Hadrian. In his reign it happened that a lady of spotless reputation and irreproachable virtue gave birth to a child in the eleventh month after the decease of her husband,

[1] J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 262 note[1].

[2] H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen* (Strassburg, 1905-1907), ii. 544, referring to Bede, *De temporum ratione*, cap. 13.

[3] The view which I have adopted of the old Roman year of ten months agrees substantially with that of Professor H. J. Rose. See his article "De Terminalibus, Regifugio, mense intercalari", in *Mnemosyne*, N.S. lii. (1924) pp. 349 *sqq.*; and his book *Primitive Culture in Italy* (London, 1926), pp. 90 *sqq.* I had reached my conclusion independently, from a consideration of Mr. Talbot's evidence as to the Southern Nigerian calendar, before I became acquainted with Professor Rose's views on the subject.

and idle tongues dared to insinuate that the brat was a bastard. The case was submitted to the Emperor, who decreed that a child could perfectly well be born in the eleventh month after conception, and in support of this liberal view he cited the opinions of ancient philosophers and physicians.[1] If we can trust the evidence of Addison, the same liberal sentiment on this delicate point was entertained by a club of widows in the reign of Queen Anne, the ladies unanimously agreeing that the death of a husband offered no material obstacle to the birth of a son or daughter eleven or more months afterwards.[2] According to Cicero, the usual time of gestation is nine months.[3]

I. 35. **For just so many months after her husband's funeral a wife supports the signs of sorrow in her widowed home.**—Ten months was the longest period of mourning allowed to women by an ancient Roman law for any relation, whether husband, father, brother, or child. But for the death of children under ten years of age the period of mourning was shorter: for a child under three years of age there was no mourning at all: for children who died between the ages of three and ten years the number of months of mourning might not exceed the number of the years that the child had lived. If a widow married within ten months of her husband's death, she had to sacrifice a pregnant cow. These rules defining the period of mourning for women were traditionally ascribed to the legislation of the pious King Numa.[4] It is true that Livy and in one passage Seneca speak of a year as the period for women's mourning[5]; but in saying this they probably used a round number; we can hardly doubt that ten months was the correct period, and it may very well have dated, as Ovid believed, from the time when the Roman

[1] Aulus Gellius, xvi. 16. 12; *Fontes Juris Romani Antiqui*, ed. C. G. Bruns[7] (Tübingen, 1909), p. 22. Virgil (*Ecl.* iv. 61) assumed a period of ten (doubtless lunar) months.

[2] Addison, in *The Spectator*, No. 561, June 30, 1714. My friend Professor D. Saurat, of King's College, London, has kindly furnished me with the following quotation from Montaigne (*Essais*, edition Motheau et Jouaust, tome iv. p. 80): "*Et moy je secours, par l'exemple de moy mesme, ceux d'entre eux qui maintiennent la grossesse d'onze moys.*"

[3] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 27. 69.

[4] Plutarch, *Numa*, 12. 2; compare *id.*, *Coriolanus*, 39. 5; *id.*, *Antony*, 31. 3; Seneca, *Ad Helviam matrem de Consolatione*, 16. 1.

[5] Livy, ii. 7. 4; Seneca, *Epist.* lxiii. 13.

year comprised only ten months. During her ten months' mourning a widow had to lead a secluded life; she might not visit any house except that of her mother-in-law.[1]

As the custom of formally mourning for the dead is based essentially on a fear of the ghost and a desire to propitiate him, we may conjecture that in the opinion of the Romans the period during which the presence of the spirit of the deceased was particularly dreaded was ten months for an adult ghost and less for the ghosts of children under ten, who, in consequence of their tender years and feeble frames, were naturally less formidable than their seniors. For a similar reason, no doubt, the aborigines of Australia inter the bodies of children with scant ceremony; among the tribes of North-West-Central Queensland nobody paints his body in mourning for a young child.[2] The sacrifice of a pregnant cow, which a Roman widow was obliged to offer if she married before ten months were out, was probably designed to appease the jealous ghost of her late husband, who would very naturally resent this infringement of his marital rights within the close time prescribed by law. Similarly among the Savaras of Southern India, whenever a man marries a widow, he kills a pig and offers the flesh of the animal, with some liquor, to the ghost of the bride's late husband, while a priest prays the ghost not to spoil the wedded bliss of his widow and her second spouse. "Oh! man," says the priest, addressing the deceased by name, "here is an animal sacrificed to you, and with this all connexion between this woman and you ceases. She has taken with her no property belonging to you or your children. So do not torment her within the house or outside the house, in the jungle or on the hill, when she is asleep or when she wakes. Do not send sickness on her children. Her second husband has done no harm to you. She chose him for her

[1] Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*, 12. 35.

[2] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race* (Melbourne and London, 1886–1887), i. 89; W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane and London, 1897), p. 164. As to the burial of women and children among the aborigines of Australia it is definitely affirmed by Curr (*l.c.*) that the reason for interring them with scant ceremony is that "their spirits are but little feared after death." Compare E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London, 1906–1908), ii. 526.

husband, and he consented. Oh! man, be appeased; oh! unseen ones; oh! ancestors, be you witnesses."[1] So among the Chagga of Kilimanjaro, in East Africa, the man who marries the widow of his deceased brother, in accordance with the law of the levirate, sacrifices a goat to his brother's ghost by way of purchasing all the rights which the ghost possesses over the widow. The transaction is described by a figurative phrase which signifies "buying the trencher". For the dead man is deemed to retain all his marital rights, and the new husband explains and justifies the sacrifice of the goat with the words, "In order that he may make room for me, and that I may here eat out of his trencher and take care of his children". In the prayer which accompanies the sacrifice the new husband is careful to state that he had not intruded on his brother's inheritance nor envied his good fortune; that he took over the ranch only in order to save the cattle from falling into the hands of the enemy; and he trusted that, in consideration of the receipt of the goat, the ghost would leave him in peaceful possession of his trencher (by which he meant the widow), that he would not molest him either in going out of the house or in coming in, but that he would help him, so that his orphan children might shoot up like unto dragon-trees or bamboos.[2] Among the Baganda of Central Africa, when a man wished to marry a widow, he first paid the woman's deceased husband a fowl and a barkcloth, which he put into the little shrine on the dead man's grave; in this way he imagined that he pacified the jealous ghost.[3]

I. 37. **Quirinus in his striped gown.** — Elsewhere Ovid repeats this phrase.[4] Quirinus, the name of the Sabine war-god, was the title bestowed on the deified Romulus

[1] Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras, 1909), vi. 321.

[2] Bruno Gutmann, *Das Recht der Dschagga* (Munich, 1926), p. 52.

[3] John Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), p. 97. For more examples of ceremonies observed at the marriage of widows for the purpose of appeasing or disarming the jealous ghost of the widow's late husband, see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 523 *sqq.*; R. E. Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay* (Bombay, 1920-1922), i. 101 *sq.*, 349, ii. 262 *sq.*, 412, iii. 132 *sq.*, 301; W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 197 *sq.*

[4] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 828, "*Qualis trabeati forma Quirini*".

after his death ;[1] Ovid here applies the title incorrectly to the king in his lifetime. The striped gown (*trabea*) was a toga striped with purple ; it was traditionally said to have been worn by the Roman kings in general,[2] and by Romulus himself in particular.[3] When Servius Tullius claimed the throne on the death of Tarquin the Elder, he appeared in public clad in the striped purple gown and attended by lictors.[4] Juvenal says that the slave-born Servius Tullius was the last of the good kings that wore the striped gown and diadem of Quirinus.[5] The consul wore the same striped gown when he unbarred the door of the temple of Janus as a solemn declaration of war ;[6] and the Salii or dancing priests of Mars were clad in the same gay garment when they tripped through the city in the month of March.[7] The Roman historian and antiquary Suetonius, in his treatise on dress, distinguished three sorts of *trabea* : one all purple, sacred to the gods ; another purple and white, worn by kings ; and another purple and scarlet, worn by augurs.[8]

I. 39. **The month of Mars was the first.**—The month of Mars is March, the month which to this day takes its name from the old Roman god. That March was the first month in the old Roman calendar was generally admitted in antiquity,[9] and indeed was proved by the numbering of the months from July (*Quintilis*), the fifth month, to December, the tenth month, as the ancients themselves perceived.[10]

I. 39-40. **that of Venus the second : she was the author of the race, and he its sire.**—April, the second month of the old Roman year, was thought by some to take its name from Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love, whom the Romans identified with their Venus. As the reputed mother of Aeneas by the mortal man Anchises, the goddess Venus

[1] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 28 *sq.* ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 63 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 805 *sqq.*
[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 195.
[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ix. 136.
[4] Livy, i. 41. 6.
[5] Juvenal, viii. 259 *sq.*
[6] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 612 *sq.*
[7] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 70. 2.
[8] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 612.
[9] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 75 *sqq.* ; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 33 ; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 3 and 5 ; Solinus, i. 35 ; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 3 ; Plutarch, *Numa*, 18-19 ; *id.*, *Quaest. Rom.* 19 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 43, iii. 304.
[10] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 149 *sq.* ; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 5 ; Solinus, i. 35-36 ; Plutarch, *Numa*, 19 ; *id.*, *Quaest. Rom.* 19.

(Aphrodite) was deemed the author or foundress of the Roman race; while Mars, as the reputed father of Romulus, was deemed its sire. Ovid has expounded these mythical relationships more fully later on when he comes to deal with the months of March and April.[1]

I. 41. **The third month took its name from the old, and the fourth from the young.**—Ovid here derives the name of May (*Maius*), the third month of the old Roman year, from *maiores*, "elders", and the name of June (*Junius*), the fourth month of the old Roman year, from *iuvenes*, "young men". In this derivation he followed Fulvius Nobilior, the oldest Roman writer on the calendar.[2] Later on he discusses the two etymologies at length, admitting other possible derivations.[3]

I. 42. **the months that trooped after were distinguished by numbers.**—In the old Roman calendar the six months from July to December were known only by numbers, July being called *Quintilis* ("Fifth month"), and August being called *Sextilis* ("Sixth month"), while the rest were numbered September ("Seventh month"), October ("Eighth month") November ("Ninth month"), and December ("Tenth month"). July took its new name (*Julius*) in honour of Julius Caesar, and August took its new name (*Augustus*) in honour of Augustus.[4] In the reign of Tiberius the obsequious Senate proposed that the month of September should be called Tiberius, and that October should be called Livius; but the Emperor rejected both proposals.[5] According to another account, it was November that the Senate desired to rename after Tiberius, because the Emperor had been born on the sixteenth of that month. In rejecting the fulsome compliment Tiberius asked the Senators, "What will you do if there should be thirteen Caesars?"[6] The tyrant Domitian, who had assumed the title of Germanicus for his victories in Germany, gave the names of Germanicus and

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 1 *sqq.*, iv. 1 *sqq.*

[2] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 16; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 9.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 1 *sqq.*, vi. 1 *sqq.*

[4] Plutarch, *Numa*, 19; *id.*, *Marius*, 26. 4; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 34-35; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 76; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 16; Dio Cassius, xliv. 5. 2.

[5] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 26. 2.

[6] Dio Cassius, lvii. 18. 2.

Domitian to the months of September and October, but after his assassination the names were dropped.[1]

I. 43. **But Numa overlooked not Janus and the ancestral shades.** — Ovid means that to the ancient year of ten months Numa added January, sacred to Janus, and February, in which the dead were worshipped. He repeats implicitly the same view later on.[2] Plutarch tells us that this opinion was held by many, though he himself, as we shall see immediately, did not share it.[3] The tradition was that Numa added 51 days to the old year of 304 days in order to make a lunar year of 355 days, and that the new days were distributed between two new months, January and February. This tradition had the support of the old chronologer Fulvius Nobilior,[4] and it was accepted by Macrobius [5] and Solinus.[6] But according to another old antiquary, Junius Gracchanus, this reformation of the calendar was due, not to Numa, but to Tarquin the Elder.[7] Livy says that Numa introduced a lunar year of twelve months and by a system of intercalary months harmonized the lunar with the solar year in a cycle of twenty years ; but he does not mention January and February in this connexion.[8] Plutarch's account of Numa's reform differs from all the preceding. According to him, the Roman year in the time of Romulus consisted of three hundred and sixty days, distributed in months of varying and irregular length, and no account was taken of the discrepancy between the lunar and the solar years. That discrepancy, Plutarch tells us, was recognized by Numa. He saw that the lunar year numbered 354 days and the solar year 365 days. The difference between the two being thus 11 days, Numa doubled that number and out of it made a month of 22 days, which he added to the lunar year every other year at the end of February, thus bringing the lunar year into approximate harmony with the solar. This intercalary month was called

[1] Suetonius, *Domitian*, 13. 3 ; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 36-37 ; Plutarch, *Numa*, 19.
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 151 *sq.*
[3] Plutarch, *Numa*, 18. 3. Compare Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 3. 1.
[4] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 4-5.
[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 1-5.
[6] Solinus, i. 37.
[7] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 4. See above, p. 9.
[8] Livy, i. 19. 6.

Mercedinus or Mercedonius.[1] Varro mentions the addition of January and February to the year, but without naming the author of the innovation.[2] Be that as it may, the first great reform of the Roman calendar was commonly, though not unanimously, ascribed to Numa. Thus Cicero says that the system of intercalation was skilfully instituted by Numa but corrupted in after ages by the negligence of the pontiffs, to whom the management of the system was entrusted.[3] At Rome a curious monument of the reform and of Numa's reputed share in it existed down to later times. It was a statue of Janus that was said to have been dedicated by Numa: the god's fingers were represented in such a position as to indicate the number of the days in a year, whether 355 or 365, it is doubtful which.[4] The number 355 would be more in harmony with the tradition which represents Numa as basing his calendar on a year of 355 days, which he obtained by adding 51 days to the old year of 304 days. On this point Macrobius makes the notable statement that originally Numa added 50 days to the old year, thus making a nearly correct lunar year of 354 days, but that afterwards he added a day to the year "in honour of the uneven number", because an even number of days in the year would have been unlucky. This day, according to Macrobius, he added to the month of January, giving it thus a total of 29 instead of the former 28 days.[5]

The old system of intercalation, attributed to Numa, was,

[1] Plutarch, *Numa*, 18; *id. Caesar*, 59. In the former passage the name of the intercalary month is given as Mercedinus, in the latter as Mercedonius.

[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 34. [3] Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 12. 29.

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 33, "*Ianus geminus a Numa rege dicatus, qui pacis bellique argumento colitur digitis ita figuratis ut cccLxv. dierum nota per significationem anni temporis et aevi esse deum indicent.*" So Detlefsen edits the text without noting any variation of the MSS. in the number; and according to Mommsen (*Römische Chronologie*[1], p. 33 note[1]) there are traces of this reading in the Bamberg MS. But the passage is read "*trecentorum quinquaginta quinque dierum nota*" by Ideler (*Handbuch*, ii. 34) and Pontanus (quoted by Jan on Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 10), without noting any variant, as if it were the usual reading of the MSS. On the other hand the number 365 is supported by Macrobius (*l.c.*), who says that the images of Janus generally represented him holding the number 300 in his right hand and the number 65 in his left, "to show the length of the year, which is a special function of the sun". Such images of Janus holding either the numbers 300 and 65 or as many counters in his right and left hand respectively are also described by Suidas (*s.v.* Ἰανουάριος) and Joannes Lydus (*De mensibus*, iv. 1. p. 64 ed. Wuensch).

[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 1-5.

as we have seen, to insert a month of twenty-two days every second year after the month of February, thus roughly compensating for the annual loss of eleven days which the lunar year of 354 days suffers in comparison with the solar year of 365 days.[1] A different, and doubtless more exact, account of the system of intercalation is given by Censorinus and Macrobius. According to them, the intercalary month consisted of 22 and 23 days alternately, and it was inserted, not at the end of February, that is, at the end of the old Roman year, but after the feast of the Terminalia on February 23rd and before the ceremony of the *Regifugium* or Flight of the King on February 24th.[2] This made up a cycle of four years, of which the first year consisted of 355 days, the second of 377 days, the third of 355 days, and the fourth of 378 days, making a total of 1465 days in the four years' cycle. But four solar years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days make 1461 days. Thus Numa's cycle of four years exceeded the same number of solar years by exactly 4 days. This excess of four days in four years was clearly due to the preposterous Roman custom of reckoning the lunar year at 355 days instead of the more exact 354 days, and the error seems to have arisen, as both Macrobius and Censorinus thought, through the superstitious and absurd preference for odd numbers.[3] It might be difficult to find a more glaring instance of the havoc which superstition can work when it is suffered to invade the provinces of science and of practice. The error, naturally, was soon detected, and the duty of correcting it was entrusted to the pontiffs, but from corrupt motives they discharged their office so ill that the calendar fell into great confusion until it was reformed by Julius Caesar.[4]

[1] Plutarch, *Numa*, 18.

[2] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 1-15; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 4-6.

[3] It is said that "odd numbers all over the world are lucky" (W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, Oxford University Press, 1926, p. 313). This rule holds good in the Deccan and other parts of the Bombay Presidency, where odd numbers are deemed lucky and even numbers unlucky. But in other parts of that Presidency the rule is reversed. See R. E. Enthoven, *The Folklore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 255 *sq.* In Morocco it is thought that, as God is one, the odd numbers are better than the even ones; and this is a general Mohammedan belief. See E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), i. 141.

[4] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 6-7. As to the so-called year of Numa see further L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*,

Why the Romans inserted the intercalary month between the 23rd and 24th February, instead of at the end of that month, is not clear, and modern chronologers have proposed various hypotheses to explain the curious arrangement.[1] The simplest explanation perhaps is that of Macrobius, who supposed that the arrangement was adopted in deference to an ancient religious scruple in order to allow February in every year to be immediately followed by March instead of being separated from it in every second year by the intercalary month.[2] That the motive for inserting the intercalary month in February was religious or superstitious, we may well believe; though we may surmise that there was some special reason for inserting it precisely between the festival of the Terminalia and the *Regifugium*, or Flight of the King. The sequence cannot have been accidental. If we knew more about the Flight of the King, we might understand why in every second year it was immediately preceded by an intercalary month.

In this connexion it is perhaps worth while observing that intercalary days and months appear to be commonly regarded as unlucky, as times when the ordinary rules of life do not apply, and when ghostly or other uncanny influences hold sway. Thus the Aztecs deemed very unlucky the five supplementary days which they added at the end of every year in order to make up a total of three hundred and sixty-five days. These five supplementary days, corresponding to the last four of January and the first of February, were called by a name (*nemontemi*) signifying "vacant", "superfluous", or "useless". Being dedicated to no god, they were regarded as inauspicious, unfit for the services of religion and the transaction of civil business. During their continuance no sacrifices were offered by the priests and no worshippers frequented the temples. No cases were tried in the courts of justice. The houses were not swept. People abstained from all actions of importance and confined themselves to performing such as could not be avoided, or spent the time

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ii. 31 *sqq.*; Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858) pp. 18 *sqq.*; O. E. Hartmann, *Der römische Kalendar*, pp. 16 *sqq.*

[1] F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 243.

[2] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 15.

in paying visits to each other. In particular they were careful during these days not to fall asleep during the daytime, not to quarrel, and not to stumble; because they thought that, if they did such things at that time, they would continue to do so for ever. Persons born on any of these days were deemed unfortunate, destined to fail in their undertakings and to live poor and wretched all their days on earth.[1] The Mayas of Yucatan employed a calendar like that of the Aztecs, and they too looked upon the five supplementary days as unlucky and of evil omen; hence they gave no names to these days, and while they lasted the people stayed for the most part at home; they neither washed themselves, nor combed their hair, nor loused each other; and they did no servile or fatiguing work lest some evil should befall them.[2]

Again, with regard to the Tigrē tribes of Abyssinia we are told that "now before the festival of St. John there are 5 or 6 days epagomenes. In these days they do not move from their halting place, nor do they drive their cattle about; they do not make the cattle urinate into a vessel,[3] and they do not churn their milk, but drink it sweet, and they do not send it away. And in these days they do not look either on their fields, lest they be burned [by the sun and be lost] for them. Thereupon when these days are over they purify their cows [with holy water], and on the day of their purification they milk them 'for the church' and give [the milk] to the priest. This they used always to do in the time of old; and even now they keep some of these [practices]."[4]

Again, the Bafioti of Loango regulate their calendar of twelve lunar months by the rising of Sirius in the east, which marks the beginning of the rainy season. The first new

[1] B. de Sahagun, *Histoire Générale des Choses de la Nouvelle Espagne*, traduite par D. Jourdanet et R. Simeon (Paris, 1880), pp. 77, 283; E. Seler, "The Mexican Chronology", in *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 28* (Washington, 1904), p. 16; J. de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (Hakluyt Society, London, 1880), ii. 392.

[2] Diego de Landa, *Relation des Choses de Yucatan* (Paris, 1864), pp. 204 *sq.*, 276 *sq.*

[3] "The urine of cattle is used in tanning."

[4] Enno Littmann, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, vol. ii. *Tales, Customs, Names, and Dirges of the Tigrē tribes*: English translation (Leyden, 1910), p. 245.

moon during the visibility of the bright star is the beginning of their year. But when the rising of Sirius does not coincide with a new moon, which happens generally every three years, they add an intercalary month to the year, thus making thirteen months in the year. This intercalary month is regarded as an uncanny and evil time ; the souls of the dead are believed to be then roaming about and playing all sorts of mad pranks on the living. The days of this month, especially of the latter half of the month, while the moon is waning, are marked by some remarkable fetish customs ; at all events they used to be so marked formerly when a native king reigned in the land. During the second half of this evil month we are told that all fetishes were thought to be resting and all magic to be suspended ; yet we read that at the same time the wizards were very busy. As a record of the month the king set up a carved post or elephant's tusk in the earth, and this post or tusk afterwards adorned his grave. When the next new moon was visible and in the meantime Sirius had mounted higher in the sky, the unlucky intercalary month was over, and the people greeted the crescent moon with shouts of joy.[1] In the Central Provinces of India " intercalary months occur every three years and are known as *malmas* (or excreta). In these months all auspicious ceremonies are forbidden ", including the ceremonies of marriage.[2]

If the Romans entertained any such notions as to the unluckiness of the intercalary month, it seems possible that they may have sought to conceal as far as possible its intrusion into the calendar by, so to say, smuggling it into another month instead of boldly giving it an independent place in the almanac. If that was their intention, it was perfectly natural that they should pitch on February as the month that was to screen the intruder. For February was notoriously an unlucky or ill-omened month, and that was why in the old Roman calendar it alone had an even number of days (28), because even numbers to the Roman thinking were

[1] *Die Loango-Expedition*, Dritte Abteilung, Zweite Hälfte, von Dr. E. Pechuel-Loesche (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 138 *sq.*, 312, 389.

[2] *Census of India*, 1911, vol. x. *The Central Provinces and Berar*, Part I. *Report*, by J. T. Marten (Calcutta, 1912), p. 144.

unlucky.[1] The ground of the ill-repute of February was that the principal festival in honour of the dead fell in it, thus investing the whole month with an atmosphere of melancholy and gloom.[2] In such a lugubrious month the superstitions commonly attaching to an intercalary month would find an appropriate place.

But even if we grant the perfect propriety of dovetailing the intercalary month into February, we have still to ask why was the intercalation made between the 23rd and the 24th of the month, that is, between the festival of the Terminalia on the 23rd and the ceremony of the Flight of the King on the 24th? In other words, why should the intercalary month immediately follow the festival of the Terminalia and immediately precede the Flight of the King?

The reason why the intercalary month immediately followed the festival of the Terminalia is not perhaps difficult to understand; indeed, it was perceived by the ancients themselves. Varro says that the Terminalia, the festival of Terminus, the god of boundaries, was the last day of the year, because in the old calendar February was the twelfth month, and when an intercalary month was inserted in it, the last five days of February were deducted from February and added to the intercalary month, so that the Terminalia on February 23rd was in fact the last day of the year, if the intercalary month be left out of account.[3] This explanation seems perfectly sufficient to account for the insertion of the intercalary month immediately after the Terminalia, and we need not look out for a more recondite one.

But the other and more difficult question remains. Why did the intercalary month immediately precede the Flight of the King? So far as I am aware, there is nothing in Roman tradition to shed light on this point, and no modern scholar has solved the question. As I have already said, all would probably be clear if we only understood the meaning

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 7; Solinus, i. 40; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 5.

[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 34; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 7; Solinus, i. 40; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 5; Plutarch, *Numa*, 19. 5; *id.*, *Quaest. Rom.* 19; Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 33 *sq.*, 533 *sqq.*

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 13.

of the Flight of the King, but that remains one of the darkest points in Roman ritual. Perhaps a glimmer of light may be thrown on it if we view the ceremony in relation to the intercalary month which immediately preceded it every second year. We have seen that among peoples of lower culture an intercalary period appears to be regarded as something abnormal, as a sort of interregnum during which the ordinary law does not run, the ordinary services of religion cease to be observed, and the ordinary rules of life are suspended. But instances of such an interregnum or temporary suspension of common law and custom in various parts of the world go to prove that at these times society is not left wholly defenceless, exposed to the unbridled caprices and passions of the mob: there is not complete anarchy: the government is committed to a more or less nominal, sometimes indeed a farcical, ruler who figures as a Lord of Misrule or Carnival king for a brief season, at the end of which he is deposed and got rid of, sometimes by being banished, sometimes by being put to death. May not the king who took to flight at Rome when the intercalary month was over have been an Interrex or buffoon king of this sort, who, when his short reign was over, had to take to his heels lest a worse thing should befall him? To this theory the obvious objection is that the Flight of the King took place every year, but that the intercalary month was inserted only every second year. The objection is cogent but perhaps not quite conclusive. To evade it we should have to suppose that originally the intercalation, not of course of a month but of eleven or twelve days, was annual, and that during these eleven or twelve days the regular government was suspended and a more or less nominal and arbitrary rule entrusted to a temporary king or Interrex, who had to flee at the end of his short reign. There is no direct evidence in support of this theory, but analogy speaks in its favour, and it may be worth while briefly to consider it.

First, with regard to the supposition that the intercalation was annual instead of biennial. As soon as the difference between a lunar year of 354 days and a solar year of 365 days had been roughly determined at eleven or twelve days, the natural course would be to insert the eleven or twelve days

annually just at the time when they were wanted, that is, at the end of the twelfth lunar month, which at Rome would be February, when the Roman months were lunar and the year began with March. As the Romans probably arrived at their calendar, not at one leap but by successive steps, which were determined by more and more accurate observations of the sun and moon,[1] we may perhaps without being rash suppose that at a more or less remote period they were satisfied with this rough approximation to the truth, and brought the lunar year into approximate harmony with the solar year by an annual insertion of eleven or twelve intercalary days. It was at that time, if my hypothesis is right, that the temporary King (Interrex) reigned annually during the eleven or twelve intercalary days. But why did the Romans abandon this simple system for the more complicated and in some ways more inconvenient method of allowing the missing eleven or twelve days to accumulate at the end of two years and then inserting the twenty-two or twenty-three days in a bunch instead of inserting the eleven or twelve days just when they were wanted at the end of each year? The answer is simple and obvious. They had come to perceive that the difference between a lunar and a solar year was something more than eleven and less than twelve days, and that it amounted to about eleven days and a quarter. What then were they to do? It would be practically impossible to insert eleven days and a quarter in a year; even if they doubled it and made a month of twenty-two and a half days the difficulty of inserting twenty-two and a half days at the end of two years was hardly, if at all, less than the difficulty of inserting eleven and a quarter days every year. So there was nothing for it but to allow the odd quarter of a day to accumulate to a whole day in four years and then to add the day so composed to the ordinary intercalary month of twenty-two days. And this in substance they did. As we have seen, they inserted an intercalary month of twenty-two and twenty-three days alternately every second year, which would have given them an average year practically equal to

[1] On the probability that the Roman calendar was thus gradually developed and refined, see the judicious observations of F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 235 *sq.*

the Julian solar year, if their absurd taste for odd numbers had not induced them to take as their basis a lunar year of 355 days instead of 354. As soon as a biennial intercalation was substituted for an annual one, the need for an intercalary king or Interrex automatically ceased in every second year, when there was no intercalation; and if my conjecture as to his origin and significance is correct, we must suppose that, through long familiarity with the merry or doleful monarch, the people expected and required him to show himself in public and run for his life even in years when the reformation of the calendar had expunged his reign of eleven or twelve days from the almanac, and he was thus reduced to the level of a king without a crown.

In what precedes I have spoken of an annual intercalation of eleven or twelve days with a corresponding reign of the Interrex for one or other of these periods because, when the Romans discovered that eleven intercalary days were too little to harmonize the lunar with the solar year, they may naturally have tried the expedient of inserting twelve intercalary days instead of eleven, though experience should soon have convinced them that the substitution of twelve days for eleven only made matters worse by increasing the divergence of lunar from solar time. Having thus found out that eleven intercalary days in a year were too little and that twelve were too much, they may very well have taken the middle course of intercalating eleven and twelve days in alternate years, and that they did so is at least suggested by the fact that in later times they employed intercalary months of 22 and 23 days alternately every second year; for a month of 23 days is equal to a sum of 11 and 12 days, that is, to what I take to have been the exact number of days formerly intercalated in alternate years. Thus I conjecture that the temporary king or Interrex reigned at first for eleven days every year, afterwards for twelve days every year, later for periods of eleven and twelve days respectively in alternate years, and finally for alternate periods of twenty-two and twenty-three days every other year.

In favour of the hypothesis that the Romans, or their ancestors at some period, corrected their year of twelve lunar months by annually intercalating twelve days, we may

appeal to the evidence which goes to show that such an annual intercalary period of twelve days was employed by the Indo-Europeans both in India and in Europe. For the Hindoos of Vedic times appear to have invested twelve days in midwinter with a sacred character, as a time when the three Ribhus or genii of the seasons rested from their labours, sleeping in the house of the sun ; and these twelve rest-days they called " an image or copy of the year ".[1] Now it is a curious coincidence that in Europe twelve days at midwinter are popularly conceived in like manner as a miniature of the whole year, the weather in each month of the coming year being foretold from the weather on each of the twelve days in their order ; thus the weather of the first month is inferred from the weather of the first of the twelve days, the weather of the second month is inferred from the weather of the second of the twelve days, and similarly for the weather of all the twelve months. This belief is widely diffused in Germany, Austria, France, England, and Scotland. Usually the twelve days are the days from Christmas to Epiphany, but this is by no means always the case ; in the Celtic regions of Scotland and France popular opinion varies as to the exact date of the twelve days, some people counting them from Christmas, others from the New Year, and others again from the thirty-first of December. In Silesia the twelve days are usually reckoned to fall before Christmas instead of after it ; and in some parts of Bavaria the twelve days are counted from St. Thomas's Day (the twenty-first of December) to New Year's Day. Thus the twelve days' festival in Europe oscillates, so to say, about a fixed point, which is either the end of the year or the winter solstice.[2] This oscillation seems fatal to the theory which would derive the popular superstitions of the Twelve Days, or rather of

[1] *The Hymns of the Rigveda*, translated by R. T. H. Griffith (Benares, 1889-1892) book iv. hymn 33, vol. ii. pp. 150 *sqq.* ; H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* (Berlin, 1879) pp. 365-367 ; A. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur, Vedische Opfer und Zauber* (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 5 *sq.* However, the Ribhus are very obscure figures in Vedic mythology. Compare H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 235 *sq.* ; A. A. Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 131 *sqq.* ; F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, i. (Leipzig, 1906) p. 314, note [2].

[2] For the evidence see *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 322-324.

the Twelve Nights, as they are more commonly called, from the place which they occupy in the Christian calendar from Christmas to Epiphany. Further, the popular superstitions and customs which cluster thick about these mystic Twelve Days or Nights appear to have no relation to Christianity but to be purely pagan in character. To take a single example, in the Frisian islands off the coast of Germany where, as in many other places, the weather of the coming year is predicted from the weather of the Twelve Days, it is or used to be forbidden to turn wheels during these days because, as the people expressed it, the wheel of time then stood still. Hence at that season it used to be customary to lay up carts, wheelbarrows, and so forth even before the Twelve Days had begun.[1] Such a superstition can hardly be deduced from the Gospels, but it is readily explicable on the hypothesis that the Twelve Days were an ancient intercalary period during which, since it lay outside the ordinary calendar, the wheel of time might easily be imagined to stand still. The theory that the old Indian and the European Twelve Days were originally an intercalary period introduced to harmonize the lunar with the solar year has been accepted by some good scholars, including J. Loth in France, H. Hirt in Germany, and J. A. MacCulloch and the late Professor James Hope Moulton in England.[2] No doubt the harmony sought by adding twelve days every year to three hundred and fifty-four is far from perfect, since it yields a year of three hundred and sixty-six days instead of a year of three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days, but it may very well have satisfied the primitive Aryans, with whom it seems to have originated; they may have thought that they did very

[1] Chr. Jensen, *Die nordfriesischen Inseln, Sylt, Föhr, Amrum und die Halligen vormals und jetzt* [2] (Hamburg, 1899), pp. 376, 381.

[2] J. Loth, "Les douze jours supplémentaires (gourdeziou) des Bretons et les douze jours des Germains et des Indous", *Revue Celtique*, xxiv. (1903) pp. 311 *sq.*; H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen* (Strassburg, 1905-1907), ii. 537, 544; J. H. Moulton, *Two Lectures on the Science of Language* (Cambridge, 1903) pp. 47 *sq.*; J. A. MacCulloch, in Dr. J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, iii. 81 *sq.* On the other hand, the theory is rejected by O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* (Strassburg, 1901) pp. 391-394; *id.*, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* [3] (Jena, 1906-1907), ii. 2, pp. 228-234; *id.*, *Die Indogermanen* (Leipzig, 1919), p. 52; and by Professor A. Berriedale Keith, "Two Notes on Vedic Religion", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1915*, pp. 132 *sq.*

well when they had ascertained the length of a year correctly within a fraction of a day.

The hypothesis which ascribes to the undivided Aryans a calendar partially corrected by an annual intercalary period of twelve days derives some confirmation from the practice of the Celts of Gaul. From the Coligny calendar we know that the Celts of that country retained the old lunar year of three hundred and fifty-four or three hundred and fifty-five days (there is some uncertainty as to which); but instead of intercalating twelve days every year to restore the balance between lunar and solar time, they intercalated a month of thirty days every two and a half years, so that in a cycle of five years the total number of intercalary days was twice thirty, that is sixty, which was equivalent to intercalating twelve days annually. Thus the result at the end of each cycle of five years was precisely the same as it would have been if they had followed what I suppose to have been the old system of annually intercalating twelve days. What makes it almost certain that these sixty days of the five years' cycle was obtained by multiplying an annual quota of twelve days by five is this. From the Coligny calendar we learn that the thirty days of the intercalary month were named after the names of the ordinary twelve months of the year repeated two and a half times over. Thus the first day of the intercalary month is called Samon, which is the name of the first month of the year; the second day of the intercalary month is called Dumannos, which is the name of the second month of the year; and so on with the names of all the days of the intercalary month. This seems to show that, just as our modern peasants regard the Twelve Days as representing each a month of the year in their chronological order, so the old Celts of Gaul, who drew up the Coligny calendar, regarded the thirty days of the intercalary month as representing the thirty ordinary months which were to follow it till the next intercalation took place. And we may conjecture that just as our modern peasants of Brittany and Scotland still draw omens from the Twelve Days for the twelve succeeding months of the year, so the ancient Celts drew omens from the thirty days of the intercalary month for the thirty months of the two and a half succeeding years. The people

remember the old simple intercalation of twelve days a year long after they have forgotten the complicated newfangled intercalation of thirty days in two and a half years.[1]

If the foregoing evidence suffices to raise a presumption that our Aryan forefathers employed an intercalary period of twelve days a year, we can understand the quaint customs and superstitions which characterize that period in modern Europe. These customs and superstitions I have illustrated elsewhere [2] and I need not dwell on them here. But there is one of them to which it is necessary to refer for the purpose in hand, and that is the custom of appointing a nominal and more or less farcical king either for the whole Twelve Days or for one of them, generally the last. Of these temporary and playful monarchs the best known is the King of the Bean, who reigned on Twelfth Night after being raised to the throne by the lot of a bean. He used to be a familiar figure in France, Belgium, Germany, and England, and the old custom is still kept up in some parts of France. A similar personage was the Lord of Misrule, who in England used to lead the revels in the halls of colleges, the Inns of Court, the palace of the king, and the mansions of nobles. Sometimes he reigned for more than three months, from Allhallow Even (the thirty-first of October) till Candlemas (the second of February). Sometimes, however, his reign seems to have been restricted to the Twelve

[1] As to the Coligny calendar see J. A. MacCulloch, in Dr. J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, iii. (Edinburgh, 1910) pp. 78 *sqq.* Compare S. de Ricci, "Le calendrier gaulois de Coligny", *Revue Celtique*, xix. (1898) pp. 213-222; *id.*, "Le calendrier celtique de Coligny", *Revue Celtique*, xxi. (1900) pp. 10-27; *id.*, "Un passage remarquable du calendrier de Coligny", *Revue Celtique*, xxiv. (1903) pp. 313-316; J. Loth, "L'Année celtique", *Revue Celtique*, xxv. (1904) pp. 113-162; Sir John Rhys, "The Coligny Calendar," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1909-1910, pp. 207 *sqq.* As the calendar stands, the number of days in the ordinary year is 355, not 354, seven of the months having thirty days and five of them twenty-nine days. But the month EQUOS has attached to it the sign ANM, which is attached to all the months of twenty-nine days but to none of the months of thirty days except Equos, all of which, except Equos, are marked with the sign MAT. Hence, following a suggestion of S. de Ricci (*Revue Celtique*, xxi. 25) we should suppose that the month Equos had regularly twenty-nine days instead of thirty, and that the attribution of thirty days to it is an error of the scribe or of the mason who engraved the calendar. If we accept this view the number of days in the ordinary Celtic year, as recorded in the Coligny calendar, was three hundred and fifty-four.

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 313 *sqq.*

Nights. At my own college of Trinity in Cambridge a Master of Arts used to be appointed to this honourable office, which he held from Christmas to Twelfth Day. His duty, or one of his duties, was to regulate the games and diversions of the students, particularly the plays which were acted in the college hall.[1] A relic of his misrule survived down to my own time in the leave granted during the Twelve Nights, but only then, to play at cards in the Combination Room. I well remember the strange sight of green tables set out there with packs of cards at the festive season; but now, I believe, the licence has been extended to the whole year.

I think we shall not err in supposing that these and the like mimic Kings or Rulers were the direct descendants of personages who played a graver part in days long gone by, when the intercalary days were looked on as an abnormal period during which the common rules, and perhaps the common proprieties, of life were suspended, when courts of justice were closed, when law gave way to licence, and when the ordinary government was at least nominally superseded by that of a mountebank or buffoon, who often had to pay dearly for his brief tenure of a paper crown. Such temporary relapses into something like anarchy meet us not uncommonly in many parts of the world. They are not mere sporadic outbursts of passion: they occur at stated intervals, generally once a year: the precise season of their occurrence is fixed by the calendar as exactly as our saints' days; and the whole affair is regulated by customs handed down from time immemorial. Some instances of such periods of licence have been collected by me elsewhere,[2] and I need not repeat them all here. But I will cite one of them because it involves a ceremony which presents at least a superficial resemblance to the Roman ceremony of the Flight of the King.

At Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, the ordinary government is suspended for twenty-three days at the beginning of the

[1] As to the King of the Bean, the Lord of Misrule, and similar personages at midwinter in Europe, see *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 313-345.

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, pp. 148-159.

year, which coincides with the new moon of February. During the interregnum an arbitrary authority is exercised by a monk who for the time being bears the title of Jalno. Twenty-four days after he has resigned his power he assumes it again and holds the same arbitrary sway as before for another ten days. During these ten days a curious personage, who seems to be a sort of human scapegoat and bears the title of the King of the Years, sits daily in the market-place, his face grotesquely painted half white half black, and helps himself to whatever he likes. On the tenth day he comes forth from the great temple in Lhasa and receives small donations from the assembled multitude. He now engages in a dispute with the Jalno, and they agree to submit their difference to a cast of the dice. In this trial fortune invariably favours the Jalno, nor is this surprising, since all his dice are marked with sixes, and all the dice of the King of the Years are marked with ones. Seeing the finger of Providence thus plainly pointed against him, the King of the Years flees away on a white horse, pursued by the whole populace, who hoot, yell, and fire blank shots in volleys after him. Thus he is driven out of the city, and, after a detention of seven days in a chamber of horrors at a neighbouring monastery, he retires to the mountains, where he must remain as an outcast in a narrow den for several months or a year. If he survives this treatment, he is allowed to return to Lhasa and play the part of the King of the Years in the following year.[1] As antiquity has bequeathed to us no detailed description of the Flight of the King at Rome, we cannot say whether it presented any points of resemblance to the flight of the King of the Years at Lhasa. At least we know that both flights started from the market-place; for at Rome the Forum, from which the king fled, was of old the market-place.

But there is no evidence that the ten days during which the King of the Years exercises a measure of arbitrary power at Lhasa is an intercalary period, and so far his case does not support the hypothesis that his counterpart at Rome was an intercalary king. The same observation

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 218-221, with the references to the authorities.

applies to all the cases of temporary kings which I have thus far collected. In regard to none of them are we told that the days during which they held power were intercalary periods, though on the analogy of our European Twelve Nights I should expect some of them to be so. Further research may perhaps show that such temporary suspensions of common law in favour of mock sovereigns have at least occasionally coincided with intercalary periods and have been a direct effect of the superstitions attached to these recurring seasons. By way of illustration I will mention three examples of mock sovereigns which I have met with since my book dealing with the subject was published.

Among the Kwottos of Northern Nigeria the King of Panda used to be regarded as an incarnate divinity, who had power over the elements.[1] Nevertheless at an annual festival one of the King's slaves, a strong, handsome man, was allowed for a single day to wear a leopard's skin (the badge of royalty) and to adorn his head with a pair of buffalo horns; thus arrayed, and attended by a bodyguard of fifty men, armed with stout sticks, he used to strut proudly about the town, exclaiming, "I am King at this festival. Let no one dispute my will." At sight of him in the distance the people scattered, believing that he had the power to cause any one who might offend him to be struck down with a mortal sickness. Should he be minded to kill anyone, he might do so, and no questions would be asked about it. He made a round of the town, visiting any house he pleased, and custom compelled the inmates to present him with money or gowns according to their means. Meantime the real king provided him with as much beer to drink and as many slave women for concubines as he cared to ask for. Even before he assumed the leopard's skin and the buffalo horns, the slave enjoyed for three days a privileged position in the King of Panda's palace, a special hut for eating in and a special hut for sleeping in being assigned to him inside the palace close to those of the King. When he had made

[1] J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, "Ethnological Notes on the Kwottos of Toto (Panda) District, Keffi Division, Benue Province, Northern Nigeria", *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxvii. No. cvii. (April 1928), p. 281; *id.* No. cviii. (July 1928), p. 387.

his round of the town, he returned to the palace, and the real King thereupon invested him with a new white gown and turban. After receiving them the slave renounced his pseudo-royal privileges until the following year. At Toto to this day, under English rule, there lives a strong man of slave parentage, who acts the part of the principal slave in this ceremony every year, though on these festive occasions he naturally does not enjoy the licentious privileges which were accorded to his predecessors in the days when Panda was an independent kingdom.[1]

The Bakitara or Banyoro are a large and formerly powerful nation of the Uganda Protectorate, in Central Africa, who under a long line of kings maintained their independence down to near the end of the nineteenth century, when their country was conquered by the British and annexed to Uganda. The person of the king was sacred; "he was the great high priest of the nation, and was, in fact, regarded by the people as almost a deity himself".[2] Yet in former times he was not suffered to attain old age or to fall into bodily or mental decay; if he felt seriously ill, he was bound to end his life by poison, which was kept ready for the purpose and administered to him by his wife.[3] This limited tenure of the throne was further limited every year by the observance of the following custom. At or about the time of year when the last king had been buried, the reigning king told the chief who had charge of the royal tombs to prepare a feast for the departed monarch. The chief chose a poor man of the Babito clan to impersonate the dead king, and the man so chosen lived in regal state in the king's tomb and was called by the name of the monarch he represented; for he was said to be the dead king come to life again. He lived in the tomb, was feasted and honoured, and had full use of the late king's widows, who had charge of the tomb. The living king sent him presents and he sent his blessing to

[1] J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, "Ethnographical Notes on the Kwottos of Toto (Panda) District, Keffi Division, Benue Province, Northern Nigeria", *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxvii. No. cviii. (July 1928) pp. 385 *sq.*

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 90, compare p. 8.

[3] J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 14; *id.*, *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, p. 121.

the king, the country, and the cattle. He distributed gifts of cows belonging to the king as he pleased, and for eight days lived like a king. When the ninth day came, he was taken away to the back of the tomb and strangled, and no one heard any more of him. This was an annual ceremony.[1]

In this account of the custom, which we owe to Canon Roscoe, there is nothing to suggest that the eight days' reign of the temporary king was an intercalary period; on the contrary it seems almost certain that it was not, since it fell at the time of year when the last king had died, which could only accidentally coincide with an intercalary period. I have cited the case only as a striking example of those temporary kings whose functions in general are still wrapt in mystery. The present instance is comparatively clear, for we are told that the temporary king is supposed to be the late king come to life again, so that the custom of putting him to death at the end of his brief reign is only a way of restoring him to the tomb, from which he had issued to hold ghostly sway for a few days in the land of the living. I know of no other clear instance of a temporary king personating a dead king come to life again. But in at least one respect this temporary African monarch, who came to a tragic end, bears so close a resemblance to the ancient Babylonian Zoganes that it may be worth while to consider for a moment the Zoganes afresh in the light thrown on him by his African counterpart.

According to the historian Berosus, who, as a Babylonian priest, spoke with ample knowledge, there was annually celebrated in Babylon a festival called the Sacaea. It began on the sixteenth day of the Macedonian month Lous and lasted for five days. During these five days masters and servants changed places, the servants giving orders and the masters obeying them. A prisoner condemned to death was dressed in the king's robes, seated on the king's throne, allowed to issue whatever commands he pleased, to eat, drink, and enjoy himself, and to lie with the king's concubines. But at the end of the five days he was stripped of his royal robes, scourged and hanged or impaled. During his brief

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, pp. 126 *sq.*

term of office he bore the title of Zoganes.[1] The parallelism between the Babylonian and the African customs is close and obvious, but there is one point in it which deserves special attention, that is, the permission given to the temporary king to cohabit, in the one case, with the living king's concubines, in the other case, with the dead king's widows. That at Babylon a prisoner condemned to death should have been allowed to enjoy the king's concubines for five days seems at first sight very extraordinary. But in the light of the African parallel it becomes perhaps more intelligible. The African temporary king was supposed to be the late king resuscitated; hence it was right and natural that he should go in to the late king's widows, since they were in fact his own widows, and he was thereby only exercising his marital, though ghostly, rights. Hence if we suppose that at Babylon the temporary king represented the late king come to life again, his enjoyment of the living king's concubines becomes at least explicable, if not legitimate.

Further, in view of what precedes it seems possible or even probable that the five days of the Sacaea, during which the mock king reigned, were, like the five supplementary days in the ancient Egyptian, Aztec, and Maya calendars, an intercalary period inserted annually in order to equate a year of 360 days to an assumed solar year of 365 days. The question of the Babylonian calendar is a complicated and difficult one, and on a number of points the evidence appears to be conflicting; but some ancient texts seem to prove conclusively that the Babylonians were at least acquainted with a year of 360 days divided into twelve months of 30 days each, though the use they made of it remains doubtful.[2] But such a year demands an addition of 5 days in order to bring it into approximate harmony with the solar year, and since the Egyptians from the earliest times were acquainted with this necessity and took account of it by annually adding

[1] Athenaeus, xiv. 44, p. 639 c; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* iv. pp. 69 *sq.* (vol. i. p. 76 ed. L. Dindorf). Dio Chrysostom does not mention his authority, but it was probably either Berosus or Ctesias. I have discussed the custom elsewhere. See *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, pp. 113 *sqq.*; *id.*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 354 *sqq.*

[2] F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, i. 127 *sq.*

five days to their year of 360 days, we may reasonably suppose that the Babylonians, with their superior astronomical knowledge, were equally aware of the need of annual intercalation and met it in precisely the same way. Now it is probable, as some good Assyriologists have perceived,[1] that the Sacaea mentioned by Berosus was identical with the great Babylonian festival of the New Year called Zakmuk or Zagmuk, which has become known to us in recent times through inscriptions. The Babylonian year began with the spring month of Nisan, which seems to have covered the second half of March and the first half of April. Thus the New Year festival, which occupied at least the first eleven days of Nisan, probably included the spring equinox. But a serious difficulty in the way of identifying the Sacaea with Zagmuk is created by the statement of Berosus that the Sacaea fell on the sixteenth day of the Macedonian month Lous, which was the tenth month of the Syro-Macedonian calendar, and appears to have nearly coincided with July, whereas Zagmuk certainly fell in spring about the time of the vernal equinox. The analogy of the Egyptian calendar suggests a mode of explaining the discrepancy. The Egyptian year of 365 days fell short of the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days by a quarter of a day, and as the error was never corrected, the annual deficit gradually accumulated until at the end of 1460 solar years it amounted to a whole year. In the interval the festivals, which had originally been arranged to fall at certain times of the solar year, had gradually revolved through the whole cycle of the seasons, so that winter festivals, for example, were celebrated successively in autumn, summer, and spring, until, with the lapse of 1460 solar years, they returned once more to their original place in the natural year. Now if we suppose that the Babylonians in like manner allowed an old moveable year of 365 days to revolve through all the natural seasons, even after they had stabilized the ordinary civil year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, we can see how the Sacaea, originally a spring festival, came in the time of Berosus to be celebrated in July, while Zagmuk, with which it was originally identical, had, by the stabilization of the

[1] See my discussion of the question, with the reference to the authorities, in *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 355 *sqq.*

ordinary calendar year, been nailed down, so to say, to the vernal equinox or thereabout. The hypothesis involves the assumption that, even after the Babylonians had established a nearly correct solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, they continued to employ for certain purposes an older and less correct year of 365 days. The possibility of this duplication of the calendar year is borne out by the practice of Mohammedan peoples at the present day, who, as I have already pointed out, continue to observe their old moveable lunar year side by side with the new stable solar year.[1]

If this hypothesis is correct (and I put it forward with all due reserve as purely conjectural), it will follow that the Sacaea was an intercalary festival, and that its characteristic features, to wit, the reign of a mock king and the inversion of ranks between masters and servants, flowed directly from the superstitions commonly attaching to such excrescences of the ordinary year.

The third case of the annual reign of a mock king to which I have referred occurs in Bastar, a native State in the Central Provinces of India. The occasion is the great autumnal festival of the Dasahra, which, we are told, "is doubtless the autumn Saturnalia and celebrates the return of fertility".[2] According to another account, "the Dasahra festival probably marks the autumnal equinox and also the time when the sowing of wheat and other spring crops begins. Many Hindus still postpone sowing the wheat until after Dasahra, even though it might be convenient to begin before, especially as the festival goes by the lunar month and its date varies in different years by more than a fortnight. The name signifies the tenth day, and prior to the festival a fast of nine days is observed, when the pots of wheat corresponding to the gardens of Adonis are sown and quickly sprout up. This is an imitation of the sowing and growth of the real crop and is meant to ensure its success. During these nine days it is said that the goddess Devi was engaged in mortal combat with the buffalo demon Mahisāsur or Bhainsāsur, and on the tenth day or the Dasahra she slew

[1] See above, p. 15.

[2] *Census of India*, 1911, vol. x. *Central Provinces and Berar*, Part I. *Report*, by J. T. Marten (Calcutta, 1912), p. 83.

him. The fast is explained as being observed in order to help her to victory, but it is really perhaps a fast in connection with the growing of the crops. A similar nine days' fast for the crops was observed by the Greeks. Devi signifies '*the* goddess' *par excellence*. She is often the tutelary goddess of the village and of the family, and is held to have been originally Mother Earth, which may be supposed to be correct. In tracts where the people of northern and southern India meet she is identified with Anna Pūrna, the corn-goddess of the Telugu country; and in her form of Gauri or 'the Yellow One' she is herself perhaps the yellow corn." [1]

"In the Bastar State this festival is elaborately observed and the Hindu rites are grafted in an ingenious manner on to the indigenous ceremonies connected with the primitive autumn Saturnalia, which celebrates, in the worship of the mother goddess, the revival of the generative principles of the earth. . . . In the ceremonies themselves we have the incarnation in a girl of the spirit of the Devi, the annual abdication of the Chief, his period of taboo, the substitution for him of a chosen victim who is given his title of privileges, formally enthroned and no doubt till comparatively lately finally sacrificed, and the restoration of the King in pomp after his vicarious sacrifice." [2]

In Bastar the ceremonies which comprise the abdication of the Rajah and the enthronement of a mock Rajah in his room are called the Nawaratri and last nine days. They begin on the afternoon of the fifteenth day of the dark part of the month Kunwar (October). The Rajah first goes in procession to the temple of Kachin Devi, where a girl, seated on a thorny swing and rocking to and fro on it, is supposed to be inspired by the goddess and in that state prophesies to the Rajah how the ensuing year will end. The girl appointed to be the mouthpiece of the goddess is chosen from the sub-caste to which the priest belongs, and she is first ceremonially married to the priest. She is usually about seven or eight years old, but is allowed to play her part in the

[1] R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (London, 1916), iv. 13.

[2] J. T. Marten, in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. x. Part I. pp. 83, 84.

ceremony every year until she arrives at puberty, and even after that, if she is chaste and continues to live peaceably with the priest. Armed with a stick and a shield she, in the character of the goddess, fights and vanquishes a man similarly equipped, who represents an evil spirit come to prevent the Dasahra from taking place and to bring evil on the people. On his return from the temple to his palace the Rajah formally resigns the government to his prime minister (*Dewan*) in order to devote himself wholly to religious duties during the rest of the Nawaratri days. All that time he may wear no clothes except a *dhoti* and a *pichhori*: his body is smeared with sandal-wood paste; and instead of a turban he wears a wreath of flowers on his head. He may not ride in any vehicle nor put on shoes, and he must sleep on the ground. He may neither salute nor receive salutations. In short, he remains in a state of taboo from the first day of the festival to the ninth, that is, during the whole duration of the Nawaratri ceremonies.

Meanwhile, by order of the Rajah, a responsible member of his family and a State official go to the Durbar Hall to consecrate and enthrone in his stead a devotee. The devotee chosen for this distinction used to be taken from a special class apparently connected with the Halba caste.[1] Nowadays a man from some Halba family is taken for the ceremony and performs it yearly till he dies. Formerly, to compensate him for the hardships he had to submit to during the rites, a village was granted to him rent free, but now he is remunerated in ornaments and cash. Once he is consecrated he must remain on the same spot for the nine days of the Nawaratri festival; when hunger overpowers him, he is given a small quantity of milk and plantains, but otherwise he is not

[1] The Halbas are a caste of cultivators and farm servants, whose home is the south of the Raipur District and the Kanker and Bastar States. They are connected with the Rajahs of Bastar, and a suggestion has been made that they originally belonged to the Telugu country and came with the Rajahs of Bastar from Warangal in the Deccan. In any case they seem to have served as the Rajah's guards for a long time. At the Dasahra festival a Halba carried the royal umbrella, and the Rajah walked under the protection of another Halba's naked sword. It is said that about 135 years ago the Halbas rebelled against the Rajah and many of the rebels were thrown down a high waterfall, only one of them escaping with his life. See R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (London, 1916), iii. 182-185.

regularly fed during the nine days. Originally, when he was released from his confinement on the ninth day, he was allowed to plunder the bazaar, and the State reimbursed the merchants for the loss of their goods. But at the present time this old custom is forbidden, and the mock Rajah is reduced to going about the bazaar and the villages soliciting alms. The ceremony of the consecration and enthronement of the devotee (*jogi*) is as follows. In the middle of the Durbar Hall a pit is dug six feet long from east to west, three feet broad, and about a foot deep. In this pit, on the western side, a raised platform of ashes is made, and on the middle of the platform the devotee, now the mock Rajah, sits covered with a new blanket or cloth. In front of him, on the eastern side of the pit, are set holy water and a sword, and wheat is sown on an altar The devotee is placed in a sitting posture, and a wooden plank is put across his thighs and pegged to the ground. Another plank is placed behind him, so that his head and back rest on it. Thus he is fastened down to the throne. He receives sufficient clothing to keep him warm during his irksome confinement. But neither when he is first confined, nor when he is released on the ninth day, nor in the interval may he and the real Rajah see each other, and he is carefully screened from the Rajah's sight. After the devotee has been enthroned in this strange fashion, various ceremonies are performed in the temple, and the real Rajah worships his arms. On the seventh day he worships the Bel tree, and a fruit is picked from its branches. On the ninth day nine unmarried girls are worshipped and fed ; clothes are given to them, and Brahmans are feasted. Between five and six in the evening the Rajah goes to the shrine of Mawali, where he performs the closing ceremony. The devotee is then released and brought screened to the shrine, where he adores the goddess (Devi) and is set at large. Next day the real Rajah formally resumes his duties as chief of the State and is enthroned by the Brahmans, amid the chanting of incantations, in the Durbar Hall, where the devotee had reigned in durance for the nine preceding days.[1]

[1] *Census of India*, 1911, vol. x. *The Central Provinces and Berar*, Part I. *Report*, by J. T. Marten, M.A., I.C.S. (Calcutta, 1912), pp. 83-86. Mr.

This is a typical case of an annual interregnum, including the abdication of the real king and the brief reign of a mock king, whose monarchy is of an extremely limited nature, since during the whole of his tenure of office he is fastened down to the throne and only receives sufficient nourishment to keep him in life. But here again there is nothing to indicate that the nine days of this interregnum are intercalary. The Dasahra, with which the interregnum in Bastar coincides, is a regular Hindoo festival celebrated all over India and is not timed to fall within an intercalary period,[1] though it may do so by accident. Thus "about a century ago a terrible outbreak of plague in Nepal was ascribed to the fact that the Raja celebrated the Dasahra festival during an intercalary month, which is very unlucky".[2] The incident furnishes fresh evidence of the unluckiness commonly ascribed to an intercalary period, but it conclusively proves that the Dasahra festival does not regularly, or even usually, fall within such a period. At the same time we must remember that the remarkable interregnum observed in Bastar at this season forms no part of the regular Dasahra festival, and it may well be, as Mr. Marten appears to think, an indigenous ceremony which has been artificially grafted on a Hindoo stock. In that case the nine days of the mock Rajah's reign might still have been an intercalary period among the aborigines before its true character was effaced by contact with Hindooism. The leave formerly granted to the mock Rajah to plunder the bazaar accords with the similar licence enjoyed by the like farcical rulers in Tibet, Siam, and Morocco,[3] and it may possibly have been a relic of still larger privileges and powers temporarily accorded to him in days gone by.

That concludes what I have to allege in confirmation

Marten's account of the rites observed in Bastar during the Dasahra festival is based on information received from Mr. May, the Dewan (Prime Minister) of the Bastar State; so the particulars may be relied on as authentic.

[1] In Bengal the Dasahra (Dasahāra) festival falls in the second month, *Jaishtha* (May-June) and includes especially bathing in the Ganges. See W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism* (London, 1887), pp. 219 *sq.*, 255 *sqq.*

[2] W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, prepared for the Press by R. E. Enthoven (Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 129 *sq.*

[3] *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, p. 149; Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, p. 220.

of the hypothesis, or rather the conjecture, that at Rome the king who fled from the Forum annually on February 24th may originally have been an Interrex or temporary king appointed to bear nominal sway during an intercalary period of eleven or twelve days while the ordinary government was in abeyance. But the conjecture is undoubtedly open to certain objections, which deserve to be considered. The first and most obvious objection to it is that under the Republic the king who officiated at the ceremony was not an Interrex or temporary king specially appointed for the purpose, but the Sacrificial King (*Rex Sacrorum*), who held office for life,[1] might not be slain,[2] and had other religious duties to perform. On the present hypothesis this difficulty can only be met by supposing that under the Republic the Sacrificial King discharged the religious duties which under the monarchy had been discharged by the Interrex or temporary king of the intercalary period as well as by the real king.

Another serious, if not insuperable, difficulty would be created for the present hypothesis if Mommsen was right in supposing that in the years in which the intercalary month comprised twenty-three days it was inserted, not after February 23rd (the Terminalia), but after February 24th (the Flight of the King),[3] for on this supposition the king in these years must have run away before he reigned, which is absurd. Mommsen's reason for holding that the intercalary month of 22 days was inserted after February 23rd and the intercalary month of 23 days after February 24th, is this. In one passage Livy says that in the year 167 B.C. the intercalary month was inserted the day after the Terminalia (February 23rd),[4] while in another passage he says that in the year 170 B.C. the intercalary month was inserted two days after the Terminalia.[5] At first sight this latter statement appears to

[1] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 63; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 74. 4, ἱερῶν ἀποδεικνύσθω τις ἀεὶ βασιλεύς, ὁ τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην ἕξων διὰ βίου κτλ.; compare *id.* v. 1. 4; Livy, ii. 2. 1 *sq.* The Sacrificial King had to be born of parents married by the solemn and ancient rite of *confarreatio*. See Gaius, *Instit.* i. 112.

[2] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 646.

[3] Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), pp. 20 *sqq.*

[4] Livy, xlv. 44. 3, "*Intercalatum eo anno; postridie Terminalia kalendae intercalares fuerunt*".

[5] Livy, xliii. 11. 13, "*Hoc anno intercalatum est; tertio die post Terminalia kalendae intercalariae fuere*".

prove that in 170 B.C. the intercalary month was inserted after February 24th (the date of the Flight of the King); and if it once followed the Flight of the King, we seem bound to suppose that it may often have done so. But the supposition appears to be contradicted by the evidence of Macrobius and Censorinus, our principal witnesses to the old intercalary month; for both these writers affirm that the intercalary month was inserted after the Terminalia (February 23), and Censorinus, our best authority, even expressly says that it was inserted between the Terminalia (February 23) and the Flight of the King (February 24), without mentioning any other date for the intercalation.[1] Hence, if we follow these good authorities, we seem forced to conclude that the intercalary month invariably preceded the Flight of the King. How then are we to reconcile this conclusion with the statement of Livy that in 170 B.C. the intercalary month was inserted two days after the Terminalia (February 23)? The only way of reconciling all our authorities on this point appears to be to assume, with some good chronologers, that in 170 B.C. the pontiffs availed themselves of their power to insert one intercalary day in the year for the purpose of preventing the Nones from coinciding with a market-day, and that in the year in question they inserted this intercalary day, as was very natural, immediately after the Terminalia (February 23) and before the intercalary month, which in that year accordingly, in agreement with the statement of

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 15, "*Verum una re a Graecis differebant. Nam illi confecto ultimo mense, Romani non confecto Februario sed post vicesimum et tertium diem eius intercalabant, Terminalibus scilicet iam peractis*"; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 6, "*Denique cum intercalarium mensem viginti duum vel viginti trium dierum alternis annis addi placuisset, ut civilis annus ad naturalem exaequaretur, in mense potissimum Februario inter terminalia et regifugium intercalatum est.*" Macrobius also seems to have dated the intercalary month between the Terminalia and the Flight of the King in a passage which, as some good chronologers have perceived, should probably be read as follows: "*Unde dies ille, quo abundare annum diximus, eorum est permissus arbitrario qui fastis praeerant, uti, cum vellent, intercalaretur, dummodo eum in medio Terminaliorum (et Regifugii) vel mensis intercalaris ita locarent, ut a suspecto die celebritatem averteret nundinarum*" (Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 19). This emendation of the text has been approved by Dodwell, August Mommsen, Hultsche, and Hartmann. See Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), p. 24 note [26]; Ph. E. Hultsche, *Das alte römische Jahr und seine Tage* (Breslau, 1869), p. 52; O. E. Hartmann, *Der römische Kalender*, p. 102; F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 245 note [1].

Livy, began two days after the Terminalia instead of, as usual, on the day immediately following it.[1] Hence we may conclude with a fair degree of probability that in the old Roman calendar the Flight of the King always followed immediately after the intercalary month in the years in which intercalation took place. Thus at least one stumbling-block is removed from the path of the hypothesis that the king in question was originally a more or less nominal and farcical monarch who held office only for the intercalary month or days.

I. 47. **That day is unlawful on which the three words may not be spoken.**—The three words were *do dico addico*: these the praetor made use of in the administration of justice.[2] "*Dabat actionem et iudices*, he gave leave to bring the suit into court, fixed the form under which it was to be tried, and appointed a jury; *dicebat ius*, he laid down the law; *addicebat bona*, he adjudged the property in question to the legal owner."[3] If the praetor accidentally uttered any of these words on an unlawful day, he had to purge himself of his sin by an expiatory sacrifice; but if this offence was wilful, it was, in the opinion of the jurist Quintus Mucius Scaevola, inexpiable.[4] The distinction between lawful and unlawful days was said to have been instituted by Numa,[5] but doubtless it was much older. The rule that certain words might not be pronounced on certain days may have formed part of a whole system of taboo dating from an immemorial past. Certainly taboos laid on words at certain times are world-wide and are not limited to savage and barbarous peoples.[6] In the calendars the lawful (*fasti*)

[1] This solution of the difficulty was accepted by Dodwell, Ideler, Huschke, Hartmann, and Soltau. See L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 61-64; Ph. E. Hultsche, *Das alte römische Jahr und seine Tage* (Breslau, 1869), pp. 52 *sq.*; O. E. Hartmann, *Der römische Kalender*, pp. 103 *sq.*; W. Soltau, *Römische Chronologie* (Freiburg i. Bad., 1889), p. 41.

[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 29-30; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 14.

[3] W. Ramsay, in his note on this passage (*Ovid, Selections for the Use of Schools*, Oxford, 1868, p. 156).

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 30. However, the text is uncertain. According to one reading (*ambigebat*), Scaevola had some doubts on the subject.

[5] Livy, i. 19. 7.

[6] For examples see *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 318 *sqq.*

days were marked by the letter F, and the unlawful (*nefasti*) days by the letter N.

I. 50. **A lawful day may have been unlawful in the morning.** — From the explanation which Ovid gives in the next two lines he seems to have had in mind the *dies intercisi*, or "days cut in the middle", which Varro explains to have been days which were unlawful in the morning and evening, but lawful in the middle of the day between the time when the sacrificial victim was slaughtered and the time when the inwards were offered.[1] In the calendars these days were marked by the letters EN, an abbreviation for *endotercisi*, an old form for *intercisi*.[2] Their institution was attributed to Numa.[3] Ovid seems to have made the mistake of supposing that these days were unlawful until the inwards were offered, but lawful from that time onward. As the interval between the slaughter of the victim and the offering of its inwards was probably not long, the expression "between the slaughter and the offering" (*inter caesa et porrecta*) appears to have become proverbial for a short interval, something like our "between cup and lip".[4] Of these days called *intercisi*, so curiously divided, there were only eight in the year, namely January 10 and 14, February 16 and 26, March 13, August 22, October 14, and December 12 Thus all of them, with the single exception of March 13, were even days of the month, which seems to exclude the supposition that they were festivals, for Roman festivals, with very few exceptions, fell on odd days of the month, which were deemed luckier. But all the days called *intercisi* were eves of festivals; hence Huschke suggested that the sacrifices offered on them were of an expiatory or purificatory character, being designed to cleanse the worshippers for the ceremonies of the holy day that followed, and that the deity to whom the sacrifice was offered was the divinity

[1] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 31, "*Intercisi dies sunt per quos mane et vesperi est nefas, medio tempore inter hostiam caesam et exta porrecta fas.*" Compare Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 3, "*Intercisi in se non in alia dividuntur: illorum enim dierum quibusdam horis fas est, quibusdam fas non est ius dicere. Nam, cum hostia caeditur, fari nefas est: inter caesa et porrecta fari licet: rursus, cum adoletur, non licet.*"

[2] Note in the Praenestine calendar under January 10th (*C.I.L.* i.² p. 231).

[3] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 2.

[4] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, v. 18. 1.

in whose honour the festival next day was celebrated.[1] He further supposed, with some plausibility, that the victims slaughtered on these days were the "preliminary victims" (*praecidaneae hostiae*) which, as we read in Aulus Gellius, were slaughtered the day before solemn sacrifices,[2] and that the days themselves were included among the "preliminary holidays" (*feriae praecidaneae*) which Ateius Capito discussed in the fifth book of his treatise on pontifical law.[3] Yet this theory hardly accounts for the rule which restricted the lawful time of the day to the interval between the slaughter of the sacrificial victim and the offering of its inwards. The only other recorded instance of this interval in Roman ritual appears to be at the festival of the vintage, when the Flamen Dialis inaugurated the grape-gathering by offering a lamb to Jupiter and plucking the first ripe clusters in the interval between the slaughter of the victim and the offering of its inwards.[4] Thus the moment would seem to have been regarded as propitious for actions, whether sacred or profane; in this sense, apparently, Cicero employs the proverb in a letter to Atticus.[5]

I. 53. **There are days, too, on which the people may lawfully be penned in the polling booths.**—These days were called *comitiales*, because the people then assembled in the *comitium* (a part of the Forum) to vote.[6] The name *comitium* was derived from *coire*, "to meet", because the people there met (*coibant*) in public assembly.[7] But under the Republic the popular assemblies (*comitia*) commonly took place in the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*), which offered more room for such large gatherings.[8] The polling-booths (*septa*), into which the people passed to give their

[1] Ph. E. Huschke, *Das alte römische Jahr und seine Tage* (Breslau, 1869), pp. 196 *sqq.*

[2] Aulus Gellius, iv. 6. 7, "*Eadem autem ratione verbi 'praecidaneae' quoque hostiae dicuntur, quae ante sacrificia sollemnia pridie caeduntur.*"

[3] Aulus Gellius, iv. 6. 9-10. As to the *dies intercisi* see also G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2] (Munich, 1912, pp. 438 *sq.*), who explains them in the same way as Hultsche, but without referring to him.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 16.

[5] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, v. 18. 1.

[6] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 29; Festus, *s.v.* "Comitiales", p. 34 ed. Lindsay; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 14.

[7] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 155.

[8] W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*[7], p. 46.

votes, were originally wooden enclosures, like sheepfolds, in the Field of Mars,[1] but under Augustus these rude structures were replaced by a magnificent edifice adorned with marble panels and paintings and surrounded by colonnades. This fine building was dedicated by Agrippa in 26 B.C.[2] Its magnificence was perhaps intended to compensate the Roman people for the liberty they had lost.

I. 54. **There are also days that come round ever in a cycle of nine.**—These were the market-days, called *nundinae*, from *novem dies*, because according to Roman reckoning they recurred every *ninth* day, though according to our reckoning they recurred every *eighth* day. On these market-days the country folk came into Rome to buy and sell; on the intervening seven days they laboured on their farms.[3] Thus the eight days constituted a week, of which the last was the market-day. In the ancient calendars the eight days are regularly indicated by the eight letters ABCDEFGH.[4] The institution of the eight days' week was doubtless very ancient. Some Roman antiquaries assigned it to Romulus, others to Servius Tullius, others to the expulsion of the kings,[5] but it may well have been prehistoric. The view of Mommsen that the Roman week of eight days was a comparatively late institution borrowed from the East,[6] is highly improbable and has been generally rejected.[7] Apart from the

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* i. 34; Juvenal, vi. 529.

[2] Dio Cassius, liii. 23. 1-2.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Nundinas", pp. 176, 177 ed. Lindsay; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 13; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 30-34; Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. praef.; Columella, *De re rustica*, i. praef. 18; Virgil, *Moretum*, 80 *sq.*; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vii. 58. 3; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 42.

[4] See, for example, the Maffeian calendar (*C.I.L.* i.² pp. 223-226) and the Praenestine calendar (*C.I.L.* i.² pp. 231-238). As to the *nundinae* see in particular Ph. E. Hultsche, *Das alte römische Jahr und seine Tage*, pp. 288 *sqq.*

[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 32 *sq.* Dio Cassius (xlviii. 33. 4) also testifies to the great antiquity of the institution.

[6] Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), pp. 238-241. I have not had access to the second edition of this treatise, but from Hultsche (*Das alte römische Jahr und seine Tage*, p. 288 note[188]) I learn that in it Mommsen maintained his view of the late importation of the eight-day week in Rome.

[7] Ph. E. Hultschke, *Das alte römische Jahr und seine Tage*, pp. 288 *sqq.*; W. Soltau, *Römische Chronologie* (Freiburg i. B., 1889), pp. 37-39; H. Peter, in his fourth edition of Ovid's *Fasti*, p. 28 note²; J. S. Reid, in *Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by Sir J. E. Sandys, Third Edition (Cambridge, 1921), p. 99.

direct testimony of well-informed ancient writers to the antiquity of the Roman week of eight days, there are indirect pieces of evidence which point strongly in the same direction. The market-days were sacred to Jupiter, and on every one of them the Flaminica (the wife of the Flamen Dialis) sacrificed a ram to Jupiter in the king's house (*Regia*).[1] Is it likely that this priestess, wife of a priest who was himself a living monument of an immemorial past,[2] would have deigned to officiate regularly on a newfangled holiday imported from the despised East? The thing is incredible. Again, with their usual propensity to discover or create a deity for everything, the Romans personified what they called the ninth day (*nundina*), but what we should call the eighth, and dubbed her the goddess Nundina; however, she seems to have embodied, not the eighth day of the week, but the eighth day from the birth of a male child, who on that day was purified and received his name. Oddly enough female children were purified and received their names, not on the eighth, but on the seventh (what the Romans called the eighth) day after birth.[3] This deification of the ninth (eighth) day speaks clearly in favour of the great antiquity of the eight-day period among the Romans. Further, the Etruscans seem also to have had an eight-day week; for we are told that they saluted their king and consulted him on their affairs every ninth (or, as we should say, every eighth) day, and that they had several such ninth days (*Nonae*) or, as we should say, eighth days in the month.[4] But if the Etruscans had an eight-day week, the probability is increased that the Romans had it also,

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 30.

[2] The taboos by which the life of the Flamen Dialis and his wife the Flaminica was hedged in (Aulus Gellius, x. 15) bear on their face the imprint of a dateless antiquity. For a discussion of some of these taboos see *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 13 *sq.*, 239, 248, 257, 275, 291, 293, 315 *sq.*

[3] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 36 (who alone mentions the Goddess Nundina); Festus, *s.v.* "Lustrici", pp. 107 *sq.* ed. Lindsay. For the day of purification and naming (*dies lustricus*) after birth compare Suetonius, *Nero*, 6. 2. It corresponded to the Christian day of baptism. Compare Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iii. 4.

[4] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 13. As to the Etruscan week of eight days see K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, neu bearbeitet von W. Deecke (Stuttgart, 1877), ii. 302 *sqq.*; P. Ducati, *Etruria Antica* (Turin, etc., N.D.), i. 125 *sq.* (who thinks that the Romans borrowed the week from the Etruscans).

whether they borrowed it from their neighbours or evolved it independently.

We have seen that some of the negro tribes of Southern Nigeria observe weeks of four or eight days, which appear to be determined by the markets held every fourth or eighth day.[1] Among the Ibo of Southern Nigeria "markets are held in every town and village. They are named after the days on which they are held, according to the four days of the Ibo week, viz. Ekke, Afaw, Oye (Olie) and Nkwaw. Occasionally for Ekke and Nkwaw, instead of every fourth day, the market is held every eighth day, and they are then designated as Ekke Uku and Nkwaw Uku. In very rare instances, as at Upulu, the great market is held every sixteenth day."[2] So among the Bakongo of the Lower Congo there are markets held periodically on one of the four days of the Bakongo week. Most of the markets bear the names of the days on which they are held. Usually the name of the village, where the market is held, is added to the name of the day. Some of these markets formerly had almost attained the importance of fairs on account of the number of people who flocked to them.[3] Among the natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast "the greatest centre of social life is at the markets. They were usually on every sixth day, with an intermediate third-day market known as the women's market. Practically every community had one. They were protected by powerful Earth-gods or other spirits, who prevented them from becoming the scenes of vendetta tragedies or from degenerating into pitched battles."[4]

From these examples we may perhaps infer that market-days are often chosen simply from motives of practical convenience, and that in turn they give rise to what we may call weeks, whether of four, six, eight, or sixteen days, which have no reference either to lunar or to solar time. And the Roman week of eight days may have similarly originated from the markets held every eighth day: we need not

[1] Above, note on *Fasti*, i. 28 (Vol. II. pp. 17 *sqq.*).

[2] G. T. Basden, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria* (London, 1921), p. 195.

[3] R. P. van Wing, S.J., *Études Bakongo* (Bruxelles, N.D.), p. 183.

[4] A. W. Cardinal, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast* (London, N.D.), p. 96.

stretch or curtail it on a Procrustean bed in order to accommodate it to the length of the lunar or solar month.

The Romans had a curious superstition that it was unlucky if a market-day coincided with the Nones (the 5th or 7th) of any month or with the first day of the year. In explanation of the unluckiness of the coincidence with the Nones it was said that after the expulsion of the kings the people used to collect in crowds on the Nones of every month to do honour to the memory of the popular King Servius Tullius, because the Nones was his birthday; but not knowing in which month their favourite had been born they celebrated his birthday on the Nones of every month in order to make sure of observing it on the right day at least once a year. Accordingly the officials who had charge of the calendar feared that if the Nones were to fall on a market-day, when the farmers poured in from the country, the assembled multitude, carried away by their sorrow for their good and murdered king, might rise in insurrection and attempt to restore the fallen monarchy. To avoid that catastrophe the officials took steps to prevent the Nones from ever falling on a market-day. This they did by granting or assuming the right to intercalate one day every year whenever by so doing they could obviate the dreaded clash of the Nones with a market-day. As for the unluckiness of a New Year's Day which happened to be also a market-day, it was a matter of common observation that years which began with a market-day were years of mourning and disaster, for example the year (78 B.C.) in which Lepidus made his attempt at revolution.[1] Again, no good came of the year 52 B.C. because, to the general consternation, New Year's Day fell on a market-day;[2] and in the year 41 B.C. an extra day was actually intercalated for the purpose of preventing the ominous coincidence. However, the day had to be afterwards subtracted in deference to the new Julian calendar.[3]

I. 55. **The worship of Juno claims Ausonia's Calends.**— Ausonia was a poetical name for Italy. It was said to be derived from Auson, a son of Ulysses and Calypso, who first settled the part of Italy in which the cities of Beneventum

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 16-19, compare i. 16. 33.
[2] Dio Cassius, xl. 47.
[3] Dio Cassius, xlviii. 33. 4.

(in Samnium) and Cales (in Campania) afterwards stood. Later it was extended to embrace the whole of Italy up to the Apennines.[1] The name was in reality derived from the Ausones, a people who formerly occupied Campania and the southern part of Latium. They gave their name to the Ausonian Sea, the part of the Mediterranean which washes their coast.[2]

The Romans divided every month into three parts by the Nones and the Ides: the Nones fell on the seventh or on the fifth, and the Ides on the fifteenth or thirteenth day of the month, according as the month was "full" or "hollow", that is, according as it contained thirty-one days or less.[3] The first day of every month was called the Calends (*Kalendae*), because on that day a minor pontiff *called* (*calabat*) the people to the Curia Calabra on the Capitol and there proclaimed whether the Nones would fall on the fifth or the seventh of the month. This he did because down to the publication of the calendar by Cn. Flavius in 312 B.C. the people had been kept in ignorance of the mode of calculating the months, and hence had to be officially informed of the commencement of each month in order that they might know on what day to discharge their civil and religious duties. A knowledge of the Nones was particularly important for country people, because on that day they flocked into the city to learn from the Sacrificial King when the festivals fell and what they were to do in the month. Before making the proclamation the minor pontiff had observed the first appearance of the moon and announced it to the Sacrificial King, and together the two had offered a sacrifice. And while they sacrificed on the Capitol, the wife of the Sacrificial King, who bore the title of Queen of the Sacred Rites, sacrificed a sow or a ewe lamb to Juno in the King's house (*Regia*).[4] This ancient custom seems clearly to prove

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Ausoniam", p. 16 ed. Lindsay.

[2] Strabo, v. 3. 6, pp. 232 *sq.*, v. 4. 3, p. 242.

[3] For the distinction between "full" and "hollow" months see Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 3.

[4] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 9-12, and 19. Compare Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 27; the Praenestine calendar, under January 1 (*C.I.L.* i.² p. 231); Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 654; Festus, *s.v.* "Curia", p. 42 ed. Lindsay; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 24; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iii. 10, pp. 44 *sq.* ed. Wuensch.

that the old Roman months were lunar, each month being reckoned from the first appearance of the new moon. The inference is confirmed by the mode in which the pontiff made the proclamation. He did so by crying out the words, "I call (*kalo*) Juno Covella". If the Nones fell on the fifth of the month, he repeated the cry five times; if the Nones fell on the seventh of the month, he repeated the cry seven times.[1] In this cry Juno appears to be identified with the moon. The meaning of the epithet "Covella" applied to her has puzzled the learned. They generally connect it with the Latin *cavus* and the Greek *koilos*, both signifying "hollow", with reference to the appearance of the crescent moon; and in support of this derivation they quote from Pliny[2] the expression "*luna cava*", "the hollow moon".[3] But perhaps with Ideler and K. O. Müller we should accept Scaliger's simple correction of *Novella* for *Covella*,[4] though modern editors adhere to *Covella* on the conservative principle which prefers the good old *mumpsimus* to the newfangled *sumpsimus*. If this correction be accepted, the identification of Juno with the moon in this connexion would be certain; for the "New (*Novella*) Juno", thus solemnly hailed at the first appearance of the new moon, could be no other than the lunar crescent itself. The inference did not escape Macrobius, who has recorded most fully these curious Roman observances at new moon. He says: "Since our ancestors observed the beginnings of the months from the rising of the moon, they rightly dedicated the Calends to Juno, thinking the moon and Juno one and the same".[5] He tells us that the dedication of the Calends to Juno had the sanction of the pontiffs and the authority of Varro; further, that the people of Laurentum

[1] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 27. [2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 215.

[3] Compare W. H. Roscher, *s.v.* "Juno", *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 586; *id.*, *Juno und Hera* (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 22 *sq.*; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3] (Berlin, 1881), i. 272; Ph. E. Hultsche, *Das alte römische Jahr und seine Tage* (Breslau, 1869), pp. 30 *sq.*; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 8 note [1]; Haug, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, x. 1. coll. 1116-1117.

[4] L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 40; K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, neu bearbeitet von W. Deecke (Stuttgart, 1877), ii. 305. But in his edition of Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 27, K. O. Müller retained the old reading *Covella*.

[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 20.

similarly dedicated the Calends to Juno and called the goddess Calendar (*Kalendaris*) Juno on account of the ceremonies observed in her honour on the first of every month.[1] The identification of Juno with the moon was also accepted by Joannes Lydus [2] and is perhaps confirmed by a passage of Varro in which, speaking of farming operations to be done at the waxing or waning of the moon, he quotes as a familiar rustic phrase "Jana the moon waxing and waning", where Jana may be a dialect form of Juno, which was common in the mouths of boors.[3] But more probably Jana is a rustic pronunciation of Diana, who was often identified with the moon.[4]

With regard to the etymology of the name Calends, while the ancients agreed that the word was derived from *calare*, "to call", equivalent to the Greek *kalein*, they appear to have hesitated as to whether the call which gave its name to the Calends was the calling of the people by the pontiff to the Capitol or his calling out of the Nones in their hearing. Varro adopted the latter explanation; [5] King Juba, Macrobius, Servius, and Joannes Lydus accepted the former and perhaps less probable explanation.[6]

The parts played under the Republic by the Sacrificial King and his wife at new moon were probably played by the real king and queen under the monarchy. We may suppose that the pontiff who observed the new moon announced it first of all to the king himself before he summoned the people to the Capitol. Hence we may compare the ceremonies formerly observed at new moon among the Bakitara or Banyoro of the Uganda Protectorate. "When the new moon was due, a watch was kept for it from the top of a mound in front of the gate of the royal enclosure. Here a priest stood with a drummer, and round them were the royal bandsmen with drums, flutes,

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 18. By Laurentum the writer doubtless meant Lavinium. As to the confusion of the names see note on *Fasti*, ii. 679 (Vol. II. pp. 493 *sq.*).

[2] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iii. 10, p. 47 ed. Wuensch.

[3] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, i. 37. 3, "*Tremelius, Numquam rure audisti, inquit, octavo Ianam lunam et crescentem et contra senescentem*".

[4] See note on *Fasti*, i. 89 (Vol. II. p. 93).

[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 27; *id.*, *De vita Populi Romani*, lib. i., quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Calendarum", p. 35 ed. Lindsay.

[6] Juba, cited by Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 24; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 10-11; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 654; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iii. 10, p. 45 ed. Wuensch.

and other wind instruments. Hundreds of people assembled round the mound. When the moon appeared, *Bamuroga*, the principal chief and head of the Sacred Guild, went to the king and said, 'You have outlived the moon and your people are a fighting people and rejoice with you. May you conquer.' The king went to the door of the throne-room, where he pronounced a blessing on the country, after which he sent word to the priest that the band should strike up and the festivities begin. For seven days the bands played, and dancing and rejoicing went on in the royal enclosure. . . When the appearance of the new moon had been proclaimed, a man was caught and taken away secretly. His throat was cut and the blood brought to smear the royal fetishes. These were brought out into the enclosure and shown to the king in front of the throne-room where the sacred cows were milked. During the night on which the new moon appeared, the king might drink no milk, but only millet-beer, to bring prosperity to the land."[1] This account suggests that with a new moon the king of the Bakitara was supposed to renew his life, and the smearing of the royal fetishes with the blood of a human victim may have been intended to strengthen him for the month which had just begun. In strengthening him the sacrifice was probably thought to benefit the people; for many peoples, particularly in Africa, believe that on the health and strength of the king depends the prosperity of the whole country. The Bakitara seem to share this belief, for, as we have just seen, on the night of the new moon the king drinks millet-beer "to bring prosperity to the land".

Among the Banyankole, a pastoral people of the Uganda Protectorate, the month was reckoned from the appearance of one new moon to the appearance of the next; and when the new moon appeared one of the royal drums was always sounded to warn the people.[2]

I. 56. **on the Ides a bigger white ewe-lamb falls to Jupiter.**— The Ides, which fell on the thirteenth or the fifteenth of the month, according as the month contained thirty or thirty-one days, was conventionally supposed to coincide with

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 107 *sq.*
[2] J. Roscoe, *The Banyankole* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 79.

the full moon,[1] which no doubt it did so long as the months were purely lunar, though it ceased to do so, except accidentally, when the months were harmonized more or less exactly with the solar year by intercalation. All the Ides were sacred to Jupiter [2] because, according to Macrobius, at full moon the splendour of the silver orb then illumines the night as the sun the day, of which Jupiter was supposed to be the father,[3] though the notion rested merely on a misinterpretation of his Roman title Diespiter. For that title was commonly assumed to mean *Dies* (or *diei*) *pater*, "father of day",[4] whereas in fact it is only an old nominative form of Jupiter.[5] The sacrifice of a white ewe lamb, which Ovid here mentions, was offered on all the Ides by the Flamen Dialis,[6] who was the special priest and almost the incarnation of Jupiter.[7] The lamb offered on that day was called *ovis Idulis*, "the sheep of the Ides"; [8] but later on Ovid seems to imply that the victim was a gelded ram.[9] The Etruscans appear also to have sacrificed a lamb on the Ides and to have applied to it the same epithet derived from the day.[10]

With regard to the name Ides (*Idus*), Varro thought that it was borrowed from the Etruscan *Itus* or rather the Sabine *Idus*.[11] Macrobius gave the Etruscan form of the name as *Itis*, and preferred to derive *Idus* from an Etruscan word *iduare*, "to divide", so that the name would signify the division of the month.[12] The derivation is plausible and was accepted by K. O. Müller, who compared the Greek expression *dichomenia*, "division of the month", with reference to the full moon.[13] The objection to it is that in assuming an Etruscan verb *iduare* akin to the Latin *dividere*, "to

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 15; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 24; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iii. 10, p. 47 ed. Wuensch.

[2] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 14-15, and 18; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iii. 10, p. 47 ed. Wuensch.

[3] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 14-15.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 66; Aulus Gellius, v. 12. 5; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ix. 570.

[5] A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. (Cambridge, 1925) p. 341 note.

[6] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 16.

[7] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 111; *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 191 *sq.*

[8] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 16; Festus, *s.v.* "Idulis ovis", p. 93 ed. Lindsay.

[9] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 587 *sq.*

[10] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 16.

[11] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 28.

[12] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 14 and 17.

[13] K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, neu bearbeitet von W. Deecke, ii. 301 *sq.*

divide", it apparently assumes that Latin and Etruscan belonged to the same family of speech, whereas the evidence on the whole points to Etruscan being an Asiatic language altogether distinct from Latin. Writing in the time of Augustus, the well-informed Dionysius of Halicarnassus expressly affirmed that the Etruscans resembled no other people in language and customs;[1] and though he preferred to regard them as an indigenous Italian people,[2] a decided preponderance of opinion in antiquity favoured the view that they were of Asiatic and more particularly of Lydian origin, and that they came to Italy by sea.[3] In modern times the origin and affinity of the Etruscans have been much discussed. Niebuhr, Mommsen, and Helbig were of opinion that the Etruscans migrated into Etruria southward from their old home among the Raetian Alps, the modern Tyrol and Engadine (Grisons).[4] But the grounds on which this opinion rests are slight and unconvincing. They consist in little more than the resemblance, probably accidental, between Raetia and Rasenna or Ras (the name by which the Etruscans called themselves),[5] eked out by three brief statements of Livy, Justin, and Pliny as to people of Etruscan blood and language in the Raetian Alps.[6] But it was the

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 30. 2.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 26-30.

[3] Herodotus, i. 94; Strabo, v. 2. 2, p. 219; Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 55; Timaeus, cited by Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 5; Festus, *s.vv.* "Turannos" and "Turanni", pp. 484, 485 ed. Lindsay; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 2; Velleius Paterculus, i. 1. 4; Justin, xx. 1. 7; Valerius Maximus, ii. 4. 4; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 67.

[4] B. G. Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, i.[3] (London, 1837) pp. 109 *sqq.*; Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome* (London, 1868), i. 135 *sqq.*; W. Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 99 *sqq.*

[5] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 30. 3, αὐτοὶ μέντοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τινὸς Ῥασέννα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ τρόπον ὀνομάζουσι. For Ῥασέννα Lipsius conjectured Ταρασένα (*Tarasena*) or Ταρσένα (*Tarsena*), which would go far to reconcile the native form both with the Greek (*Tyrrheni*) and the Latin (*Etrusci*) form of the name. But in support of *Rasenna* the forms *rasnas*, *rasneas*, *rasnal*, *ras'nes'* and *ras'necei* have been quoted from Etruscan inscriptions. See K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, neu bearbeitet von W. Deecke, i. 65 note [1].

[6] Livy, v. 33. 11, "*Alpinis quoque ea* (*scil. Etrusca*) *gentibus haud dubie origo est, maxime Raetis, quos loca ipsa efferarunt, ne quid ex antiquo praeter sonum linguae, nec eum incorruptum, retinerent*"; Justin, xx. 5. 9, "*Tusci quoque duce Raeto avitis sedibus amissis Alpes occupavere et ex nomine ducis gentes Raetorum condiderunt*"; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 133, "*Raetos Tuscorum prolem arbitrantur a Gallis pulsos duce Raeto*".

opinion of Livy, our principal authority, that the movement of the Etruscan migration and conquest was northwards, and not in the opposite direction; according to him, the Etruscan settlements beyond the Apennines and the Po as far as the Alps were colonies sent out from Etruria, the homeland of the nation.[1] The language of the Etruscans, in spite of thousands of inscriptions in which it is recorded, still remains unread and unrelated to any known language; all that seems fairly certain is that, contrary to the opinion of Mommsen and Schwegler,[2] the Etruscan is not an Indo-European language, and that so far as its affinities can be traced they appear to be with the ancient languages of Asia Minor, and especially of Lydia, thus entirely confirming the all but unanimous voice of antiquity on the subject. From inscriptions found at Sardes enough is now known to prove that the Lydian language was not Indo-European; and if, as philologists think, certain resemblances can be discerned between Etruscan and Lydian, this furnishes a fresh argument for excluding Etruscan from the Indo-European family of speech.[3]

In this connexion sufficient attention seems not to have been paid to the names of the priests who served Zeus at the Corycian cave in Cilicia. In a long list of them recorded in an inscription there occur the names of Tarkuaris, Tarkumbios, Tarkimos, Trokoarbasis, and Trokombigremis,[4] and in another inscription Tarkuaris recurs as the name of the father of Teucer, prince of Olba in Western Cilicia.[5]

[1] Livy, v. 33. 7-9, "*Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium late terra marique opes patuere . . . in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus duodenis terras, prius cis Appenninum ad inferum mare, postea trans Appenninum totidem, quot capita originis erant, coloniis missis, quae trans Padum omnia loca excepto Venetorum angulo, qui sinum circumcolunt maris, usque ad Alpes tenuere*".

[2] Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome* (London, 1868), i. 135; A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, i. (Tübingen, 1853) pp. 170-173.

[3] R. S. Conway, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv. (Cambridge, 1926) pp. 403-411. Compare P. Giles in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ii. (Cambridge, 1924) pp. 11 *sq.*; P. Ducati, *Etruria Antica*, i. 36 *sqq.*; D. Randall-Maciver, *The Etruscans* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 7 *sqq.* All these writers accept the view of the Asiatic origin of the Etruscans.

[4] Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques* (Bruxelles, 1900), pp. 718 *sqq.*, No. 878.

[5] E. L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xii. (1891) pp. 226, 263; R. Heberdey und A. Wilhelm, "Reisen in Kilikien," *Denkschriften der kaiser. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xliv.

Again, Tarkondimotos was the name of two kings of Eastern Cilicia in the first century B.C. One of them corresponded with Cicero and fell at the battle of Actium.[1] The name of Tarsus, the Cilician capital, may possibly contain the same root TARK, which reappears also in the name of a great Hittite god Tark, Tarkh, Tarkhun, or Tarku.[2] Can it be that the key to the Etruscan mystery is furnished by the Hittites? In any case it is natural to compare the names of these Cilician kings and priestly princes (for they seem to have combined the priesthood of Zeus with the princedom of Olba) with the name of the Tarquins, the Etruscan princes who reigned for a time in Rome, after migrating to it from the Etruscan city of Tarquinii, which took its name from its founder Tarkon; indeed, Tarkon is said to have founded the whole twelve Etruscan cities at the bidding of Tyrrhenus, who had led the Etruscan colony from Lydia to Italy.[3] Now if the Etruscans were originally a seafaring and piratical folk of the Levant, whose ships scoured the Mediterranean as far as Egypt on the one side and Italy on the other, and who had forts on many capes and islands from which they could look out for prey,[4] it seems not unreasonable to suppose

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(Vienna, 1896) No. 16, pp. 53, 88. As to these priests and princes see *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 143 *sqq.*

[1] Cicero, *Epist. ad Familiares*, xv. 1. 2; Strabo, xiv. 5. 18, p. 676; Dio Cassius, xli. 63. 1, xlvii. 26. 2, l. 14. 2, li. 2. 2, li. 7. 4, liv. 9. 2; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 61; B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1887), p. 618; W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (Leipzig, 1903-1905), ii. pp. 494 *sq.*, Nos. 752, 753.

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. p. 147; *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ii. 271, 331 *sq.*, iii. 155.

[3] Strabo, v. 2. 2, p. 219; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ταρκυνία. The Etruscan form of the name Tarquinii is said to be Tarchna. See R. S. Conway, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv. 387 note [1]. The site of the ancient city is still called Turchina. See G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*[3] (London, 1883), i. 424.

[4] For this view of the early Etruscans see K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, neu bearbeitet von W. Deecke, i. 77 *sqq.*; P. Ducati, *Etruria Antica*, i. 38 *sqq.*; R. S. Conway, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv. 388. Thucydides speaks of Tyrrhenian settlements in Lemnos and Athens (Thucydides, iv. 109. 4), and so far as Lemnos is concerned his statement is confirmed by the discovery there of an inscription of which the language is thought to be either Etruscan or akin to it. See R. S. Conway, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv. 409; P. Ducati, *Etruria Antica*, i. 39 *sqq.* The earliest mention of the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans) is as pirates in the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus* (6 *sqq.*). On the question of the origin and affinities of the Etruscans see further K. O. Müller, *op. cit.* i. 65 *sqq.*; G. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*[3], i. pp. xxxiii *sqq.*;

that they had settlements in Cilicia, the coast of which, as the Romans learned to their cost in later days, offered many facilities to piratical enterprises in the timber of its forests and the snug harbours of its creeks and rivers where the ships of the corsairs could shelter and refit.[1] In many respects the Etruscans of antiquity seem to have resembled the Norsemen of the Middle Ages, from whom perhaps in their degree of culture they did not greatly differ; and their settlements in Etruria and on the Adriatic may be compared to the settlements of the Danes in England and of the Normans in Normandy. Be that as it may, "It is remarkable", says H. R. Hall, "how tradition, archaeological evidence, and Egyptian historical data thus agree in confirming this origin of Etruscan civilization in Asia Minor and the probable racial kinship of the Etruscans to the Hittites".[2] Whether we accept the opinion of the relationship of the Etruscans to the Hittites or not, we may safely agree with Professor R. S. Conway that "for the student of Etruscan origins all roads lead to Asia Minor".[3] The theory of the Alpine origin of the Etruscans is completely exploded.[4]

I. 57. **The Nones lack a guardian god.** — The Nones always fell, according to our reckoning, on the eighth, but

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F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orientes*[2], pp. 63 *sqq.* (in Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. iii.); *id.*, Zweite Hälfte (Munich, 1926), pp. 1001-1004 (supplementary bibliography); R. S. Conway, *op. cit.* iv. 383 *sqq.*; P. Ducati, *op. cit.* i. 26 *sqq.*

[1] As to Cilicia and the pirates see *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 148 *sqq.*

[2] H. R. Hall, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ii. (Cambridge, 1924) p. 28.

[3] R. S. Conway, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv. (Cambridge, 1926) p. 410. However, it is reported that recently there seems to be "a marked revulsion among Italian scholars from the theory of an oriental invasion which appeared to hold the field a few years ago". See R. A. L. Fell, in *Journal of Roman Studies*, xvii. (1927) p. 116.

[4] The confidence with which W. Helbig expressed himself in favour of this now exploded theory should serve as a warning against similar dogmatism on historical questions where the evidence is still incomplete: "*Anderer Seits ist es, abgesehen von vereinzelten Gelehrten, die der Methode und den Resultaten der modernen Forschung ferner stehen, allseitig anerkannt, dass die Etrusker aus dem Norden in die Apenninhalbinsel einwanderten*" (W. Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene*, p. 100). Mommsen similarly spoke contemptuously of the supposed Asiatic origin of the Etruscans and of those who worried about it. As the Etruscans were certainly not Romans, the Roman historian seems to have thought that it did not much matter where they came from. See his *History of Rome* (London, 1868), i. 135 *sq.*

according to Roman reckoning on the ninth day before the Ides (the 13th or 15th of the month). Hence the day took its name of Nonae from *novem*, "nine"; though the ancients hesitated between this and a false derivation from *nova*, "new", applied to the moon.[1] When the months were lunar, the Nones doubtless marked the first quarter of the moon. On the Nones the Sacrificial King announced to the people on the Capitol what festivals would be held in the course of the month; and in the old days the people used to flock in from the country to hear the announcement.[2] The Etruscans reckoned several Nones in the month; on them the people saluted the king and consulted him about their own affairs.[3] If, as is probable, the Etruscan Nones were every ninth or (as we should reckon) every eighth day, there may have been three of them in a month. Among the Romans marriages might not be celebrated on the Calends, Nones, or Ides of any month.[4]

I. 57. **The next day after all these days . . . is black.**—Ovid means that the day next after the Calends, the day next after the Nones, and the day next after the Ides in every month were called black (*ater*) and deemed inauspicious. Hence there were three Black Days in every month and thirty-six Black Days in every year.[5] Varro tells us that they were so called because nothing new might be undertaken on them;[6] and Livy intimates still more generally, that neither public nor private business might be transacted on them.[7] An historical account of the institution of these "Black Days" was given as follows. In 389 B.C., the year after the capture of Rome by the Gauls and the deliverance of the city from these barbarous enemies, the Senate met to deliberate on the cause of the numerous calamities which had befallen the Republic within a few years. Being called in to assist the deliberations of the august body on the

[1] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 28; Festus, *s.v.* "Nonas", p. 176 ed. Lindsay; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 12-13; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 24; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iii. 10, p. 46 ed. Wuensch.

[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 28; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 12.

[3] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 13.

[4] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 21-22; Festus, *s.v.* "Nonarum, Iduum, Kalendarum", p. 187 ed. Lindsay.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Religiosus", p. 348 ed. Lindsay.

[6] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 29.

[7] Livy, vi. 1. 11.

religious aspect of the case, the soothsayer L. Aquinius explained the true source of the disasters with a lucidity that left nothing to be desired. Before the battle with the Gauls, the officer in command of the Roman army, Quintus Sulpicius by name, had performed divine service, for the purpose of taking the omens, on the sixteenth of July, that is, on the day immediately after the Ides, and the total defeat of his army followed, as an inevitable consequence, only two days later, that is, on the eighteenth of July. He reminded them also that before the fatal battle of the Cremera in 477 B.C., which according to one account was also fought on the eighteenth of July, the omens had similarly been taken on the day after the Ides; and he cited many other cases in which the same melancholy consequence flowed from the same rash procedure. The reasoning carried conviction: the facts were too patent to be denied. The Senators now recollected many other occasions when defeat in battle had followed close on the heels of divine service performed for the sake of omens on the days immediately after the Calends and the Nones as well as the Ides. The matter was thereupon referred to the college of the pontiffs, who, after laying their heads together, issued a decree that henceforth the days immediately after the Calends, the Nones, and the Ides should be accounted Black Days, and that on them no battle should be fought, no public assembly held, and no sacrifice offered. Such was the origin of the Black Days according to the historians Gellius and Cassius Hemina and the learned antiquary Verrius Flaccus.[1] Further, according to the pontifex Fabius Maximus Servilianus, no worship of the dead should take place on a Black Day, because such worship had to be prefaced by an invocation of Janus and

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 22, i. 16. 21-25; Aulus Gellius, v. 17. 1-2; Livy, vi. 1. 9-12; Festus, *s.v.* "Nonarum, Iduum, Kalendarum", p. 187 ed. Lindsay; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 25. Macrobius cites as his authorities Gellius in the fifteenth book of his annals, and Cassius Hemina in the second book of his *Histories*. Aulus Gellius quotes the fourth book of Festus, *De verborum significatu*. According to Livy, both the battles of the Cremera and the Allia (the defeat of the Romans by the Gauls) took place on July 18th; but according to Ovid the battle of the Cremera took place on the Ides (13th) of February. See *Fasti*, ii. 195 with the note. In the Praenestine calendar, under January 6th, there is a note on the subject of the *black* or *religious* days which is probably by Verrius Flaccus, but it is too mutilated to admit of a probable restoration. See *C.I.L.* i.² p. 231.

Jupiter, and it was forbidden to mention these gods on a Black Day.[1] Common people thought that a Black Day was also unlawful (*nefastus*), but according to Verrius Flaccus this was a vulgar error.[2] Yet Black Days were reckoned among the days called religious (*religiosi*),[3] which we may perhaps render as "taboo days", because on them religion forbade the performance of certain acts: indeed, on them the doing of anything that was not strictly necessary was prohibited or even sinful (*nefas*).[4] However, the rule that no sacrifice might be offered on a Black Day was at least occasionally relaxed. In the consternation which followed the terrible defeat at the Trasimenian lake, when Hannibal and his Carthaginians might be expected to appear before the walls of Rome at any moment, a long series of religious enactments, including sacrifices, games, and other measures equally calculated to avert the impending peril, was hastily voted by the people, and among them it was expressly provided that if any of the sacrifices happened to be unwittingly offered on a Black Day, it should nevertheless hold good.[5] And when the famous Pontifex Maximus, Tib. Coruncanius, had fixed certain rites involving a preliminary or preparatory sacrifice (*feriae praecidaneae*) for a Black Day, the college of pontiffs issued a decree to the effect that the rites might be celebrated on the day in question without scruple or offence.[6]

In recent years a novel explanation of the Black Days has been proposed by Mr. J. Wackernagel.[7] He points out that at Rome the term *quinquatrus* designated properly the fifth day after the Ides; that at Tusculum the terms *triatrus*, *sexatrus*, and *septematrus* designated the third, sixth, and seventh days after the Ides; and that at Falerii the term *decimatrus* designated the tenth day after the Ides.[8]

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 25. [2] Aulus Gellius, v. 17. 1.

[3] Livy, vi. 1. 12.

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Religiosus", p. 348 ed. Lindsay.

[5] Livy, xxii. 10.

[6] Aulus Gellius, iv. 6. 10, quoting the words of Ateius Capito in the fifth book of his treatise on pontifical law: "*Tib. Coruncanio pontifici maximo feriae praecidaneae in atrum diem inauguratae sunt. Collegium decrevit non habendum religioni, quin eo die feriae praecidaneae essent.*"

[7] J. Wackernagel, "Dies ater", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxii. (1923-1924) pp. 215 *sq.*

[8] Festus, *s.v.* "Quinquatrus", pp. 304-306 ed. Lindsay; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 14.

As the Ides was the day of the full moon in a lunar month, all the days following it in the month fell in what in India to this day is called the *dark* half of the month, because during it the moon is on the wane, in contradistinction to the first half of the month, which in India is called the *bright* half of the month because during it the moon is waxing. Accordingly Mr. Wackernagel would explain *triatrus*, *quinquatrus*, *sexatrus*, *septematrus*, and *decimatrus* as compounded of *ater*, " black ", and the numerals *tres*, *quinque*, *sex*, *septem*, and *decem*, with the termination *-us* added on the analogy of *Idus* (Ides). Thus the terms in question would mean " third black ", " fifth black ", sixth black ", seventh black ", and " tenth black ", because all these days fell in the wane of the moon. If this explanation of the words is correct, it seems to follow that the ancient Italians, like the modern Hindoos, formerly looked on all the days of the month after the full moon as dark or black (*ater*). Similarly, it has been pointed out, the Masai of East Africa reckon the days of the lunar month from the sixteenth onward as " days of darkness " (*en aimen*).[1] When this original meaning of a Black Day was forgotten, the term was, through a popular misunderstanding, extended to the two days which followed the Calends and the Nones respectively as well as to the days which followed the Ides ; and the blackness of the day, which properly referred to the darkness of the waning moon, was misinterpreted in a metaphorical sense to signify unlucky or ill-omened. Such is Mr. Wackernagel's explanation of the Roman Black Days (*dies atri*). It is certainly ingenious and may be right, though it is hardly susceptible of proof.

I. 63. **See Janus comes, Germanicus, the herald of a lucky year to thee.**—Of which year is Ovid speaking ? And why was the year a lucky one to Germanicus ? Keightley thought that the poet is referring to the year of Germanicus's second consulship, which fell in A.D. 18.[2] But to this view there are two objections. In the first place, if Germanicus had been one of the consuls for the year, Ovid would almost certainly have said so explicitly instead of leaving it to be

[1] M. P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time-reckoning* (Lund, 1920), p. 170, referring to Merker, *Die Masai*, pp. 154 *sqq*.

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 53.

inferred from this very vague expression. In the second place it is very doubtful whether Ovid was alive in A.D. 18. The only authority for the year of Ovid's death is Jerome, who, under the year of Abraham 2033, says that "the poet Ovid died in exile and was buried near the town of Tomi".[1] This statement is variously interpreted by moderns to mean that Ovid died in A.D. 17 or 18.[2] If Ovid died in A.D. 18 it is barely possible, though not very likely, that he could have alluded to Germanicus's second consulship in the present passage. Since the dedication of the *Fasti* to Germanicus seems certainly to have been written after the death of Augustus in A.D. 14,[3] the year to which the poet here refers would seem to have been either A.D. 15, 16, or at latest 17. As in these years Germanicus was waging a successful war in Germany, our author may in any one of them have drawn from the latest tidings of victory an augury of a prosperous year for the popular young prince.

I. 67. **O come propitious to the chiefs.**—The chiefs or leaders (*duces*) are no doubt the Emperor Tiberius, his son Drusus, and his adopted son Germanicus. In the mouth of the courtly poet the expression is almost equivalent to "royal family". Later on in the present poem Ovid uses the same modest title (*dux*) practically in the sense of Emperor;[4] he dared not, of course, say King (*rex*). When he wrote, the Imperial power was still masked under popular titles. In our own time the same title (*duce*) is assumed for the same reason by the Italian dictator Mussolini.

I. 70. **unbar the temples white.**—Here, as elsewhere,[5] the whiteness of the temples probably refers to the sheen of their marble in the sunlight or the moonlight, and not to the throng of white-robed worshippers, as some commentators understand it, though the poet alludes to these white robes a few lines further on (line 80). As here Ovid bids

[1] Jerome, in Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. A. Schoene, vol. ii. p. 147.

[2] J. Masson, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Vita* (Amsterdam, 1708), pp. 230, 235 (A.D. 17); W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, iii. 71 (A.D. 18); A. W. Verrall, in *Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by Sir J. E. Sandys[3], p. 627 (A.D. 17); H. Peter, in his fourth edition of the *Fasti*, p. 9 (A.D. 18).

[3] See above, note on *Fasti*, i. 3 (Vol. II. p. 3).

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 408.

[5] Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. i. 60.

Janus unbar the temples, so elsewhere he speaks of him "unbarring the long year".[1] In his capacity of door-keeper Janus bore a key;[2] hence it was natural to conceive of him as unbarring temples and years.

I. 71. **Fair speech, fair thoughts I crave! Now must good words be spoken on a good day.**—The Romans had a superstitious fear of ill-omened words at all times, but especially on holy days and festivals, such as the first of January. Hence, to avoid the risk of their accidental utterance, when religious rites were being performed, a crier regularly commanded silence in the set phrase which Ovid here employs, *favete linguis*, literally, "Be favourable with your tongues", though the favour requested was not so much that of speaking auspicious words as of being silent altogether. In short, it was a polite way of saying, "Hold your tongues".[3] In Greek religious ritual silence was similarly enjoined for a similar reason, and in like manner the solemn silence was called "good speech" (*euphemein*).[4] Another way of averting, or rather neutralizing, ill-omened sounds was to drown them with the music of flutes or the clash of bronze.[5] This was perhaps the principal reason why fluteplayers were indispensable at sacrifices.[6] Plutarch tells us that, when inquirers of an oracle approached to listen to the words of the divinity, a clash of bronze was raised to prevent any inauspicious sounds from falling on their ears; and he suggests, perhaps rightly, the same explanation of the Roman custom of muffling the head in offering a sacrifice,[7]

[1] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 4. 23.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 99.

[3] Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 45. 102, ii. 40. 83; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 11; Festus, *s.v.* "Faventia", p. 78 ed. Lindsay; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 71; Seneca, *De vita beata*, 26. 7, "*Favete linguis. Hoc verbum non, ut plerique existimant, a favore trahitur, sed imperatur silentium, ut rite peragi possit sacrum nulla voce mala obstrepente.*" Compare Virgil, *Aen.* v. 71; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 1. 2; Tibullus, ii. 2. 1; Propertius, v. (iv.) 6. 1.

[4] Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 263, παρακελεύεται τὸν πρεσβύτην σιωπᾶν καὶ εὐφημεῖν, ἵνα εὔξηται, ὥστε μηδὲν βλάσφημον εἰπεῖν. Compare Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 237 *sq.*; *id.*, *Frogs*, 353; *id.*, *Thesmoph.* 39 *sq.*, εὔφημος ἔστω λαὸς στόμα συγκλείσας; Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 17 *sq.* Compare P. Stengel, *Die griechische Kultusaltertümer*[3] (Munich, 1920), p. 111.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 11, "*Tibicinem canere, ne quid aliud exaudiatur*"; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 10.

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 657 *sqq.*, with the note.

[7] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 10.

though the latter custom may have been intended to exclude ill-omened sights as well as ill-omened sounds. In Morocco a bridegroom has the hood of his cloak pulled over his face and his mouth covered with a white cloth, principally, it seems, for the purpose of averting the evil eye.[1] Similarly in Fez, when a boy is paraded through the streets immediately before being circumcised, he has the hood of his cloak pulled over his face "no doubt as a protection against evil influences, especially the evil eye".[2] Among the Tuareg of the Sahara the men, but not the women, from a certain age upward go about strictly veiled both by day and by night: the veil is a long strip of blue cloth wound round the head so as to form a hood over the eyes and a covering over the mouth and nostrils. No satisfactory explanation of the custom has been given;[3] but it seems probable that in some measure it rests on a fear of evil influence, and especially of the evil eye, to which apparently men are believed to be more subject than women. In speaking of the clash of bronze which was raised when inquirers approached the seat of an oracle Plutarch may have been thinking of the bronze gongs which kept up a humming in the wind round the oracular sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona.[4] That weird hum of the gongs has been explained by Mr. A. B. Cook as meant to ward off evil influences; and it may have done so in part by drowning ill-omened sounds.[5]

I. 73. **Let ears be rid of suits and banish mad disputes forthwith!**—The proclamation of holy days and festivals appears regularly to have contained an injunction to abstain from lawsuits and disputes. This injunction Ovid seems to

[1] E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), pp. 96, 97, 102, 105, 106, 108, 111, 112, 114, 321 *sq.*, etc.; *id.*, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), i. 427.

[2] E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii. 418.

[3] F. Rennell Rodd, *People of the Veil* (London, 1926), pp. 14 *sq.*, 186-190.

[4] Strabo, vii. *Frag.* 3, p. 453 ed. Meineke; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Δωδώνη, p. 111 ed. Westermann; Apostolius, *Cent.* vi. 43; Zenobius, vi. 5; Suidas, *s.vv.* Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον and Δωδώνη; Nonnus Abbas, *Ad S. Gregorii orat. ii. contra Julianum* 19 (Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, xxvi. 1045).

[5] A. B. Cook, "The Gong at Dodona", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxii. (1902) pp. 5-28. Elsewhere I have suggested that the sound was intended to mimic thunder. See *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. p. 358; compare A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. (Cambridge, 1925) p. 826.

have had in mind, for the nouns which he employs (*lites*, *iurgia*) are borrowed from it.[1]

I. 74. **Thou rancorous tongue, adjourn thy wagging!**— The manuscripts are divided between *lingua*, "tongue", and *turba*, "crowd" (see the Critical Note). If with modern editors we read *turba*, the sense will be, "Thou rancorous throng (of suitors), adjourn your business!" But *lingua* has good manuscript authority, it is the more forcible, and it answers better to *aures*, "ears", in the preceding line. Heinsius compares a line in Martial, "Perfidious tongue, what wilt thou not dare speak?"[2]

I. 76. **Cilician saffron crackles on the kindled hearths.**— The best saffron (*krokos*) grew in Cilicia at the Corycian cavern, an immense hollow or cauldron-like depression in the limestone rocks.[3] Indeed, according to an elegant and not improbable conjecture, the place was called after the saffron, the name Corycian being only a slightly altered form of the Semitic word for saffron, which in old Hebrew is *karkom*.[4] Elsewhere Ovid speaks of the countless saffron flowers that grew in Cilicia.[5] Cilician saffron was used as a perfume to be applied to the hair[6] and sprinkled on the stage.[7] The plant grew also in Lycia, Thera, Cyrene, and Sicily.[8]

I. 79. **In spotless garments the procession wends to the Tarpeian towers.**— On the first of January the newly elected consuls, attended by the Senate, went in solemn procession to the Capitol and there offered sacrifice to Jupiter.[9] It is this procession which Ovid is describing in the present passage. By "the Tarpeian towers" he means

[1] Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 45. 102, "*Rebusque divinis quae publice fierent, ut faverent linguis imperabatur, inque feriis imperandis ut litibus et iurgiis se abstinerent*". Compare Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 8. 19, "*Feriis iurgia ne movento*"; *id.*, ii. 12. 29, "*Feriarum festorumque dierum ratio in liberis requietem litium habet et iurgiorum*"; Livy, v. 13. 7, "*Privatim quoque id sacrum celebratum est . . . iurgiis ac litibus temperatum*"; *id.*, xxxviii. 51. 8, "*Cum hodie litibus et iurgiis supersederi aequum sit*".

[2] Martial, vii. 24. 2, "*Quid non audebis, perfida lingua, loqui?*" where Heinsius would read *doli* for *loqui*.

[3] Strabo, xiv. 5. 5, pp. 670 *sq.*; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 31.

[4] V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*[7] (Berlin, 1902), p. 261. For a description of the cave, with its luxuriant vegetation and running water, see Mela, i. 71-75; *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 152 *sqq.*

[5] Ovid, *Ibis*, 200.

[6] Propertius, v. (iv.) 6. 74.

[7] Lucretius, ii. 416.

[8] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 31.

[9] Ovid, *Ex Ponto* iv. 4. 23-42, iv. 9. 1-56; Livy, xxi. 63. 7-9.

the Capitol with its imposing structures, applying to the whole hill a name borrowed from a part of it, namely, the Tarpeian Rock. Elsewhere he uses the same phrase in the same sense,[1] and he speaks of Capitoline Jupiter as "the Tarpeian Thunderer".[2] But though in Ovid's time the new consuls always took office on the first of January, it had not always been so. That custom only began with the consulship of Q. Fulvius Nobilior and T. Annius Luscus in 601 A.U.C. (153 B.C.).[3] Before that date the days on which the consuls and other magistrates took office varied at different times.[4] In the early years of the Republic the consuls entered on their duties on the first of August; this is attested by Livy for the year 463 B.C.[5] Yet not many years afterwards the custom had changed; for Livy tells us that in 450 B.C. the regular day on which the magistrates took office was the Ides of May,[6] and his statement is confirmed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[7] In 423 B.C. the consuls took office on the Ides of December,[8] and this appears to have been the regular day on which magistrates took office down to 401 B.C., though in that year the Senate decreed that the military tribunes and apparently all other magistrates should enter on their duties on the first of October instead of on the Ides of December.[9] About two hundred years later the day on which the consuls assumed office was the Ides of March; the day is definitely affirmed by Livy for the years 217, 211, and 199 B.C.[10]

[1] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, ii. 1. 57, "*Te quoque victorem Tarpeias scandere in arces*"; *id.*, iv. 9. 29, "*At cum Tarpeias esses deductus in arces*"; *id.*, iv. 4. 29, "*Templaque Tarpeiae primum tibi sedis adiri*".

[2] *Ex Ponto*, ii. 2. 42, "*Non tibi Tarpeio culta Tonante minus*". Compare Claudian, *Carm. Min.* iv. 4 (vol. ii. p. 176 ed. Platnauer), "*Tarpeio . . . Iovi*".

[3] Livy, *Per.* xlvii. (where "*kal. ian.*" is a correction of Drakenborch); L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 148 *sq.*

[4] L. Ideler, *op. cit.* ii. 146 *sqq.*; Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), pp. 75 *sqq.*

[5] Livy, iii. 6. 1. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (ix. 25. 1) tells us that in 476 B.C. the consuls took office in August. Yet in an earlier passage (vi. 49. 2) he says that the consuls of 261 A.U.C. (493 B.C.) took office on the first of September "earlier than was customary with their predecessors". Mommsen argued that from 245 to 260 A.U.C. (509 to 494 B.C.) the consuls assumed office on the Ides (13th) of September. See Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), pp. 81 *sqq.*

[6] Livy, iii. 36. 3, compare iii. 38. 1.

[7] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* x. 59. 1.

[8] Livy, iv. 37. 3.

[9] Livy, v. 9 v. 11. 10-13.

[10] Livy, xxii. 1. 4, xxvi. 1. 1, xxxii. 1. 1.

I. 80. **the people wear the colour of the festal day.**—As opposed to black and unlucky days joyous and festival days were conceived of as white ;[1] hence on such days people wore white raiment.[2] It was deemed outrageous if a man entered a temple clad in black.[3]

I. 81. **new rods of office lead the way, new purple gleams.**—In the procession to the Capitol the consuls were preceded by their lictors bearing the bundles of rods and axes called *fasces*, which symbolized the power of the consuls to inflict capital punishment, the ancient Roman form of execution being by scourging and decapitation.[4] Mr. A. B. Cook conjectures that the axes of the lictors " were originally no ordinary instruments of execution, but sacred weapons borne before the king as human representative of the sky-god ", who is commonly supposed to hurl as thunderbolts the prehistoric stone axes called celts. But the evidence which my friend adduces in support of his conjecture is slender.[5] The " new purple " mentioned by Ovid is the toga edged with purple which the consuls assumed as the uniform of their office on the first of January. Elsewhere, in the same connexion, Ovid refers to it simply as " the purple " (*purpura*),[6] and so does Persius in allusion to a robe of the same sort worn by free-born boys.[7]

I. 82. **a new weight is felt by the far-seen ivory chair.**—The higher magistrates at Rome had the right to use an ivory chair called *sella curulis* ; hence the offices which conferred the right to use the chair were called *curule* magistracies. The ancients believed that the adjective *curule* was derived from *currus*, " chariot ", because the higher magistrates originally drove in a chariot to the Senate-house sitting on the *sella curulis*.[8] Here and else-

[1] Persius, *Sat.* ii. 1 *sq.*:
" *Hunc, Macrine, diem numera meliore lapillo,*
qui tibi labentis apponit candidus annos ".

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 619 *sq.*, iv. 906 with the note, *Tristia*, v. 5. 7 *sq.* ; Persius, *Sat.* iii. 40 ; Tibullus, ii. 1. 16 ; Horace, *Sat.* ii. 2. 60 *sq.*

[3] Cicero, *In Vatinium*, 13. 31.

[4] Livy, ii. 5. 8, vii. 19. 3, xxvi. 15. 7, xxviii. 29. 11.

[5] A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. (Cambridge, 1925) pp. 633-635.

[6] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 9. 26, " *Spectarem, qualis purpura te tegeret* ".

[7] Persius, *Sat.* v. 30, " *Cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit* ".

[8] Aulus Gellius, iii. 18. 4 ; Festus, *s.v.* " Cur[r]ules ", p. 43 ed. Lindsay.

where [1] Ovid alludes to the chair simply as "the ivory" (*ebur*). Similarly Horace speaks of "the curule ivory" in the same sense.[2]

I. 83. **Heifers, unbroken to the yoke, offer their necks to the axe.**—Cattle destined for sacrifice were consecrated and set apart from birth,[3] so that they never worked under the yoke and were never mated.[4] Italian cattle were preferred for this purpose on the ground of their size and colour,[5] and they were fattened before being led to the altar; these fatted victims were called *opimi*: their colour was white.[6] Special mention is made of the snow-white bulls sacrificed on the Alban Mount.[7] In Greek ritual also heifers unbroken to the yoke were sacrificed.[8]

I. 84. **heifers that cropped the sward on the true Faliscan plains.**—Ovid has twice repeated this line in two other poems, in both of which he mentions the snowy whiteness of the Faliscan cattle.[9] Pliny says that in the Faliscan land the drinking water made all the cattle white.[10] Another river that was thought to make the cattle white that bathed in it or drank its water was the Clitumnus in Umbria; the white bulls from the pastures of the Clitumnus were of great size and consequently were especially chosen for sacrifice on the occasion of a triumph.[11] The younger Pliny has given us a charming description of the source of the Clitumnus, but he does not mention the white cattle that browsed on its banks. Through the glassy water he could count the pebbles at the bottom and the coins thrown by worshippers into the sacred stream. Adjoining the springs was a temple of the river-god with an image of him and lots which were

[1] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 5. 18.
[2] Horace, *Epist.* i. 6. 53 *sq.*
[3] Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 157-160.
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 375 *sq.*, iv. 335 *sq.*
[5] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. 5. 10.
[6] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. 1. 20; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 9. 50, "*Albave opimorum colla ferire boum*".
[7] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, ii. 68.
[8] Homer, *Iliad*, x. 293 *sq.*, *Od.* iii. 382 *sq.*
[9] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 4. 31 *sq.*, *Amores*, iv. 13. 13 *sq.*
[10] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 230.
[11] Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 146-148; Propertius, iii. 10 (12). 25 *sq.*; Juvenal, xii. 11-14; Claudian, *Carm. Min.* iv. 2 *sq.* (vol. ii. p. 176 ed. Platnauer), "*Non tales, Clitumne, lavas in gurgite tauros,* | *Tarpeio referunt quos pia vota Iovi*"; *id.*, *On the sixth consulship of Honorius*, 506 *sq.*, "*Quin et Clitumni sacras victoribus undas,* | *candida quae Latiis praebent armenta triumphis*".

used to give oracular responses.[1] The custom of throwing coins into a sacred spring or water was common in antiquity, and it is still widespread in modern Europe.[2]

I. 85. **When from his citadel Jupiter looks abroad on the whole globe, naught but the Roman empire meets his eye.** —Roman poets loved to boast of Rome as the capital of the whole earth, and to speak of the Roman empire as co-extensive with the globe.[3] It is curious to reflect that to the Greeks and Romans, civilized and enlightened as they were, by far the greater part of the terrestrial globe, with all its teeming population, remained utterly unknown. They were like ants who mistake their ant-hill for the world.

I. 89. **But what god am I to say thou art, Janus of double shape?** — The following discussion of the nature of Janus suffices to prove how little the Romans themselves knew about the origin and true character of that deity. A similar uncertainty and diversity of views meets us in the dissertation of Macrobius on the same question.[4] In modern times some of the most eminent authorities on Roman religion have agreed in deriving the name of Janus from *ianua*, "a door", and supposing that he was originally neither more nor less than a god of doors, a divine doorkeeper.[5] On this hypothesis, Janus as god of doors (*ianuae*) was parallel to Limentinus, the god of thresholds (*limina*) and to Cardea, the goddess of hinges (*cardines*).[6] At first sight

[1] Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 8.

[2] Pausanias, i. 34. 4, with my note (vol. ii. pp. 474 *sq.*). To the evidence there adduced add J. G. Kohl, *Die deutsch-russischen Ostseeprovinzen* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1841), ii. 33; A. de Nore, *Coutumes, Mythes et Traditions des provinces de France* (Paris and Lyons, 1846), p. 81; Fr. Kreutzwald und H. Neus, *Mythische und magische Lieder der Ehsten* (St. Petersburg, 1854), pp. 106 *sq.*; J. L. M. Noguès, *Les Mœurs d'autrefois en Saintonge et en Aunis* (Saintes, 1891), p. 210; W. Kolbe, *Hessische Volks-Sitten und Gebräuche* (Marburg, 1888), pp. 161 *sqq.*

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 135-138, 684, *Trist.* i. 5. 69 *sq.*, iii. 8 (7), 51 *sq.*; Propertius, iv. (iii.) 11 (10). 57, "*Septem urbs alta iugis, toto quae praesidet orbi*"; Martial, xii. 8. 1 *sq.*, "*Terrarum dea gentiumque Roma, | cui par est nihil et nihil secundum*".

[4] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9.

[5] This is the view of W. H. Roscher, *s.v.* "Ianus", *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 47; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 282 *sqq.*; *id.*, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911), pp. 125 *sqq.*; E. Aust, *Die Religion der Römer* (Münster i. W., 1899), pp. 177 *sqq.*; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 108.

[6] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 8; Tertullian, *Ad Nationes*, ii. 15; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iv. 9 and 11.

the theory commends itself by its simplicity and apparent obviousness. But there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting it. In the first place the post of god of doors is assigned by the ancients to another deity Forculus, whose name, derived from the proper Latin word for a door (*foris*), seems to mark him out as a genuine old Latin divinity.[1] St. Augustine, in making merry over the Roman passion for creating gods or goddesses for everything, including cradles and sewers, specially cites the case of doors ; he tells us that whereas one man sufficed to perform the duties of a door-keeper, three deities were employed in the same capacity, to wit, Forculus, the god of the door (*foris*), Cardea, the goddess of the hinge (*cardo*), and Limentinus, the god of the threshold (*limen*). Thus we see, adds the saint sarcastically, that the god of doors (Forculus) could not mind the hinge and the threshold at the same time as the door.[2] If St. Augustine had known of Janus in the capacity of door-keeper, would he not have cited him here and so added a fourth deity to the squad of divinities in charge of the door ? His omission to do so seems a clear proof that he knew nothing of Janus as a divine janitor.

In the second place, if Janus had started in life as a simple, though no doubt respectable, doorkeeper, it is difficult to imagine how he could ever have risen to the high rank which he afterwards occupied in the Roman pantheon. For, according to some, he was the oldest of Italian gods.[3] In the hymns of the Salii, one of the most ancient monuments of the Latin language, he was styled " God of gods ".[4] And it was a rule that in solemn prayer and sacrifice he took precedence of all the gods : he was the first to be mentioned

[1] Augustine and Tertullian, *ll.cc.*

[2] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 8, "*Unum quisque domui suae ponit ostiarium, et quia homo est, omnino sufficit : tres deos isti posuerunt, Forculum foribus, Cardeam cardini, Limentinum limini. Ita non poterat Forculus simul et cardinem limenque servare.*"

[3] Juvenal, vi. 393 *sq.* ; Herodian, i. 16. 1 ; Procopius, *History of the Wars*, v. 25. 19.

[4] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 14, "*Saliorum quoque antiquissimis carminibus deorum deus canitur*" ; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 27, "*Ab eadem voce canite, pro quo in Saliari versu scriptum est cante, hoc versu : 'divum empta cante, divum deo supplicante'*". That the *divum deo* here mentioned is Janus appears from the mention of him in the passage of the Salian hymn which Varro has just quoted in the preceding section.

in the prayer, and the first to receive a share of the offering.[1] From this we cannot, of course, infer that Janus ranked above all the rest of the pantheon; regarded as the god of beginnings, he naturally headed the divine procession, so to say, but rather perhaps in the character of an usher or beadle than in that of the principal personage of the pageant. Still a god who figured so constantly and so conspicuously in litanies and ritual was an important divinity, and it would be strange if a mere janitor or hall-porter among the gods had been promoted to this proud position. The genuine old god of doors, Forculus, always remained in that humble station of life to which fate or Providence had consigned him; so far as we are aware, no prayers or sacrifices were ever offered to him; and he might never have emerged from his native obscurity if it had not been for the pious zeal of Christian writers, who insisted on peering into pagan cupboards in search of skeletons hidden there from the eyes of the profane.

In the third place, so far from Janus being called after *ianua*, "a door", it appears probable, if not certain, that *ianua* was called after him; and if that was so, it seems to follow that Janus led a separate and independent life before he came to be specially associated with doors. The reason for thinking so is this. The word *ianua* applied to a door has nothing to correspond to it in any Indo-European language. But the regular word for door is the same in all the languages of the Aryan family from India to Ireland. It is *dur* in Sanscrit, *dvar* in Old Iranian, *thura* in Greek, *dvĭrĭ* in Old Slavonic, *durys* in Lithuanian, *daûr* in Gothic, *tür* in German, *door* in English, *dorus* in old Irish, and *foris* in Latin.[2] Why, when the Romans were in possession of

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 171 *sq.*; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 27. 67; Festus, *s.v.* "Chaos", p. 45 ed. Lindsay; Livy, viii. 9. 6; Cato, *De agri cultura*, 134; G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (Berlin, 1874), pp. ccxiv, 144; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 3 and 9, i. 16. 25; Horace, *Sat.* ii. 6. 20-23; Martial, viii. 8. 1-4, x. 28. 2; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iii. 29; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 3. 7, "*In sacris omnibus primum locum Iano detulerunt, usque eo, ut etiam, cum aliis diis sacrificium fit, dato ture in altaria, Ianus prior nominetur, cognomento quoque addito Pater*".

[2] G. Curtius, *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*[5] (Leipzig, 1879), p. 258; O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* (Strassburg, 1901), p. 866; *id.*, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*[3], ii. (Jena, 1906) p. 271; *id.*, *Die Indogermanen* (Leipzig, 1919), p. 32.

this good old name for a door, did they invent another and call it a *ianua*? The word has the appearance of being an adjectival form derived from the noun *Ianus*. I conjecture that it may have been customary to set up an image or symbol of Janus at the principal door of the house in order to place the entrance under the protection of the great god, for a great god, as we shall see immediately, Janus appears originally to have been. A door thus guarded might be known as a *ianua foris*, that is, a Januan door, and the phrase might in time be abridged into *ianua*, the noun *foris* being understood but not expressed. From this to the use of *ianua* to designate a door in general, whether guarded by an image of Janus or not, would be an easy and natural transition.[1]

But if we must dismiss the now popular derivation of Janus from a door, where are we to look for an explanation of his original nature and functions? In the investigation of religious origins etymology is too often an unsafe and treacherous guide, but in the case of Janus it appears to furnish a probable clue to the mystery. There seems to be good reason to think that the original form of the god's name was Dianus, the initial DI having have been corrupted into J, just as the original Diovis and Diespiter were corrupted into Jovis and Jupiter.[2] Similarly the name of Diana, which is the feminine form of Dianus, appears to have been corrupted in vulgar pronunciation into Jana; for Varro tells us that in reference to the days of the month country people spoke of the waxing and waning Jana, where educated folk would seemingly have said Diana, meaning the moon.[3] In Greek it is certain that an original DI was similarly corrupted into Z, as is proved by the name of Zeus,

[1] This conjectural derivation of *ianua* from *Ianus* is repeated from *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. p. 384. It had previously been suggested, though not accepted, by Ph. Butmann, *Mythologus* (Berlin, 1828–1829), ii. 79 *sqq*. My friend Mr. A. B. Cook also derives *ianua* from *Ianus*, but he would explain the derivation in a different way by supposing that the lintel and two side-posts of the door represented a triple Janus. See his article, "Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak", *Classical Review*, xviii. (1904) p. 369.

[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 66, "*Hoc idem magis ostendit antiquius Iovis nomen: nam olim Diovis et Diespiter dictus*". Compare Aulus Gellius, v. 12. 1-6.

[3] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, i. 37. 3. As to this form *Jana* see note on *Fasti*, i. 55 (Vol. II. p. 72).

for the original DI reappears in the genitive, dative, and accusative DIOS, DII, DIA. Similarly ZAN, an old form of Zeus, stands for an original DIAN, which answers exactly to the Latin DIANUS, JANUS. Further, at Dodona, his most ancient sanctuary, Zeus shared his temple with Dione,[1] in whom the learned mythologist Apollodorus discerned the first wife of Zeus, the wife whom that fickle and faithless god afterwards exchanged for Hera.[2] His Italian counterpart Jupiter gave proof of much greater conjugal fidelity by always keeping to his first wife, Juno, whose old name, to judge by that of her Greek counterpart Dione, must have been Diono. Compared with the kindred Sanscrit name Dyaus, the old German Zio, and so forth, all these names are ultimately derived from an Indo-European root, DI, meaning " bright " ; and as the Sanscrit Dyaus, the Greek Zeus, and the Latin Jupiter were undoubtedly personifications of the sky, a very strong presumption is raised that Janus also, whose name cannot without violence be separated from theirs, was in origin also a god of the sky, a simple duplicate of Dyaus, Zeus, and Jupiter.[3] The ancients themselves appear to have been sensible of the kinship, not to say identity, of Janus and Jupiter. An inscription records the dedication of an offering to Jupiter Dianus,[4] as if Jupiter and Dianus (Janus) were one and the same. And we know from the good testimomy of Varro that some of the ancients identified

[1] Strabo, vii. 6. 12, *καὶ σύνναος τῷ Διὶ προσαπεδείχθη καὶ ἡ Διώνη.*

[2] Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* iii. 91, *ὅθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων Ποσειδωνία ὠνομάσθη ἡ θέος* (Amphitrite), *ὡς καὶ ἡ Ἥρα Διώνη παρὰ Δωδωναίοις, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος.* This Apollodorus was probably not the author of the treatise on Greek mythology which has come down to us under the same name. See the introduction to my edition of Apollodorus, pp. ix *sqq.*

[3] As to the etymology of these names, see Ch. Ploix, " Les Dieux qui proviennent de la racine *DIV*", *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, i. (1868) pp. 213-222; G. Curtius, *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*[5], pp. 236 *sq.*, 616 *sq.* ; A. Vaniček, *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1877), i. 353 *sqq.* ; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3] (Berlin, 1881–1883), i. 167; W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 45 *sq.*, 578 *sq.*, 619 ; S. Linde, *De Jano summo Romanorum deo* (Lund, 1891), pp. 7 *sq.* ; J. S. Speijer, " Le Dieu romain Janus", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xxvi. (1892) pp. 37-41 ; H. Usener, *Götternamen* (Bonn, 1896), pp. 16, 35 *sq.*, 326 ; P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1896), pp. 78 *sqq.*, 91, 161 ; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. (Cambridge, 1925) pp. 338 *sqq.* Messrs. Speijer and Kretschmer reject the derivation of Janus from the root *DI.*

[4] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, v. No. 783.

Janus with the sky;[1] in the fourteenth book of his *Divine Antiquities* that most learned of Roman antiquaries affirmed that among the Etruscans in particular the name Janus was used as equivalent to the sky.[2] We shall do well to acquiesce in this opinion of some ancient authorities, strongly supported as it is by the conclusions of modern philology.

But how, it will naturally be asked, did the Romans come to possess two ancient sky-gods whose names were substantially identical? The simplest and most natural explanation of this duplication of deities seems to be that it resulted from the union of two kindred tribes speaking languages which differed from each other only in dialect; that in one of the dialects the ancient Indo-European sky-god was called Dianus (Janus) and in the other Diovis (Jovis, Jupiter), and that when the two tribes were fused in the melting-pot of Roman, or rather, Latin nationality, the united people failed to recognize the original identity of the deity, disguised as it was under a dialectical difference of names, and so they came to assign to them independent places in their pantheon, though to the last they were puzzled to explain the apparent differences, yet resemblances, between the deities.[3]

But we have still to ask the question, which posed Ovid, why was Janus regularly represented with two heads? The question is perhaps even more difficult to answer than that of the original nature of the deity. Elsewhere I have conjectured that this curious mode of representation

[1] Varro, quoted by Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vii. 28, "*Ut in superioribus initium fecimus a coelo, cum diximus de Iano, quem alii coelum, alii dixerunt esse mundum*".

[2] Varro, quoted by Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 2, pp. 64 *sq.* ed. Wuensch, ὁ δὲ Βάρρων ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν θείων πραγμάτων φησὶν αὐτὸν παρὰ Θούσκοις οὐρανὸν λέγεσθαι.

[3] This explanation of the relation of Janus to Jupiter was put forward by me first in *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* (London, 1905), pp. 285 *sqq.*, and repeated in *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Origin of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 381 *sqq.* A similar view has been advocated by my learned and ingenious friend Mr. A. B. Cook. He supposes that Janus was the god of the old Italian aborigines and Jupiter the god of the invading Latins, who retained the god of the conquered people, "despite the fact that their own Jupiter was a god of essentially similar character". See his article "Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak", *Classical Review*, xviii. (1904) pp. 367 *sq.*, and his fuller exposition of the same theory in his great work *Zeus*, vol. ii. pp. 328 *sqq.*, especially pp. 340 *sqq.*

originated in a custom of placing an image of the god at gates and doors as a sort of divine sentinel to guard them from the passage of evil powers, and in support of this conjecture I have cited the double-headed idol which the Bush negroes of Surinam regularly set up as a guardian at the entrance of a village. The idol consists of a block of wood with a human face rudely carved on each side; it stands under a gateway composed of two uprights and a cross-bar. Beside the idol generally lies a white rag intended to keep off the devil; and sometimes there is also a stick which seems to represent a bludgeon or weapon of some sort. Further, from the cross-bar dangles a small log which serves the useful purpose of knocking on the head any evil spirit who might attempt to pass through the gateway.[1] Clearly this double-headed fetish at the gateway of negro villages in Surinam bears a close resemblance to the double-headed images of Janus, which, grasping a staff in his right hand and a key in his left, stood sentinel at Roman archways (*iani*),[2] and it seems reasonable to suppose that in both cases the heads facing two ways are to be similarly explained as expressive of the vigilance of the guardian god, who kept his eye on spiritual foes both before and behind, and stood ready to bludgeon them on the spot. In the interior of Borneo the Kenyahs generally place before their houses the wooden image of Bali Atap, that is, the Spirit or God (*Bali*) of the Roof, who protects the household from harm of all kinds;[3] but it does not appear that this divine watchman

[1] K. Martin, "Bericht über eine Reise ins Gebiet des Oberen-Surinam", *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxv. (1886) pp. 28 *sq.* I am indebted to my learned friend Mons. A. van Gennep for pointing out this confirmation of my theory as to the meaning of the double-headed Janus. See his article, "Janus Bifrons", *Revue des Traditions populaires*, xxii. (1907) pp. 97 *sq.*

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 95, 99; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 7, "*Sed apud nos Ianum omnibus praeesse ianuis nomen ostendit, quod est simile* Θυραίῳ. *Nam et cum clavi ac virga figuratur, quasi omnium et portarum custos et rector viarum.*"

[3] C. Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 175. Compare Ch. Hose, *Natural Man, a Record from Borneo* (London, 1926), p. 196: "*Bali Atap* protects the house against sickness and attack, and is called upon in cases of madness to expel the evil spirit possessing the patient. His image, a rude, wooden effigy, stands beside the gangway leading to the house from the river's brink; he holds a spear in the right hand, a shield in the left; about his neck he bears a fringed collar made up of knotted strings of rattan, one of each

is provided with more than one head. The Maoris of New Zealand used to carve grotesque human figures on the principal posts of their fortified stockades as talismans to ward off the enemy. These faces were often provided with eyes of *Haliotes* shell and were named after ancestors. Their aspect frequently betokened defiance, and they always faced outward. But "when a so-called model stockade was erected at Papawai some years ago, a leading chief decided that the carved figures on the posts should face inward. He explained that in these peaceful times there is no longer any danger of an attack on a fort from without, but that, so far as he could see, present enemies or dangers are all internal." [1] The train of thought of this Maori chief resembles, if I am right, the considerations which led the ancient Romans to place two-headed images of Janus in the archways which he guarded. How could he have kept watch and ward if he did not face in both directions at the same time?

A less prosaic and much more grandiose theory of the double-headed Janus has been proposed by Mr. A. B. Cook. He points out that images of Janus seem never to have stood in a temple but always in an archway, sometimes in an archway with two fronts, sometimes in an archway with four fronts; and he supposes that the archway with its supports represented the sky propped on the pillars which some primitive people imagine to uphold the firmament. The theory would fit admirably with the view that Janus was of old simply the worshipful sky, for on that theory the arch would stand for the primary conception of the blue vault of heaven as itself divine, while the image under the arch

being tied on by the head of each room, and a knot being made for each member of his roomhold." The reference is to the long communal houses in which each family occupies a separate room (Ch. Hose, *op. cit.* pp. 71 *sqq.*). On an accompanying plate Mr. Hose gives a photograph of one of these images of Bali Atap. It is that of a human figure with a large grotesque face, fastened in a squatting posture against a wooden framework, which appears to consist of two upright posts and a cross-bar. Compare Ch. Hose and W. M'Dougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (London, 1912), ii. 13 *sq.*, with Plate 148.

[1] Elsdon Best, *The Maori* (Wellington, N.Z., 1924), ii. 324-327. Two accompanying plates represent two of these carved posts. In one of them the grotesque human figure exhibits a huge grinning face with lolling tongue, which closely resembles the heads of the Gorgon Medusa in Greek art. Immediately below this figure an arched opening is cut in the post to serve as a doorway into the stockade.

would embody the later conception of it as an anthropomorphic deity. As to the two heads of Janus, the view of Mr. Cook is that they represent the two different faces of the sky by day and by night, in other words, the diurnal alternation of light and darkness in the firmament.[1] The theory is supported by its author with a great wealth of learning. But it is open to some serious objections. There is no sufficient evidence that the Romans regarded the arches of Janus as representing the sky; and there seems to be little or no proof that they differentiated between the two faces of Janus, as they surely must have done if they conceived of the one as the bright and the other as the dark face of the sky. And what, on Mr. Cook's theory, are we to make of the four-headed images of Janus, such as the one which the Romans brought from Falerii and set up in the Forum Transitorium, or the Forum of Nerva, where it was still to be seen in the time of the commentator Servius and the antiquary Joannes Lydus? It was installed in a shrine (*sacrarium*) with four gates, which faced, no doubt, the four heads of the image.[2] Those who regarded Janus as the god of the sky or of the universe interpreted his four heads, naturally enough, as signifying the four quarters of the world towards which they looked;[3] but it is not so easy to suggest an explanation of the four heads of Janus on the hypothesis that two of them represented the diurnal and the nocturnal sky respectively; for it will hardly perhaps be maintained that the other two heads stood for the morning and the evening twilight. On these grounds it seems well to suspend judgement on Mr. Cook's ingenious explanation of the two-headed Janus until he can corroborate it by more conclusive evidence.

While it is difficult to believe that in origin Janus can have been no more than a god of doors, it deserves to be

[1] A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 354 *sqq.*, 365 *sqq.*, 378 *sqq.*

[2] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 607; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. i. p. 64 ed. Wuensch; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 13; Martial, viii. 2, x. 28. Compare H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2 (Berlin, 1885). pp. 449 *sq.*; W. H. Roscher, *s.v.* "Ianus", *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 25 *sq.*

[3] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 12 *sq.*; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 1. p. 64 ed. Wuensch; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἰανουάριος· Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vii. 8; Isidore, *Origines*, viii. 11. 37.

noted that in another part of the world the worship of the door is an important element of the popular religion. Thus among the Miao of South-western China who have not been affected by foreign influence, "no religious ceremony is of more importance than the worship of the door. The door is sacred, and a proper respect for it is indispensable to success and happiness throughout life. Miao huts are oblong. The door is placed at either one of the ends. On no account is a doorway opened in either of the sides." But curiously enough the door which was worshipped was not the main door but a small door specially made for the occasion and attached by bamboo strips to the main door. There was no definite date fixed for the worship. Sacrifices are rarely offered to the door oftener than once in three years, and sometimes the intervals between them are much longer. The time selected was commonly after harvest. If there is illness, the ceremony will be observed; and when the head of the household grows old, the solemn rite is performed in order to initiate the eldest son into his religious duties, for on these occasions the head of the household acts as priest. When a day has been fixed for the ceremony, the sacrificer goes to the hills, where he cuts a few bamboos, with which he fashions a small door for the rite. The sacrifice takes place at night. A young sow which has not given birth to a litter is held close to the door, its throat is cut and the blood made to flow into a hole which has been dug under the jamb on which the door is hung; on no account may the hole be dug under the other jamb. In this hole are also buried the bristles and the water in which the pig was washed. Everything that is unclean is buried there: nothing is thrown outside. The carcass of the pig is cut up, boiled, and eaten at a solemn meal, of which persons of the same surname as the sacrificer are invited to partake; the sons of the family are allowed to eat of the flesh, but not the daughters. When the meal is over and the guests have returned home, the father and the eldest son wait until some two hours before sunrise, when, standing close to the door, the father eats a small piece of the cooked meat which he has carefully put aside for this purpose. After partaking of it he repeats in his son's hearing a traditionary form of words to this effect:

"We worship thee, O door! Keep away sickness! Keep away disease! Keep away slander! Keep away defamation! Keep away all that is injurious!" When the second sacrifice was made, the old door was thrown away. It was never burnt or destroyed, but allowed to rot where it lay. There are slight variations in the ritual with variations in the surnames of the worshippers. Thus families bearing the surnames Hmao-tang and Hmao-cheh at the time of worship open and shut the door thrice, saying, "May we become rich! May our children be numerous! May our cattle multiply!" "The reason given for the sacrifice is that the door has the power to keep away illness, evil spirits, and hostile influences of every description. There is an idea too, though it is of the vaguest possible nature, that in some indeterminate way a divinity or guardian spirit is connected with the door."[1] In this vaguely conceived divinity of the door we may discern the germ of a divine doorkeeper like the Roman Forculus, if not like the Roman Janus.

I. 99. **He, holding in his right hand his staff and in his left the key.**—Macrobius tells us that Janus was represented with a key and a walking-stick (*virga*), to intimate that he was the guardian of all gates and the guide on all roads.[2] According to some late and less trustworthy authorities, the images of Janus bore the key in the right hand, not, as Ovid says, in the left.[3]

I. 103. **The ancients called me chaos.** — Ovid seems to accept the absurd derivation of the name Janus which is recorded by Festus, or rather his abbreviator Paulus Diaconus, who in his turn probably took it over from the learned grammarian Verrius Flaccus. On this view, the name *chaos* was derived from the Greek verb *chaskein*, "to gape", and the corresponding Latin verb *hiare* yielded the name *Ianus* (Janus), the aspirate being lost.[4] With the following

[1] W. H. Hudspeth, "The Cult of the Door amongst the Miao in South-West China", *Folk-lore*, xxxiii. (1922) pp. 406-410. The writer dates his article from Ghao-tong-fu, Yunnan, China.

[2] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 7, "*Nam et cum clavi ac virga figuratur, quasi omnium et portarum custos et rector viarum*". The key of Janus is mentioned also by Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vi. 25.

[3] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 1, p. 64 ed. Wuensch; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἰανουάριος.

[4] Festus, *s.v.* 'Chaos", p. 45 ed. Lindsay.

description of the evolution of an ordered world out of a formless chaos we may compare the fuller account which Ovid gives of the same cosmic process in his greatest work, the *Metamorphoses*. There, as here, he resolves the universe into four elements, fire, air, water, and earth, and supposes that the elements settled into their present position by virtue of their respective gravities, fire occupying the highest place, air the next, and water and earth the lowest.[1] A similar cosmogony is adopted by Manilius, except that, instead of bracketing earth and water as possessing the same specific gravity, he puts earth by itself at the bottom of the scale as the heaviest of the four elements.[2] The conception of a primaeval chaos, from which the orderly universe was born or evolved, is as old at least as Hesiod.[3]

I. 107. **When once, through the discord of its elements, the mass parted . . . flame sought the height, air filled the nearer space.**—So the early Ionic philosopher Anaximander supposed that at the genesis of this our world the elements of heat and cold parted, and a globe of flame encircled the air about the earth, till pieces of it, breaking off and condensing into balls, formed the sun, moon, and stars.[4]

I. 123. **But with blood and slaughter the whole world would welter, did not the bars unbending hold the barricadoed wars.**—In the Forum, in front of the Senate-house, and a little above what was called the Three Fates, there stood a small shrine of Janus, of quadrangular shape, but so small that it was only large enough to hold the image of the god. This image was made of bronze; its height was five cubits and it represented a man with a head that had two faces, one face looking to the east and the other to the west. The shrine had two bronze doors, each of them opposite one of the two faces of Janus. In time of peace the doors of the temple were kept closed, but in time of war they were opened. This description of the shrine we owe to Procopius, who tells us that the whole edifice was made of bronze.[5] The usual name of the shrine seems to have

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 5-31.
[2] Manilius, i. 149 166.
[3] Hesiod, *Theog.* 116 *sqq.*
[4] Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, i. 8. 1-3.
[5] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, v. 25. 19-22.

been the Twin Janus (*Ianus Geminus*);[1] but it was also known as the Januan Gate (*porta Ianualis*), because the principal feature of the edifice was its double doorway.[2] According to Livy, who calls the shrine simply the Janus, it was founded by King Numa at the lowest point of the Argiletum to be an index of peace and war, signifying, when it was open, that the nation was under arms, and when it was closed that all the peoples round about were at peace. Livy then informs us that from the reign of Numa down to his own time the shrine had been closed only twice in token that Rome was at peace; once in the consulship of Titus Manlius (235 B.C.) after the First Punic war, and a second time after the victory of Augustus over Antony at Actium (31 B.C.), which was followed by peace on land and sea.[3] In the great inscription known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, in which at the end of his life Augustus recorded, with a dignified restraint of language, his glorious achievements in peace and war, he mentions that thrice in his reign the temple of Janus had been closed by decree of the Senate.[4] The statement is confirmed by Suetonius.[5] The second time when the shrine of Janus was closed in the reign of Augustus was in 25 B.C., at the end of the war with the Cantabrians and Asturians of Spain.[6] In 10 B.C. the Senate decreed that the shrine of Janus Geminus (the Double Janus) should be closed, but closed it was not; for before the decree could be executed news arrived that the Dacians had crossed the Danube on the ice and ravaged Pannonia.[7] The date of the third closing of the shrine of Janus in the reign of Augustus is not known. During the long and peaceful reign of Numa, which is said to have lasted forty-three years, the gates of Janus are reported to have remained closed.[8] From the

[1] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 156; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 33.

[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 165.

[3] Livy, i. 19. 2-3. Compare Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 165; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 607 (where the words "*ad theatrum Marcelli*" are clearly out of place); Plutarch, *Numa*, 20. 1-2; *id.*, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 9; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 79. 6.

[4] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, ii. 42-45, p. 71 ed. Hardy, pp. 16-18 ed. Diehl[4]; *Res gestae Divi Augusti*, iterum edidit Th. Mommsen (Berlin, 1883), p. 49.

[5] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 22.

[6] Dio Cassius, liii. 26. 5.

[7] Dio Cassius, liv 36. 2.

[8] Plutarch, *Numa*, 20. 2; *id.*, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 9.

custom of opening them in time of war the gates came to be known as the Gates or the Twin Gates of War.[1] It was the consul who, in full official costume, threw open the creaking doors on the declaration of hostilities, and the act was followed by the blast of horns and the blare of trumpets.[2] No remains of this famous double-gated shrine of Janus have been discovered and even its exact position is doubtful and has been disputed ;[3] but that it stood in the Forum, in front of the Senate-house, seems to follow with certainty from the express statement of Procopius,[4] confirmed by an incidental mention of Dio Cassius, who says that when Didius Julianus, after the murder of Pertinax, "came to the Senate-house and was about to sacrifice to the Janus that is before its doors, all the people cried out as with one accord, calling him a robber of the empire and a murderer".[5]

For our knowledge of the shape and appearance of the little edifice we depend chiefly on the description of Procopius, already quoted, and on the representations of it which Nero stamped on some of his coins with a legend setting forth that, peace having been secured by land and sea, he had closed the shrine of Janus (IANVM CLVSIT) by decree of the Senate.[6] From this combined evidence we gather that the building was "a small rectangular structure, with two side walls and double doors at each end. The walls were not so high as the doors, and were surmounted by a grating. These gratings and the arches over the doors supported

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 607, "*Sunt geminae Belli portae, sic nomine dicunt*"; compare *id.* i. 293 *sq.*; Plutarch, *Numa*, 20. 1; *id.*, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 9; *Monumentum Ancyranum*, p. 71 ed. Hardy, p. 19 ed. Diehl[4], πύλην Ἐνυάλιον.

[2] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 611-615.

[3] O. Gilbert, *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, i. 321 *sqq.*; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 345 *sqq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2] (Boston, etc., 1911), pp. 191 *sq.*; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter, Second Edition (Rome, 1909), pp. 138-140; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*[6] (Paris, 1923), pp. 71-74.

[4] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, v. 25. 19.

[5] Dio Cassius, lxxiii. 13. 3.

[6] H. Cohen, *Description historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain*[2], i. (Paris, 1880) pp. 288-290, Nos. 132, 141, 163, 164, 170; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 357 *sq.*, with figs. 246-251. For representations of the edifice on Nero's coins see also Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter, Second Edition (Rome, 1909), pp. 139 *sq.*, fig. 72; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 191, fig. 31.

an entablature of two members, which extended all round the building, but there was no roof." [1]

The Romans themselves seem to have been uncertain as to the meaning of the ancient custom of closing the gates of Janus in peace and opening them in war. Later on Ovid puts in the mouth of Janus the explanation that he shut his gates in time of peace to prevent Peace from departing, and that he opened them in time of war to signify that they were ready to admit the soldiers returning from the war.[2] Horace seems to have taken the same view of the shutting of the gates, for he speaks of " the bars that confine Janus, the guardian of peace ".[3] But in the present passage Ovid clearly takes precisely the opposite view ; he thinks that it is not Peace but War who is shut up in the closed temple and so prevented from rushing forth and deluging the world in blood. Virgil appears to have had the same idea in his mind when he spoke of the consul unbarring the gates of Janus and summoning or calling forth battles.[4] Manilius, too, was probably thinking of the closed temple of Janus when he prayed that " Discord, bound in adamantine chains and shut in prison, may be curbed for aye ".[5] And this interpretation seems to fit better both with the name, the Gates of War, applied to the shrine of Janus, and with the title of Quirinus bestowed on the god himself ; [6] for Quirinus was especially a god of war, and the epithet Quirinus applied to Janus was understood to signify that he was the Lord of War.[7]

But if Janus was conceived in one of his aspects as a war-god, the reason for keeping him under lock and key in time of peace is sufficiently obvious ; were he let out he would go about stirring up strife or perhaps

[1] S. B. Platner, *op. cit.* pp. 190 *sq.*

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 277-281.

[3] Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 255.

[4] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 611-614, " *Ipse vocat pugnas* ".

[5] Manilius, i. 923 *sq.*

[6] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, ii. 42, p. 71 ed. Hardy, p. 16 ed. Diehl[4], " *Ianum Quirinum* "; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 15 ; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 22 ; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 1. p. 63 ed. Wuensch ; compare Horace, *Odes*, iv. 15. 9, " *Ianum Quirini clausit* ".

[7] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 16, " *Quirinum, quasi bellorum potentem, ab hasta quam Sabini curin vocant* ". Compare Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 1. p. 63 ed. Wuensch, Κυρῖνον ὡσανεὶ πρόμαχον.

might even desert to the enemy. For a similar reason the Spartans kept their war-god Enyalius in fetters. "The notion of the Lacedaemonians about this image", says Pausanias, "is that being held fast by the fetters, Enyalius will never run away from them; just as the Athenians have a notion about the Victory called Wingless, that she will always stay where she is because she has no wings."[1] The mighty giants Otus and Ephialtes, who fought against the gods, are said to have kept the great war-god Ares shut up for thirteen months in a brazen pot, where he would have perished, if Hermes had not contrived to release him from this durance vile;[2] but no doubt, the intention of the giants was to hinder the martial Ares from fighting for the gods, rather than to secure his aid for themselves in battle. For gods may be shut up or tied by the leg from various motives. In Hayti of old the deities were sometimes reported to have quitted the tribe because the ritual of their worship had not been properly performed; hence to guard against this catastrophe they were secured in their houses by cotton ropes.[3] On the other hand the Aztecs had a prison in which they kept the gods of their conquered enemies, being persuaded that, so long as the deities languished in captivity, they could not assist their old worshippers to rise in rebellion.[4] In the early part of the nineteenth century the king of Siam had brought to Bangkok a glass idol from the subject kingdom of Laos, and some time afterwards he imported from the same country a golden idol, which soon enjoyed as much credit as the one of glass. As it was suspected that the glass god, moved by jealousy of his golden rival, might take some desperate resolution and even place himself at the head of the rebels in his native land, the king of Siam very prudently had him chained up and placed under guard.[5]

[1] Pausanias, iii. 15. 7.

[2] Homer, *Il.* v. 385-391; Apollodorus, i. 7. 4.

[3] E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, i. (Oxford, 1892) p. 319.

[4] Brasseur du Bourbourg, *Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique centrale* (Paris, 1857-1859), iii. 664.

[5] "Lettre de Mgr. Bruguière, évêque de Capse", *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, v. (Lyons and Paris, 1831) pp. 131 *sq.* For more examples of chained or imprisoned gods see my note on Pausanias, v. 15. 7

I. 125. **I sit at heaven's gate with the gentle Hours.**— So in Homer the gates of heaven are committed to the care of the Hours as porteresses, whose business it is to close the gates in thick clouds or to open them in sunshine.[1]

I. 127. **Hence Janus is my name.**— Ovid here derives the name of Janus (Ianus) from the verb *ire*, "to go", which he mentioned in the preceding line ("*it reditque*"). In this he may have followed Cicero, who says that the name of Janus is derived from *eundo* (the gerund of *ire*), and that therefore open passages ("*transitiones perviae*") are called *iani* and the doors of houses are called *ianuae*.[2] According to Cornificius in the third book of his treatise on etymology, Cicero even thought that the proper form of the god's name was Eanus from *eundo*.[3]

I. 127. **when the priest offers me a barley cake and spelt mingled with salt.**— This special sort of cake was offered to Janus alone: hence it was called a *ianual*.[4]

I. 129. **I'm now Patulcius and now Clusius called.**— Patulcius means "Opener", from *patere*, "to be open"; and Clusius means "Shutter", from *claudere* or *cludere*, "to shut". The epithets are mentioned, with some slight variations of form, by other ancient authors. Macrobius tells us that Janus was invoked under these titles in the sacred rites.[5]

I. 135. **Every door has two fronts . . . whereof one faces the people and the other the house-god.**— This probably means only that one face of every house-door looks outward and the other inward; it does not mean that the shrine of the house-god (*Lar*) stood immediately inside

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(vol. iii. pp. 336-338): Raoul-Rochette, "Sur l'Hercule assyrien et phœnicien", *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xvii. (1848) pp. 18 *sqq.*; W. Schwartz, in *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, i. (1891) pp. 448-451; W Crooke, "The Binding of a God", *Folk-lore*, viii. (1897) pp. 326-355.

[1] Homer, *Il.* v. 749-751, viii. 393-395.

[2] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 27. 1.

[3] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 11. Compare Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 610, "*Quidam Ianum* Eanum *dicunt ab eundo.*"

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Ianual," p. 93 ed. Lindsay.

[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 15, "*In sacris quoque invocamus . . . Ianum Patultium et Clusivium*"; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 610, "*Alii* Clusivium (*Clusium*) *dicunt, alii* Patulcum (*Patulcium*), *quod patendarum portarum habeat potestatem*"; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 1, p. 63 ed. Wuensch. Πατούλκιον καὶ Κλούσιον οἱανεὶ θυρεόν.

of the front door. The shrine of the house-god seems usually to have been placed near the domestic hearth; for Columella says that a bailiff should accustom the swains always to take their meals round their master's house-god and the domestic hearth,[1] and Horace speaks of the home-born slaves seated round the images of the house-gods (*Lares*), which shone (in the firelight).[2] Sometimes we hear of house-gods in the plural (*Lares familiares*),[3] but sometimes of a house-god in the singular (*Lar familiaris*).[4] Sometimes, perhaps generally, the images of the house-gods were set in a shrine which could be closed. Thus Propertius speaks of a sad house in which the shrine of the house-gods was opened barely once a month, on the Calends, by a solitary handmaid.[5] So Tibullus prays that he may live to offer incense to the ancient house-god every month.[6] But Cato, no doubt following a precept of ancient piety, lays it down as a rule that a stewardess should pray to the house-god for plenty thrice a month on the Calends, Nones, and Ides, as well as on festivals, and that on these occasions she should lay a garland on the hearth.[7] Indeed, a very pious woman would make an offering of wine, or incense, or what not to the house-god every day and deck his image with garlands.[8] The close connexion of the house-god with the domestic hearth is proved by the custom of depositing incense and wreaths of flowers on the hearth as offerings to him;[9] and it is further intimated by a passage of Plautus in which he represents a miser burying a pot of gold under the hearth and praying the house-god (*Lar familiaris*) to guard it there for him.[10] That both the house-gods (*Lares*) and the Penates were hard by the hearth is further shown by a

[1] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 1. 19, "*Consuescatque* (*villicus*) *rusticos circa larem domini focumque familiarem semper epulari*".

[2] Horace, *Epod.* ii. 65 *sq.*

[3] Cicero, *Pro domo sua*, 41. 108, "*Ista tua pulcra Libertas deos penates et familiares meos lares expulit*". Compare Horace, *Odes*, iii. 23. 4, iv. 5. 34, *Sat.* i. 5. 66, ii. 3. 165.

[4] Cato, *De re rustica*, 143; Plautus, *Aulularia*, Prologue, 2, and line 386; Horace, *Sat.* ii. 5. 14, ii. 6. 66.

[5] Propertius, v. (iv.) 3. 53 *sq.*

[6] Tibullus, i. 3. 34.

[7] Cato, *De re rustica*, 143.

[8] Plautus, *Aulularia*, Prologue, 23-25.

[9] Plautus, *Aulularia*, 385 *sq.*, "*Nunc tusculum emi hoc et coronas floreas: haec imponentur in foco nostro Lari*".

[10] Plautus, *Aulularia*, Prologue, 6-8.

passage in which Ovid relates how his wife, in her distress at his approaching banishment, flung herself in prayer on the ground before the house-gods (*Lares*), touching with tremulous lips the extinguished hearth and pouring out vain supplications to the Penates who faced her.[1]

I. 141. **Thou seest Hecate's faces turned in three directions.**— In Greek art Hecate was often represented in the form of three female figures with torches in their hands, standing back to back and facing in three different directions. Alcamenes, a great sculptor of the fifth century B.C., is said to have been the first to represent the goddess in this way. A triple image of her of this sort stood on the western bastion of the Acropolis at Athens, beside the elegant little temple of the Wingless Victory.[2] In Aegina, where Hecate was worshipped above all the gods and mysteries were celebrated in her honour every year,[3] there has been found a fine relief which is thought to be copied from the work of Alcamenes. Of the three figures the central represents the goddess holding a long torch in either hand ; the other two figures have only one torch each, and in the other hand one of the two holds a jug, and the other a saucer. The triple figure has been interpreted as an image of Hecate in her character of a moon-goddess, the central figure with the two torches standing for the full moon, while the two figures with one torch apiece stand for the waxing and the waning moon respectively.[4] Some of the ancients similarly explained the triple Hecate as typifying the phases of the crescent, full, and waning moon, the full moon presenting a complete circle and the other two presenting crescents turned in opposite directions.[5] A scholiast on Euripides tells us that when the moon was three days old, it was called Selene (the ordinary Greek word for the moon) ; when it was six days old, it was called Artemis ; when it was fifteen days old, it was called Hecate.[6] Such a discrimination seems to point

[1] Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 3. 43-46.

[2] Pausanias, ii. 30. 2. [3] Pausanias, ii. 30. 2.

[4] E. Petersen, "Die dreigestaltige Hekate", *Archaeolog.-epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, iv. (1880) pp. 140-174 ; *id.*, v. (1881) pp. 1-84 ; W. H. Roscher, *s.v.* "Hekate", *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 1903 *sqq.* ; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 631 *sqq.*

[5] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 511.

[6] Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 397 (vol. ii. p. 165 ed. E. Schwartz).

to an ancient belief that the moon is a different being in its different phases, in other words, that there are three distinct moons in a month. There is a popular notion that the old moon dies at the end of the month and is replaced by a new one in the following month. In various parts of Europe the dead moons are said to be cut up in small pieces to make the stars.[1] The triple Hecate is mentioned by Virgil, who confused her with Diana,[2] as did Ovid himself a little later on in the present work.[3]

I. 163. **Midwinter is the beginning of the new sun and the end of the old one.**—The Latin word for midwinter (*bruma*) strictly means the shortest day[4] and therefore the winter solstice, but it is commonly used in the more general sense of midwinter, and so it is here employed by Ovid; for in his time the year did not begin at the winter solstice but on the first of January, while the winter solstice was reckoned in the Julian calendar to fall on the twenty-fifth of December.[5] Varro, indeed, says that a year was the time which the sun took to pass from one shortest day (*bruma*) to the next,[6] but in saying so he is speaking rather of the astronomical than of the civil year. The thought that the year is naturally reckoned from the time when the sun's light and power begin to increase at the winter solstice is expressed more explicitly by Plutarch.[7] In antiquity some peoples reckoned the year from the winter solstice, others from the summer solstice, others from the vernal equinox, others from the autumnal equinox, some from the rising of the Pleiades, others from their setting, and many from the rising of Sirius.[8]

I. 165. **Next I wondered why the first day was not exempt**

[1] W. Gundel, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1922), pp. 22 *sq.*

[2] Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 511, "*Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae*"; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 22. 4, "*Diva triformis*" (of Diana).

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 387.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 8, "*Dicta bruma, quod brevissimus tunc dies est*". Compare Festus, *s.v* "Bruma", p. 28 ed. Lindsay, "*A brevitate dierum dicta*"; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 151, "*Bruma vero, id est brevissimis (diebus)*".

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 221; Columella, *De re rustica*, ix. 14. 12; L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 124.

[6] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 8, "*Tempus a bruma ad brumam dum sol redit, vocatur annus.*"

[7] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 19.

[8] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxi. 13.

from lawsuits.—From a comparison of this passage with lines 73-74 above, we may infer that the legal business done in Roman courts on the first of January was merely a pretence; and the motive assigned by Janus, or rather Ovid, for the pretence may very well be the true one. As omens are commonly drawn from the beginning of anything, New Year's Day is naturally regarded as the most ominous day of the year; whatever happens on it may be taken to portend, or even to cause, a series of the like happenings in the twelve months that follow; in short, the course of the whole year is supposed to be coloured, or even determined, by the course of the first day in it. For that reason it might be deemed auspicious to transact a small amount of legal business on the first of January in order to ensure a successful legal practice throughout the year. The desirability of so doing would naturally be most apparent to legal practitioners whose living, or at least whose reputation, depended on the amount of cases submitted to the arbitration of the courts; but suitors might also be expected to join in the pretence in the hope of thereby inducing the scales of justice to incline in their favour. And what applied to the profession of the law would apply equally to all other professions; every body would be disposed for the same reason just to handsel (*delibare*, to use Ovid's word) on New Year's Day the particular business to which he intended to devote himself throughout the year. The more scrupulous or more superstitious Roman farmers abstained from all agricultural labours during the first twelve days of January, except that on the first of January they made a beginning of every kind of work for the sake of the omen.[1]

Similar superstitions concerning New Year's Day have persisted through the Middle Ages down to modern times. Writing towards the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., Burchard of Worms denounced the pagan practice of those who on the first of January "spin, sew, and begin every work whatsoever they can begin, the

[1] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 98, "*Per hos quoque dies* (January 1-12) *abstinent terrenis operibus religiosiores agricolae, ita tamen ut ipsis Calen. Ianuariis auspicandi causa omne genus operis instaurent, caeterum differant terrenam molitionem usque in proximas Idus*".

devil instigating them so to do on account of the New Year ".[1] And with regard to the observation of New Year's Day at the present time in Europe, we read that " the extravagant and often noisy merriment which prevails throughout the whole of the New Year celebration is not a merely an outburst of simple gladness at the festival season ; it is bound up with two other motives to which we must again refer because they explain another series of New Year customs ; first, there is the belief that the whole of the following year is influenced by what is done on the first day ; and second, there is the effort at this important turning-point to reduce to impotence for a long time the action of hostile spiritual powers which threaten to do us harm. As is New Year's Day, so is the whole year. What people do on New Year's Day they do the whole year ; what happens on that day continues to happen the whole year long. Therefore people take in hand, if only for a few moments, the business in the success of which they are interested." [2]

I. 171. **Why, Janus, while I propitiate other divinities, do I bring incense and wine first of all to thee ?**—We have seen that in all religious services it was customary to offer the first sacrifice to Janus and to invoke him before all the other gods.[3] This precedence was naturally accorded to him as the god who presided over entrances and beginnings. This is substantially the reason assigned by Janus himself in the following lines, with which we may compare a passage of Macrobius : " They say that when divine service is performed in honour of any god, Janus is the first to be invoked, in order that through him access may be granted to the deity to whom the sacrifice is offered, as if Janus personally transmitted the prayers of suppliants through his doors to the gods." [4]

[1] " *Fecisti quod quidam faciunt in calendis Ianuari, i.e. in octava natalis domini. Qui ea sancta nocte filant, nent, consuunt, et omne opus quodcunque incipere possunt, diabolo instigante propter novum annum incipiunt* " (quoted by J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* [4], iii. 408).

[2] P. Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch* (Leipzig, 1910-1914), iii. 62. These customs and beliefs appear to be specially prevalent in Germany and German-speaking countries. Compare A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube* [2] (Berlin, 1869), p. 64 ; P. Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien* (Leipzig, 1903–1906), i. 48 *sq.*

[3] See above, p. 91 *sq.*

[4] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 9.

I. 175. **But why are glad words spoken on thy Calends? and why do we exchange good wishes?**—On the first day of the year the Romans wished each other joy in order by a good omen to ensure happiness and prosperity throughout the year.[1] The emperors appear to have been accustomed to wish the Senate a happy New Year on the first of January. At least Tacitus relates that on the first of January in the year A.D. 28 the Emperor Tiberius addressed a letter to the Senate in which, "after the usual New Year wishes", he charged one member of that august body with plotting against himself. The obsequious assembly found the accused guilty on the spot, and he was dragged off to execution with a rope round his neck, shouting as distinctly as the noose would let him, that this was a pretty way of beginning the New Year. Wherever he passed with these words on his lips, the people dispersed in terror; streets and squares were deserted, the fugitives asking each other what was to be expected of the rest of the year, when New Year's Day, which was usually devoted to the rites of religion and on which even profane language was forbidden, was thus celebrated with shackles and the halter?[2] The custom of wishing each other a happy New Year on the first of January has lasted in Europe down to the present day, and the motive for it is no doubt the same as in antiquity. "These good wishes, properly speaking, are the most important part of the whole ceremony, for they are supposed to be not a mere empty form of politeness but actually to bring health and blessing to the person to whom they are addressed. On these occasions everyone seeks to anticipate his neighbour and so 'to win the New Year from him'."[3]

I. 177. **Then, leaning on the staff he bore in his right hand, the god replied.**—On an engraved Greek gem of the Hellenistic period a two-faced god in a long robe is represented leaning on a staff, but there is nothing to indicate that the god is Janus.[4]

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 22, "*Cur enim primum anni incipientes diem laetis precationibus invicem faustum ominamur?*"

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 70, "*Caesar sollemnia incipientis anni Kalendis Ianuariis epistula precatus*".

[3] P. Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, iii. 55 *sq.*

[4] A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 385, fig. 292.

I. 179. **At the first word ye prick up anxious ears.**— The Romans took great pains to ensure that the first name pronounced on solemn occasions should be a lucky one. Thus it was a rule with them that when the consul levied troops the first man called to the colours should bear a lucky name, and that when the censors took the census the first person to be entered on the roll should in like manner be the possessor of a fortunate name, such as Valerius, Salvius, and Statorius.[1] Again, when sacrifices were offered at public lustrations, men with lucky names were chosen to lead the victims to the altar.[2] And when preparations were made to rebuild the Capitol after it had been destroyed by the disorderly troops of Vitellius, the vacant area was enclosed by fillets and festoons, and soldiers with lucky names, bearing lucky boughs, were the first to enter it.[3] Once more, when the censors were contracting for public works, the first contract they made was for the dredging of the Lucrine Lake, because the name Lucrine suggested *lucrum*, "lucre", and was therefore lucky.[4] At Pharae in Achaia there was an image of Hermes in the market-place with a hearth in front of it and an altar beside it. He who would inquire of the god came at evening, burned incense on the altar, filled the lamps with oil and lighted them ; then he whispered his question in the ear of the image and, stopping his own ears, left the market-place. When he had gone a little way outside, he took his hands from his ears, and the first words he heard he accepted as the answer of the god.[5] This is an example of what the Greeks called *cledonism* or *cledomantism*, that is, of omens drawn from chance voices (*cledones*).[6]

I. 185. **"What mean the gifts of dates and wrinkled figs," I said, "and honey glistering in snow-white jar?"** — On the first of January the Romans used to give each other small presents for the sake of the omen in the New Year.

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Lacus Lucrinus", p. 108 ed. Lindsay; Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 45. 102.
[2] Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 45. 102 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 22.
[3] Tacitus, *Histor.* iv. 53.
[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Lacus Lucrinus", p. 108 ed. Lindsay.
[5] Pausanias, vii. 22. 2-3.
[6] A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, i. 154 *sqq.*

These presents were called *strenae*,[1] from which the French *étrennes* is derived. A gilt date was a common gift offered to a friend by a poor man on the first of January.[2] The gilding of the date was probably meant to be an omen of riches. The reason for making presents of sweets, such as honey, dates, and figs, on that day is no doubt, as Janus rightly says, to sweeten the whole course of the year. Sweets and pastry are among the presents given on New Year's Day in modern times.[3]

I. 189. **But tell me, too, the reason for the gift of cash.**— Martial mentions the small copper coin (*as*) which a poor client used to bring as a gift, along with a gilt date, to his patron on the first of January.[4] People of all ranks threw small coins into the Lacus Curtius on the first of January for the welfare of Augustus, and they brought New Year presents to the Capitol for him even when he was absent.[5] Inscriptions are still extant recording offerings which Augustus dedicated to Mercury, Vulcan, and the Public Lares out of the small coins which the people presented to him on the first of January.[6] Caligula issued a proclamation that he would receive New Year gifts on the first of January ; so crowds thronged to the palace and showered small coins on him by handfuls and lapfuls.[7] The reason for making presents of money on New Year's Day was doubtless, as Janus proceeds to explain at needless length, to ensure a supply of money throughout the year. So in Silesia to this day they say that he who carries money about with him on the morning of New Year's Day will have money the whole year, but that if he gives any away on that morning he will be apt to suffer from lack of it during the next twelve months.[8]

I. 193. **Why, even in Saturn's reign I hardly saw a soul**

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Strenam", pp. 410, 411 ed. Lindsay; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 57, *Caligula*, 42.

[2] Martial, viii. 33. 11 *sq.*, xiii. 27.

[3] P. Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, iii. 57.

[4] Martial, viii. 33. 11 *sq.*

[5] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 57. 1. As to the Lacus Curtius see *Fasti*, vi. 403, with the note.

[6] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 92, 93, 99.

[7] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 42.

[8] P. Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien* (Leipzig, 1903-1906), i. 49. There is a similar belief in the Mark of Brandenburg. See A. Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen und Märchen* (Berlin, 1843), p. 378, No. 9.

who did not in his heart find lucre sweet. — The reign of Saturn was pictured as the Golden Age, a happy time of innocence and peace: the earth untilled brought forth abundance: men lived at ease without toil or sorrow, and death came at last as a painless and gentle sleep.[1] In one of his descriptions of that blissful time Ovid says that lucre, gold, silver, and bronze were then all hidden in the depths of the earth,[2] and in so saying he probably followed the generally accepted tradition. In the present passage his reference to the love of lucre even in the reign of Saturn is no doubt satirical.

I. 199. **a small hut sufficed to lodge Quirinus.** — By Quirinus the poet means Romulus, who took the title of Quirinus after his death.[3] A hut known traditionally as the Hut of Romulus was preserved down to the lifetime of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, about the beginning of our era; it was therefore still extant in the time of Ovid. It was a rustic cottage built of wood and reeds, standing at the south-west corner of the Palatine Hill, where that hill looked towards the Circus Maximus, at the head of the steps known as the Staircase of Cacus. The Romans regarded the hut as sacred and carefully repaired all the dilapidations which it suffered from time and weather. It was also known as the hut of Faustulus, the good shepherd who had brought home and reared the foundlings Romulus and Remus.[4] The pontiffs used to perform certain religious rites in it, for in the year 38 B.C., when they were so engaged, the hut caught fire and was burned down.[5] It was burned again in 12 B.C. through an accident, some crows having dropped on it hot embers which they had snatched from an altar.[6] However, tradition varied in regard to this venerable monu-

[1] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 109-120; Tibullus, i. 3. 35-48; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 89-112, *Amores*, iii. 8. 35-44.

[2] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 8. 35-38.

[3] See above, pp. 32 *sq.*, note on *Fasti*, i. 37.

[4] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 78. 11; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 20. 4 (where we must read Σκάλης Κακίης with Bethmann for the MS. reading καλῆς ἀκτῆς); Solinus, i. 18. As to the Staircase of Cacus compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 21. 2. As to the situation of the hut see O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* [2] (Munich, 1901), pp. 133 *sq.*; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen (Berlin, 1907), pp. 39 *sq.*: S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* [2], p. 130.

[5] Dio Cassius, xlviii. 43. 4.

[6] Dio Cassius, liv. 29. 8.

ment of antiquity, for another hut of Romulus was shown on the Capitol.[1] Like the hut on the Palatine it was constructed of sticks and withies, and was carefully preserved : it is even said to have stood in the temple of Jupiter.[2] But the traditional association of Romulus with the Palatine speaks in favour of the superior antiquity of the hut on that hill.[3]

Seneca refers to the hut of Romulus as a lesson of humility by contrast with the luxury and magnificence of the soaring palaces reared by the Roman nobles of his time ;[4] and Valerius Maximus points the same moral by the same example of primitive poverty and simplicity.[5]

I. 201. **Jupiter had hardly room to stand in his cramped shrine.**—It has been thought that Ovid had here in mind the small and very ancient temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol, which Romulus founded after defeating the people of Caenina in battle and capturing their city. In the battle he slew Acron, the king of the enemy, carried his arms in a litter (*ferculum*) to the Capitol, and there attached them at first to an oak tree which was accounted sacred by the shepherds. Then he marked out a place for a temple of Jupiter Feretrius, in which the arms captured from slain kings and leaders of the enemy were thenceforth to be deposited. This was said to be the first temple ever dedicated in Rome.[6] On only two later occasions were arms thus captured by a Roman general from a slain enemy and dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius. The first occasion was in 437 B.C., when the military tribune A. Cornelius Cossus slew Tolumnius, King of Veii ;[7] the second occasion was in 222 B.C., when the consul M. Claudius Marcellus slew Britomartus or Virdomarus, king of the Insubrian Gauls.[8]

[1] Vitruvius, ii. 1. 5. [2] Conon, *Narrationes*, 48.

[3] Compare H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2 (Berlin, 1885), p. 51.

[4] Seneca, *De consolatione*, 9. 3.

[5] Valerius Maximus, iv. 4. 11.

[6] Livy, i. 10 ; Propertius, v. (iv.) 10. 5-16 ; Valerius Maximus, iii. 2. 3.

[7] Livy, iv. 19-20 : Propertius, v. (iv.) 10. 23-38 ; Valerius Maximus, iii. 2. 4 ; Plutarch, *Marcellus*, 8. 3.

[8] Livy, *Per.* xx. ; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 855-859 ; Propertius v. (iv.) 10. 39-44 ; Valerius Maximus, iii. 2. 5 ; Florus, i. 20. 5 ; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 45. 1-2 ; Plutarch, *Marcellus*, 8.

A descendant of this Marcellus, by name P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, about 45 B.C., stamped coins, on the reverse of which he represented his ancestor dedicating the spoils of the slain Gaul in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. The coin represents the temple standing on a platform (*podium*), with two columns on each side of the doorway.[1] The derivation of the name Feretrius is doubtful; it may come from *ferire*, "to strike", as some of the ancients thought.[2] The temple lasted in its ancient form down to the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who tells us that it was only fifteen feet long.[3] But through age and neglect it had fallen into great disrepair in the time of Augustus, who at the suggestion of Atticus repaired the ancient edifice.[4] However, it is perhaps more likely that Ovid had not any particular temple in his mind, but was simply drawing on his imagination for this description of a shrine in the rude days of old, as Tibullus did when he said that "men kept better faith when a wooden god stood poorly clad in a tiny shrine".[5] Or perhaps the idea may have been suggested to both poets by the sight of rustic wayside shrines such as still meet the eyes of the traveller in Italy and other Catholic countries. Propertius contrasts the clay gods of the olden time with the golden temples of his own day,[6] and in the next line Ovid speaks of the clay thunderbolt which the primitive Jupiter brandished.

I. 203. **They decked with leaves the Capitol which now is decked with gems.** — Suetonius tells us that Augustus dedicated to Capitoline Jupiter in his temple, as a single offering, sixteen thousand pounds of gold, together with pearls and other gems to the value of fifty millions of sesterces.[7]

[1] T. L. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica* (London, 1859), p. 45, No. XI., with the plate; E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine* (Paris, 1885–1886), i. 352, 427.

[2] Propertius, v. (iv.) 10. 46; Plutarch, *Marcellus*, 8. 4.

[3] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 34. 4.

[4] Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus*, 20. 3; Livy, iv. 20. 7; *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 5, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 24 ed. Diehl[4]; *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, ed. Th. Mommsen[2], pp. 78, 81. Compare H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2. pp. 47 *sq.*

[5] Tibullus, i. 10. 19 *sq.*, "*Tunc melius tenuere fidem, cum paupere cultu stabat in exigua ligneus aede deus*".

[6] Propertius, v. (iv.) 1. 5.

[7] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 30. 2.

I. 207. **The praetor put aside the plough to judge the people.**—In the year 458 B.C., when L. Quinctius Cincinnatus was unanimously named dictator to save the State in a great emergency, the messenger sent to announce his appointment found him either ploughing or leaning on his spade in the act of digging a ditch. His wife hastily brought forth his toga from their cottage; he wiped the dust and sweat from his body, put on the toga, and followed the messengers to the city. When he had saved the State, he returned to his ploughing.[1] When the envoys of the Samnites came to Manius Curius Dentatus to bribe him with gold, they found him roasting turnips in an oven. In reply to their offer he said, "I prefer to eat these turnips out of earthenware and to command those who own the gold".[2] Atilius was found sowing his fields by the messengers who came to announce to him his elevation to the supreme dignity of the State.[3] With these hardy veterans of old, who passed their lives in healthy and useful toil on their farms,[4] Varro contrasted the idle urban loungers of his time, heads of families, who, abandoning the sickle and the plough, had sneaked from the country into the town and chose to employ their hands in the applause of the theatre and the circus rather than in the labours of the field and the vineyard, who hired merchants to import their corn in ships from Africa and Sardinia and their wine from Cos and Chios.[5] In his treatise on agriculture Columella dwells still more emphatically on the same contrast between the vigour and industry of the sturdy old Roman peasantry and the sloth and flaccid sinews of their weak and degenerate descendants, who spent their days in games and slumber, their nights in drunkenness and

[1] Livy, iii. 26. 6-12; Cicero, *De senectute*, 15. 56; Columella, *De re rustica*, i. Praef. 13; Valerius Maximus, iv. 4. 7; Florus, i. 5. 12-15; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 20; Persius, *Sat.* i. 73-75.

[2] Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 33. 7; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xix. 87; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 844.

[3] Valerius Maximus, iv. 4. 5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 20; Cicero, *Pro Sexto Roscio*, 18. 50; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 844.

[4] Compare Manilius, iv. 148 *sq.*, "*Serranos Curiosque tulit* (*scil.* the constellation of Taurus) *fascesque per arva | tradidit, eque suo dictator venit aratro*"; Claudian, iv. *Consul. Honorii*, 413-415, "*Pauper erat Curius, reges cum vinceret armis, | pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum sperneret aurum; | sordida dictator flexit Serranus aratra*".

[5] Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, ii. Praef. 1-3.

debauchery, and who counted themselves happy when they beheld neither the rising nor the setting sun.[1]

I 208. **to own a light piece of silver plate was a crime.** —During the war with Pyrrhus a distinguished senator, P. Cornelius Rufinus, who had been twice consul and also dictator, was struck out of the list of the Senate by the Censor Fabricius because he had in his possession ten pounds of silver plate.[2] Indeed, an old general who had won a triumph was degraded by the Censors for owning only half that amount of silver plate, an event which in Pliny's time sounded fabulous.[3] When the ambassadors of the Aetolians visited Catus Aelius in his consulship and found him eating off earthenware, they sent a present of silver plate, but he refused the offered gift, and to the last day of his life the only silver plate he possessed was a pair of silver cups which he had received from his father-in-law L. Paulus for his valour in the war with Perseus, king of Macedonia.[4]

I. 210. **Rome with her crest has touched the topmost gods.**—In a like boastful vein Manilius declares that Rome " imposed Italy on the earth and is herself joined to heaven ".[5] With the expression " touched the topmost gods " we may compare a passage where Pelion's peak is said to touch the topmost stars ;[6] and another passage where a palm tree seen in a dream is likewise said with its foliage to touch the topmost stars (" *sidera summa* ").[7] These parallels support the reading *summos* in the present passage as against the reading *summo*, which is adopted by modern editors. See the Critical Note.

I. 217. **fortune brings honours.** — Ovid here repeats a phrase from one of his earlier poems, in which, after saying that the Senate-house was closed to poor men, he adds that

[1] Columella, *De re rustica*, i. Praef 13-20.

[2] Aulus Gellius, iv. 8. 7, xvii. 21. 39 ; Livy, *Per.* xiii. ; Florus, i. 13 (18). 22 ; compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 39.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 142. However, Pliny was perhaps thinking of the case of Rufinus and through a slip of memory wrote five pounds instead of ten. He was certainly thinking of Rufinus when he wrote (*Nat. Hist.* xviii. 39), " *Praecipiebant enim ista qui triumphales denas argenti libras in supellectile crimini dabant* ".

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 142.

[5] Manilius, iv. 694 *sq.*, " *Italia in summa, quam rerum maxima Roma | inposuit terris caeloque adiungitur ipsa* ".

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 308.

[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 34.

" fortune (*census*) brings honours ".[1] In both passages by " honours " he means high offices in the State. In Latin the word (*honores*) is often used in this sense. Like Ovid in the present passage, Pliny complains that senators were appointed for their fortune (*census*), judges were appointed for their fortune, and that the only distinction of magistrates and generals was their fortune.[2] The word here translated " fortune " (*census*) is strictly speaking the amount of property at which a man was rated for the purpose of taxation in the Censor's books ; but it is often used by Latin authors in the general sense of " property ", " wealth ".[3] Hence it came to be employed in an immaterial sense for accomplishments, endowments, resources of the mind, as when Ovid says of a fisherman that " his art was his fortune ".[4] In this metaphorical sense the word is repeatedly employed by Manilius, as where he says of men of genius that " their fortune is all in themselves ",[5] and of Cicero that he " earned heaven by the fortune of his lips " [6] ; or again, where, speaking of the high qualities of the human mind and its kinship with the divine, he observes that " such gifts are not of our fortune ", implying that they are gifts of heaven.[7] Again, he says that nature has made man's whole fortune (*census*) subject to the order of the stars.[8] Elsewhere, he uses the word in the still larger and vaguer sense of " the treasures of the world " (*mundi census*), meaning apparently the great wonders of nature comprehensible by man.[9] But

[1] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 8. 55, " *Curia pauperibus clausa est, dat census honores* ".

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiv. 5, " *Postquam senatus censu legi coeptus, iudex fieri censu, magistratum ducemque nihil exornare quam census* ".

[3] For example, Horace, *Odes*, ii. 15. 13, *Epist.* i. 1. 43 ; Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 8. 9, " *Ecce, recens dives parto per vulnera censu* ".

[4] Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 588, " *Ars illi sua census erat* ".

[5] Manilius, i. 771-773, " *Quique animi vires et strictae pondera mentis | prudentes habuere viri, quibus omnis in ipsis | census erat* ".

[6] *Id.* i. 794 *sq.*, " *Et censu Tullius oris | emeritus caelum* ".

[7] *Id.* ii. 109-110, " *Mitte alias artes, quarum est permissa facultas invidiosa adeo, nec nostri munera census* ", compare with line 115, " *Quis caelum posset nisi caeli munere nosse* ".

[8] *Id.* iii. 72 *sq.*, " *Totumque hominis per sidera censum | ordine sub certo duxit* ".

[9] *Id.* iv. 877, " *Inque ipsos mundi descendere census* " ; compare i. 12, " *Et cupit aetherios per carmina pandere census* " (where *census* is Scaliger's correction of the MS. reading *sensus*). In one passage of Manilius the word appears to mean simply " substance " (ii. 167 *sq.*, " *Toto gaudentia censu | signa* ").

in other passages Manilius employs *census* in its ordinary significance of " wealth ", " possessions ".[1]

I. 229. **Why is the figure of a ship stamped on one side of the copper coin, and a two-headed figure on the other?**—The round copper coin known as an *as* was from its first issue (probably about 338 B.C.) stamped with a two-headed bearded Janus on the obverse and the prow of a ship on the reverse. Many specimens of these coins are extant.[2] These coins are described by other ancient writers as well as by Ovid.[3] The traditional reason assigned for the figures on the coins was that Janus was an ancient Italian king who reigned on the hill named after him the Janiculum, where he received the banished Saturn, and being the first to issue stamped money he put on one side of his coins his own effigy and on the other side the prow of a ship to commemorate the ship in which his divine guest had arrived at Rome.[4] It has been suggested,[5] with much probability, that the device of the prow on the coins was adopted to commemorate the conquest of Antium in 338 B.C., when the naval power of that city was destroyed and the prows (*rostra*) of some of the ships were carried to Rome and affixed as a trophy to the speakers' platform (*rostrum*) in the Forum.[6] It can hardly be a mere coincidence that the device of the prow appears to have begun to figure on the coins about the very time when the real prows first adorned the speakers'

[1] *Id.* iv. 11, " *Et summum census pretium est effundere censum* "; iv. 172, " *Et rerum pretio subitos componere census* "; iv. 191, " *Nec tam compendia census* " (short cuts to fortune); iv. 272, " *Nec deest nec superest census* "; iv. 507, " *Non contenta suo generabit pectora censu (Aries)* "; iv. 538, " *Non legabit opes censumque inmerget in ipso* " (of the glutton).

[2] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 33 *sq.*; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 963 *sq.*, with fig. 1158; G. F. Hill, *Handbook of Roman Coins* (London, 1899), p. 46; *Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by Sir J. E. Sandys [3] (Cambridge, 1921), p. 454; H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins* (London, 1928), pp. 3-5, with Plate iii. Mr. Mattingly holds that these coins were not issued till a little before or after 300 B.C.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 45; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 22; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romani*, 3. 4; Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 13; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 41.

[4] Macrobius, Aurelius Victor, Lactantius, Plutarch, *ll.cc.*

[5] By E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. pp. vii *sq.* Babelon also suggested that the two-headed effigy on the coins originally represented Castor and Pollux, to whose worship the Romans were addicted. But the effigy was not so interpreted by the Romans themselves.

[6] Livy, viii. 14. 12; compare Florus, i. 5. 10.

platform. But it is also possible, though less likely, that the prow was put on the coins simply as a badge or crest to indicate the situation of Rome on a navigable river, just as Paris for a like reason put a ship on its coat of arms. These coins Roman boys used to throw up in the air, crying "Heads or ship?" just as English boys cry "Heads or tails?"[1] Again, gamblers would lay down one of the coins, cover it up and cry, "Heads or ship?"[2] Curiously enough, in these cries the Latin word for ship (*navis*, accusative *navem*) was mispronounced *navia* or *naviam*.[3]

I. 234. **In a ship the sickle-bearing god came to the Tuscan river.** — The sickle-bearing god is Saturn.[4] The ancients interpreted the sickle as a reaping-hook, the symbol of Saturn as a god of agriculture.[5] His arrival in a ship at Rome and his reception by Janus are recorded by other ancient writers.[6] "The Tuscan river" is the Tiber. Our author repeatedly refers to the river by that name or as "the Tuscan water".[7] The Tiber rises in the north and flows south, dividing Etruria from Umbria, the Sabine country, and Latium, before it reaches the sea at Ostia.

I. 238. **the country, too, was called Latium from the hiding ("latente") of the god.**—Virgil gives the same absurd derivation of the name Latium, which, according to him, was so called because, when Saturn was banished by Jupiter from Olympus, he hid (*latuisset*) in Latium.[8]

I. 241. **Myself inhabited the ground whose left side is lapped by sandy Tiber's glassy wave.** — The hill on the right bank of the Tiber, still called the Janiculum, was supposed to have taken its name from Janus, as Ovid mentions a few lines below.[9] According to some accounts, Janus was himself an immigrant in Italy, having arrived

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 22.
[2] Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 3. 5.
[3] Macrobius and Aurelius Victor, *ll.cc.*
[4] Compare Martial, xi. 6. 1; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iii. 29.
[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Saturno", p. 432 ed. Lindsay; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 24; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vi. 25; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vii. 19; Isidore, *Origines*, viii. 11. 32; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 42.
[6] See above, p. 121, note on line 229.
[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 500, iv. 48, 294, v. 628, vi. 714.
[8] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 319-323.
[9] Compare Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 358; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vii. 4.

there by ship from Greece. Some said that he was a Greek from Perrhaebia in Thessaly, and settling among the barbarians of Italy changed his language and mode of life, or rather reformed the wild and lawless habits of the aborigines by teaching them agriculture and civilization.[1] A still more curious account of him was given by Draco of Corcyra, an otherwise unknown writer. "The story goes", says he, "that Janus had two faces, one behind, and one in front, that from him the river Janus and the mountain Janus are named, he having dwelt on the mountain. He was also the first to invent a crown, and rafts, and ships, and the first to stamp bronze money. Hence many cities in Greece and Italy and Sicily stamp on their coins a two-faced head, and on the other side either a raft or a crown or a ship. He married his sister Camise and begat a son Aethex and a daughter Olistene. And being ambitious of a larger sphere of action he sailed across to Italy and settled on the hill near Rome which is called after him Januclum (Janiculum)." [2] The sister of Janus is named Camasene by Joannes Lydus on the authority of a certain Demophilus ; [3] and according to one account Tiberinus, who gave his name to the Tiber, was a son of Janus and Camasene.[4] Macrobius reports that Italy was formerly called Camesene after a certain native named Cameses, who reigned over it jointly with Janus, their capital being the Janiculum, but afterwards Janus reigned alone. As for the two faces of Janus, looking forward and backward respectively, Macrobius had no doubt that they referred to the king's wisdom and prudence, implying that he knew the past and foresaw the future, like the two minor Roman divinities, Antevorta and Postvorta.[5]

I. 243. **Here, where now is Rome, green forest stood unfelled.** — Roman poets loved to dwell in thought on the wild woods, green pastures, and still waters that had long vanished to make room for the crowded streets, the splendid temples, and the gorgeous palaces of the capital of the

[1] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 22.
[2] Athenaeus, xv. 46, p. 692 d, e, quoting Draco of Corcyra.
[3] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 2. p. 66 ed. Wuensch.
[4] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 330.
[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 19-20.

world.[1] Ovid himself recurs to the same thought repeatedly in the course of the present poem.[2]

I. 249. **The sins of mortals had not yet put Justice to flight.** — It is said that during the Golden Age the virgin Justice, daughter of Astraeus, dwelt on earth and mingled freely with men, immortal though she was; in the market-place and in the streets she sat chanting her judgements. It was a happy time: men knew nor strife nor war: the stormy sea was far away, and no ships brought them the wares of foreign lands: they lived by tilling the earth, which they furrowed under the ox-drawn plough. But when the Golden Race was gone and their place was taken by the Silver Race, Justice no longer dwelt among men. She did not, indeed, quit the earth, but she withdrew to the hills, and thence she came alone at eventide and spake to some solitary man with gentle words. But in the crowded assemblies she lifted up her voice and rebuked the people for their evil ways, reminding them of the goodness of their fathers in the Golden Age, and warning them of the wars and bloodshed and sorrow that should come upon the world when their sons should follow after them. So she would speak and then retire to the hills, while the people gazed after her retreating figure, till their eyes could behold her no longer. But when these were dead, and the men of the Bronze Age arose, and forged swords, and devoured the plough-oxen, then Justice hated them and flew away to heaven, and there she dwells where nightly she may be seen of men in the form of the constellation Virgo, near to far-seen Boötes.[3] As the daughter of Astraeus she was called by Roman poets Astraea.[4]

I. 257. **Since there are so many archways, why dost thou stand thus consecrated in one alone, here where thou hast a temple adjoining two forums?** — There were many archways (*iani*) in Rome, and as Janus gave his name to

[1] Compare Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 314 *sqq.*; Propertius, v. (iv.) 1. 1 *sqq.*; Tibullus, ii. 5. 23-38.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 93 *sq.*, 639-642.

[3] Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 96-136. Compare Germanicus, *Aratea*, 103-139; Scholiast on Germanicus, *Aratea*, 95 (in F. Eyssenhardt's edition of Martianus Capella, pp. 387 *sq.*); Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 25; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 89-150; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 9.

[4] Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 150; Juvenal, vi. 19.

them he was naturally supposed to preside over them all,[1] but Ovid here implies that in only one of them was there an image of the god. The one to which he refers is clearly the famous archway in the Forum, the gates of which, as Ovid himself says a few lines lower down (line 277), were closed in peace and open in war. The poet here calls the archway a temple and says that it stood at the junction of two forums, by which he must have meant the Forum Romanum and the Forum Julium; but no remains of it have been discovered and even its site is uncertain.[2] The poet's statement, or implication, that this little shrine contained an image of Janus is confirmed by the evidence of Procopius and Varro.[3] However, the image in that, the most famous of his shrines, was not the only one of the god in Rome. We have seen that there was an ancient statue of him which was said to have been dedicated by King Numa,[4] and another which was brought to Rome from Falerii on the conquest of that city.[5] However, the former image may well have been the one in the Forum to which Ovid here alludes. To these may perhaps be added another image of Father Janus, which, according to Pliny, was brought by Augustus from Egypt and dedicated in the temple of the god; critics hesitated whether to assign it to the hand of Scopas or of Praxiteles.[6] If the image was really by one or other of these great Greek sculptors, it cannot have represented Janus, though the Romans may still have so interpreted it. Perhaps, as has been suggested, it was a double-headed bust or statue of Hermes.[7]

But what was the temple of Janus in which the image was dedicated by Augustus? It may have been the temple of Janus in the Vegetable Market (*Forum Holitorium*), which was built by Caius Duilius, in memory, apparently, of the great naval victory which he won over the Carthaginians at Mylae in 260 B.C. This temple was repaired by

[1] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 27. 67; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 7.
[2] See above, p. 101.
[3] Procopius, v. 25. 19-22; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 165. See above, pp. 101 *sq.*
[4] Above, p. 36.
[5] Above, p. 98.
[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 28.
[7] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* [2], p. 106.

the Emperor Tiberius in A.D. 17.[1] It was, no doubt, identical with the temple of "Janus at the theatre of Marcellus", where sacrifices were offered to the god on August 17th and October 18th, as we learn from the ancient calendars.[2] For the Vegetable Market was situated outside the wall of Servius, between the Capitol and the river; it occupied part of the site of the modern Piazza Montanara, near which are the fine remains of the theatre of Marcellus.[3] It is said that in this temple of Janus, which stood outside of the Carmental Gate, the Senate met when they passed the fatal resolution in virtue of which the gallant three hundred Fabii marched out to their death through the Carmental Gate; hence it was ever afterwards forbidden to hold a meeting of the Senate in that temple.[4]

To the south-east of the modern Piazza Montanara the church of San Nicola in Carcere occupies the site of three ancient temples, one of which is believed to have been the temple of Janus "at the theatre of Marcellus". Ruins of the three temples are still to be seen in and under the church. They suffice to show that the three temples were approximately of the same size and stood side by side, all with the same orientation, facing the east. The architectural frag-

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 49.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 325, 332. It has been suggested that August 17, which was also the festival of the Portunalia, was the day of the original dedication of the temple, and that October 18 was the day on which the temple was dedicated afresh after its restoration by Tiberius. See Aust, *De aedibus sacris Populi Romani* (Marburg, 1889), pp. 15, 44; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 106. The temple of Janus at the theatre of Marcellus is mentioned also by Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 607), who, however, confounded it with the more famous shrine of Janus in the Forum.

[3] O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 192, 194, 221; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 389 *sq.*; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 507 *sq.* As to the Vegetable Market (*Forum Holitorium*) see Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 146. The theatre of Marcellus was planned by Julius Caesar but built by Augustus, who named it after his nephew and son-in-law Marcus Marcellus, the same Marcellus whose premature death (in 23 B.C.) Virgil has immortalized in the *Aeneid* (vi. 860 *sqq.*). The edifice was dedicated in 13 B.C., according to Dio Cassius, or 11 B.C., according to Pliny. See Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 44. 1; *id.*, *Augustus*, 29. 4; *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 21-22, p. 99 ed. Hardy, pp. 28, 30 ed. Diehl[4]; Dio Cassius, xliii. 49. 2, liv. 26. 1; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 65. Even in its ruins the theatre is still one of the most imposing monuments of ancient Rome. Compare S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 368 *sq.*

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Religioni", p. 358 ed. Lindsay. As to the march and death of the three hundred Fabii see Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 195 *sqq.*, with the note.

ments are of tufa, travertine, and peperino, with no trace of marble, except in the late restorations. All three were peripteral, that is, surrounded by colonnades, except that the northern temple had no columns at the back. The two larger temples were of the Ionic order; the smallest was of the Doric order. Three of the columns of the central and largest temple are built into the façade of the church; while pieces of the cella wall and of other columns with their architrave have been built into other parts of the sacred edifice. Of the northern temple there are still standing six columns built into the walls of the church. Of the southern and smaller temple some columns are also still standing. It is supposed to be the temple of Juno Sospita, which was vowed in 197 B.C., dedicated in the Vegetable Market in 194 B.C., and restored about a century later by decree of the Senate during the Marsian war.[1] The central and largest temple is conjectured to be that of Hope (*Spes*), which was dedicated by A. Atilius Calatinus in the first Punic war.[2] Like the temples of Janus and Juno Sospita, it stood in the Vegetable Market.[3] The northern temple is conjecturally identified with that of Janus. Together the three temples appear to have occupied nearly the whole of the west side of the Vegetable Market.[4] The temple of Janus in this market appears to have been the only temple in the strict sense of the word which Janus possessed in Rome,[5] though in the present passage Ovid incorrectly calls his little shrine in the Forum a temple.

I. 260. **the warlike deeds of Oebalian Tatius.** — Titus Tatius, the king of the Sabines, was at first the enemy and afterwards the colleague of Romulus in the kingdom. He is called Oebalian after Oebalus, an ancient king of Sparta, father of Tyndareus,[6] because the Sabines claimed to be

[1] Livy, xxxii. 30. 10, xxxiv. 53. 3; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 44. 99.
[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 49; Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 11. 28.
[3] Livy, xxi. 62. 4.
[4] As to the three temples in the Vegetable Market and their existing remains, see O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 192-194; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 507-514; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 390-392.
[5] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 106.
[6] Pausanias, iii. 1. 3 *sq.*; Apollodorus, iii. 10. 4, with my note; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 457; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 581.

descended from the Spartans.[1] Later on in this poem Ovid calls the Roman matrons *Oebalides*,[2] that is, descendants of Oebalus, because they traced their descent from the Sabine women who came to Rome with Tatius. In another passage Ovid, or his imitator, speaks of the Spartan Helen as "a nymph of Oebalus".[3]

I. 261. **how the traitress keeper, bribed by bracelets, led the silent Sabines the way to the summit of the citadel.** —The traitress was Tarpeia, daughter of Tarpeius, the captain in command of the Capitol. When the Capitol was besieged by the Sabines, it chanced that Tarpeia went forth to draw water for a sacred rite, and meeting a party of the enemy she offered to open the gate of the fortress to them if they would give her what they wore on their left arms, meaning by that their golden armlets. When she had fulfilled her part of the compact by admitting the enemy to the citadel, they fulfilled their part by throwing on the traitress not only their armlets but their shields, which they also wore on their left arms. Under the weight she was crushed to death.[4] According to the Roman annalist Piso, the grave of Tarpeia was on the spot where she fell, and there every year the Romans offered libations to her,[5] probably to appease her angry ghost. Elsewhere Ovid has repeated the tale of her treachery and of the way in which Janus saved the citadel by turning a stream of boiling water on the attacking Sabines. In that passage he tells us that near the gateway of Janus there was a spring of ice-cold water; and at the moment when the Sabines were about to capture the Capitol, Venus, the patron goddess of Rome, entreated the water-nymphs to heat their water, in order that she might use it in the defence of the citadel. The nymphs complied with her request, and by means of burning pitch and sulphur heated the water to boiling point, so that the gateway was impassable to the foe.[6] The same story is

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 49. 4 *sq.*; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 16. 1.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 230.

[3] Ovid, *Heroides*, xvi. 128.

[4] Livy, i. 11. 6-9; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 38-40; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 17.

[5] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 40. 3.

[6] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 775-802.

told, with a few more local details, by Macrobius. According to him, there was, at the foot of the Viminal hill, a gate which from the event was afterwards called the Gate of Janus (*porta Ianualis*). When the Sabines attacked the Capitol the Romans hastened to close this gate, but no sooner had they shut it than it opened again of itself. The same thing happened again and again, and just when the Sabines were about to rush in through the open gate a torrent of boiling water burst out of the shrine of Janus (*ex aede Iani*) and scalded to death or swept away whole troops of the enemy. Hence it was resolved that in time of war the shrine of Janus should be unbarred, to signify that the god had gone forth for the protection of the city.[1] The same explanation of the custom of opening the gateway of Janus in time of war is given by Servius. But he adds that according to others this shrine of Janus was built by Romulus and Tatius jointly after they had made peace with each other, and that Janus was given two faces to symbolize the union of the two kings.[2] The foundation of the whole story seems to have been a tradition that once there was a hot spring at the shrine of Janus in the Forum.[3]

I. 265. **the gate from which Saturn's envious daughter had removed the opposing bars.**—" Saturn's envious daughter " is Juno, who is called the daughter of Saturn because her Greek counterpart Hera was the daughter of Cronus, whom the Romans identified with their Saturn. Here and in the parallel passage [4] Ovid says that she opened the gate to the enemy on account of the grudge she bore to the Romans, the descendants of her hated rival Venus.

I. 276. **in its flame it burns the sacrificial spelt and cake.** —The cake (*strues*) here mentioned was a special kind of sacrificial cake made in the shape of fingers joined together.[5] It was offered to Janus with this prayer : " Father Janus, in

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 17-18.

[2] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 291 ; compare *id.*, on *Aen.* viii. 361.

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 156 ; compare Festus, *s.v.* " Lautulae ", p. 105 ed. Lindsay. As to the topography compare H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2. p. 349 ; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 191 *sq.*

[4] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 781 *sq.*

[5] Festus, *s.v.* " Strues ", pp. 408, 409 ed. Lindsay ; *id.*, *s.v.* " Ferctum ", p. 75 ed. Lindsay.

offering thee this cake, I pray good prayers, that thou mayest be well disposed and propitious to me, my children, my house, and my household ".[1] When the Arval Brethren offered an expiatory sacrifice for the cutting down of a tree in their sacred grove or the bringing of an iron tool into it, they regularly presented cakes of this sort along with the animal victims, which were pigs and lambs.[2]

I. 285. **on the Rhine already, Germanicus, thy triumph had been won.**—The triumph of Germanicus for his victory over the Germans was celebrated on the twenty-sixth of May A.D. 17, the probable year of Ovid's death.[3] But the triumph had been decreed two years previously, in A.D. 15.[4] In a letter written from his place of exile at Tomi, our poet expresses his joy at the triumph of Tiberius (A.D. 13) for his victories in Pannonia, and foretells the triumph of Germanicus.[5] The present reference to the triumph of Germanicus must have been added to the poem in its last revision at Tomi, whether we suppose that the news of the event actually reached Ovid near the end of his life, or that he only anticipated this crowning honour of the favourite prince.

I. 290. **On this day the Senate dedicated two temples.**—Ovid now begins his account of the festal calendar, in which he notes the festivals and the foundations of temples in chronological order, commencing with the first of January. He tells us that two temples were founded on that day, namely the temple of Aesculapius and the temple of Jupiter, or rather of Vedjovis, on the island of the Tiber. His statement is confirmed by the Praenestine calendar, which under the first of January has the entry *(Aescu)lapio Vediovi in insula*.[6] As that calendar was drawn up by the learned grammarian

[1] Cato, *De agri cultura*, 134. 2.

[2] G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, p. 135; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 5046.

[3] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 41. 2. Compare Suetonius, *Caligula*, I. 1; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 129. 2.

[4] Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 55. 1

[5] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, ii. 1. The reference in this poem (lines 45 *sq.*) to the pardon of Bato makes it quite certain that the triumph which Ovid describes in the poem is the triumph of Tiberius for his victories in Pannonia and not the triumph of Germanicus for his victories in Germany; for Bato was one of the Pannonian leaders, and we learn from Suetonius that at his triumph Tiberius not only pardoned his fallen enemy but amply rewarded him for having once allowed the Roman army to escape from a difficult place. See Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 20.

[6] *C.I.L.* i.^{2} pp. 231, 305.

Verrius Flaccus,[1] we may suppose that Verrius Flaccus was the authority whom Ovid followed in the present passage.

The temples of Aesculapius and Vedjovis in the island, though they were founded on the same day of the month, were not founded in the same year. The occasion of founding the temple of Aesculapius in the island was this. For three years a pestilence had raged at Rome and in the country round about, so at last the Sibylline books were consulted, and an oracle was extracted from them to the effect that the plague could only be stayed by fetching Aesculapius, the god of healing, from his great sanctuary near Epidaurus. Envoys were accordingly dispatched to Epidaurus, where they were courteously received and conducted to the temple of the god, situated in a fine open valley about five miles from the city. There the beneficent deity revealed himself to them in the form of one of the sacred serpents which haunted his sanctuary, and were regarded as incarnations of his divinity. In that shape he graciously signified his consent to attend the envoys to Rome, and in that shape he glided down the beautiful wooded glen to the sea and embarked on the Roman ship. So he sailed to Italy. But when the ship was off Antium, the divine serpent plunged into the sea and swimming ashore wriggled up the trunk of a tall palm tree which grew in front of a temple of Aesculapius or of Apollo. There he stayed for three days, till the envoys began to fear that he intended to take up his abode there permanently. However, at last he condescended to come down and to re-embark in the ship. Then without further delay he sailed up the Tiber to Rome and landed on the island, where accordingly a temple was dedicated to him.[2]

In reporting these events Valerius Maximus tells us that the sacred serpent, which the Epidaurians worshipped as Aesculapius himself, was rarely seen, but that the sight of him never failed to bring a great blessing to the people.[3] But serpents were regularly kept in temples of Aesculapius, and

[1] Suetonius, *De grammaticis*, 17.

[2] Livy, x. 46. 6-7; *id.*, *Per.* xi.; Valerius Maximus, i. 8. 2; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 626-744; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 22; Festus, *s.v.* "In insula", p. 98 ed. Lindsay; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 94.

[3] Valerius Maximus, i. 8. 2.

we can hardly doubt that they were all thought to be incarnations of the god.[1] From an inscription found in the great sanctuary of Aesculapius near Epidaurus, whence the god went in serpent form to Rome, we learn that serpents were kept there, which were supposed to heal the sick by licking them.[2] The ground of the healing power attributed to serpents was probably the belief that by sloughing their skin they renewed their youth; for it was natural to suppose that a creature which could thus renovate itself could also renew the energies and prolong the life of the sick and suffering. Indeed, a scholiast on Aristophanes expressly alleges this belief as the reason why Aesculapius had serpents for his ministers. "Aristophanes," observes his scholiast, "naturally says that Aesculapius has serpents for ministers; for since serpents by stripping off their old skin renew their youth perpetually, so the god by scaling off, as it were, the diseases of the sick makes them young again."[3] In fact, this appears to have been the explanation commonly and correctly given by the ancients of the association of serpents with Aesculapius.[4] So firmly implanted in the minds of the ancients was this association of the renewal of youth with the sloughing of the skin that both in Greek and Latin the ordinary word for old age was also applied to the slough of serpents.[5]

The other temple in the island of which Ovid here makes mention was vowed in 200 B.C. by the praetor L. Furius

[1] Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 733 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ii. 11. 8, ii. 28. 1; Herodas, iv. 90 *sq.*

[2] For the tablets inscribed with this and other cures that have been found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius near Epidaurus see Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, Athens, 1883, coll. 197-228; H. Collitz und F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, iii. Erste Hälfte (Göttingen, 1899), pp. 151-157. No. 3339; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques* (Brussels, 1900), pp. 823-827, No. 1069; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3] Nos. 1168-1170 (vol. iii. pp. 310-330). The healing by the serpent is recorded in inscription No. 1168 (Dittenberger[3]), No. 1069 (Michel), lines 112 *sqq.*

[3] Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 733.

[4] Cornutus, *Theolog. Graec. Compendium*, 33, p. 70 ed. Lang; *Scriptores poeticae Historiae Graeci*, ed. A. Westermann (Brunsvigae, 1843), p. 364, lines 13-17; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 20. 2. On this subject see further my note on Pausanias, ii. 10. 3 (vol. iii. pp. 65-67).

[5] In Greek γῆρας, in Latin *senectus* and *senecta*. See Aristotle, *Histor. Animal.* vii. 18 (vol. i. pp. 600 a-601 b, ed. Bekker, Berlin); Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, i. 10. 31; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 111, xx. 254.

Purpurio during a battle with the Gauls [1] and dedicated six years later in 194 B.C. by C. Servilius.[2] Ovid says (line 293) that it was a temple of Jupiter, but Livy, in recording the vow, calls it a temple of Vedjovis, though afterwards, in registering the dedication, he agrees with Ovid in calling it a temple of Jupiter. How are we to explain the discrepancy in the nomenclature? The mention of Vedjovis in the Praenestine calendar [3] seems to show that Vedjovis was the correct title of the god in the island; but Vedjovis was after all, as Ovid himself tells us later on,[4] only Jupiter under a particular aspect which the Romans themselves did not clearly understand. Hence we may suppose that in the present passage the poet has used the more familiar and better understood term Jupiter instead of the more obscure, though nearly synonymous, Vedjovis; and similarly it may be that Livy borrowed his first mention of the temple from an old annalist who rightly named the god Vedjovis, but that in his subsequent mention of its dedication he followed the loose and incorrect fashion of his time by calling the god Jupiter.[5]

I. 291. **him whom the nymph Coronis bore to Phoebus.**— Ovid means the physician-god Aesculapius. In antiquity there was some doubt as to the mother of Aesculapius, though practically none as to his father, who was unanimously believed to be Apollo. Some held that the mother of Aesculapius was a Messenian woman named Arsinoe, others that she was Coronis, daughter of the Thessalian Phlegyas.[6] On the whole the voice of antiquity favoured the latter tradition, which had the powerful support of the priesthood of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, one of the principal seats of the worship of the healing god. Indeed, the Delphic oracle itself pronounced in favour of the claims of Coronis,

[1] Livy, xxxi. 21. 12.
[2] Livy, xxxiv. 53. 7; compare *id.* xxxv. 41. 7.
[3] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 231, 305.
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 429-447, with the notes.
[5] Compare Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 20; Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.² p. 305.
[6] Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 8 (14) *sqq.*, with the note of the Scholiast on 8 (14); *Homeric Hymns*, xvi. *To Aesculapius*, 1 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ii. 26. 3-7, iv. 3. 2, iv. 31. 12; Apollodorus, iii. 10. 3, with my note; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 616 *sq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 71. 1, v. 74. 6; Hyginus, *Fab.* 202; *id.*, *Astron.* ii. 40; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 617; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 506.

and as the oracle was inspired by the god's own father Apollo, this pronouncement might well be accepted as decisive.[1] As if to remove any possible doubt on the subject, there was discovered in the nineteenth century at the god's Epidaurian sanctuary a limestone tablet inscribed with a hymn in honour of Apollo and Aesculapius, in which the pedigree of Aesculapius is set out with a precision that leaves nothing to be desired, and, as we might have anticipated, it entirely confirms the accuracy of the oracle. The author was a certain Isyllus, a native of Epidaurus, who before publishing his hymn submitted it to Apollo himself at Delphi, and the deity expressed his approbation in very cordial terms.[2] Hence Ovid's statement that the mother of Aesculapius was Coronis rests on the highest possible authority.

I. 291. **The island, which the river hems in with its parted waters.**—The island in the Tiber was sometimes known as the island of Aesculapius on account of the temple of the god which it contained. Heartless masters used to expose their sick and worn-out slaves in the island to save themselves the trouble of medical treatment and maintenance, perhaps under the hypocritical pretext that the healing god would look after them. But the Emperor Claudius, with a humanity that does him credit, decreed that all slaves so exposed were free, and that if they recovered their health they should not revert to the ownership of their cruel masters. Further, it was provided that if any master killed a sick slave instead of exposing him, he should be held guilty of murder.[3]

I. 294. **the temples of the mighty grandsire and the grandson.** — Ovid means the temples of Jupiter and Aesculapius ; for Jupiter, or rather his Greek counterpart Zeus, passed for the father of Apollo, who was commonly reputed the father of Aesculapius.

I. 296. **That was part of my promise.**—At the outset of his work Ovid had announced his intention of describing the risings and settings of the constellations as the great

[1] Pausanias, ii. 26. 7.

[2] Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, iii. (1885) coll. 65 *sqq.* ; H. Collitz und F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, iii. 1. pp. 162 *sqq.*, No. 3342.

[3] Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25. 2.

time-keepers of the months and seasons.[1] With the following fine passage in praise of the early astronomers, who were the first to search out the mysteries of the stars, we may compare two similar passages of Manilius. In one of them the poet says that the first to whom nature revealed herself, the first whom she moved to handle these lofty themes, were the kings of the East and inspired priests, whom God himself entered into and employed as his ministers. These men, the poet observes, were the first to create the glorious art and to see how fate hangs on the wandering stars.[2] In the second passage Manilius dwells still more insistently on the divine inspiration of the first astronomers. How, he asks, could man search out the heavens except by heaven's own gift? How could he discover God if he had not in himself something of the divine? How could he discern the extent of yonder infinite vault, the dances of the constellations, the flaming roof of the world, and the eternal war of stars with stars, how could he hold within his narrow breast that vasty deep if nature had not given him holy eyes, a soul akin to her own, and turned it to herself? Surely, he says, from heaven must come the call to heaven, to commerce with the universe.[3] In an epigram of the *Greek Anthology* the astronomer Ptolemy declares: "I know that I am mortal and a creature of a day, but when I search out the revolutions and winding paths of the stars, I no longer touch the earth with my feet, but stand by Zeus himself and take my fill of ambrosia, the food of the gods".[4]

I. 303. **no low ambition tempted them, nor glory's tinsel sheen, nor lust of hoarded pelf.**—We may compare the praise which the eloquent Christian Father Lactantius bestows, somewhat reluctantly, on the disinterested seekers after truth among the pagans. "Men of great and surpassing genius," he says, "in giving themselves up wholly to learning, despising all active business both public and private, devoted all possible labour to the pursuit and quest of truth, esteeming it a far more glorious thing to investigate

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 1 *sq.*
[2] Manilius, i. 40-52.
[3] Manilius, ii. 105-125.
[4] *Anthologia Palatina*, ix. 577. See further F. Cumont, *Le Mysticisme astral* (Bruxelles, 1909), pp. 272-277 (pp. 19-24, separate reprint).

and know the reasons of things, human and divine, than to be diligent in heaping up wealth and amassing honours. By which things, seeing that they are frail and earthly and pertain to the care of the body alone, no one can be made better or more righteous. These men were indeed most worthy to know the truth, which they desired so earnestly to attain unto. For certain it is that some of them cast from them their own private substance and renounced all pleasures to the end, that, naked and with girt up loins, they might follow naked virtue alone: so much did they prize the name and authority of virtue, that in it alone they judged to consist the reward of the highest good." [1]

I. 307. **no need that Ossa on Olympus should be piled.** —Ovid refers to the legendary attempt of the giants Otus and Ephialtes to take heaven by storm by piling the Thessalian mountains on the top of each other. The poet here and elsewhere[2] follows Homer in representing the giants putting Ossa on the top of Olympus, and Pelion on the top of Ossa.[3] But Virgil inverted the order of the mountains, saying that the giants, whom he calls Coeus, Iapetus, and Typhoeus, strove to pile Ossa on Pelion, and Olympus on Ossa,[4] and this order in the superposition of the mountains is apparently adopted by Ovid himself in another passage.[5]

I. 310. **give their own days to the wandering signs.**— By "the wandering signs" our author means the signs of the Zodiac, the constellations whose risings and settings he notes in order to fix the dates of the festivals. As these constellations change their places in the sky in the course of the year they may be said to wander. The reference is not to the planets (πλανῆται, "the wanderers"), which the poet does not notice.

I. 313. **you shall look in vain for the claws of the eight-footed Crab.**—Columella also says that the Crab (that is, the constellation Cancer) sets on the third day before the Nones of January, that is, on the third of January.[6] The

[1] Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 1. [2] Ovid, *Amores*, ii. 1. 13 *sq.*
[3] Homer, *Od.* xi. 307-316; so, too, Apollodorus, i. 7. 4. Compare Horace, *Odes*, iii. 4. 51 *sq.*, who omits Ossa.
[4] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 278-282. Hyginus (*Fab.* 28) similarly represents Ossa as piled on the top of Pelion, but does not mention Olympus.
[5] Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 154 *sq.* [6] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 97.

statement is exact for the true setting of the constellation in the morning. Both writers probably drew their information from Caesar's calendar, but Ovid's statement, as his text stands, refers to the setting of the constellation in the evening, which in fact took place more than five months later on the ninth of June.[1] He seems to have confused the morning with the evening setting of the constellation, unless we choose to correct the mistake by a slight alteration of the text, reading *ubi nox aberit*, "when the night has gone," for *ubi nox aderit*, "when the night has come". See the Critical Note. But Ovid's astronomical blunders, as we shall see later on, are too numerous and glaring to permit us to save his scientific credit at the expense of the unanimous testimony of the manuscripts.

I. 315. **Should the Nones be at hand . . . at the rising of the Lyre.**—Columella and Pliny agree with Ovid in saying that the constellation of the Lyre rises on the Nones (the 5th) of January, and they further say that the rising took place in the morning. From the passage of Pliny we gather that he and consequently, in all probability, Ovid and Columella, borrowed this statement from Caesar's calendar.[2] If that was so, it follows that Caesar, or rather the astronomer on whom he depended, erred egregiously in his calculation; for the apparent rising of the constellation at morning fell two months earlier, on the fifth of November, and the true rising still earlier.[3]

I. 318. **on the Agonal morn Janus must be appeased.**—In the Maffeian and Praenestine calendars this day (January 9) is marked with the letters AGON, and attached to them in the Praenestine calendar is a mutilated explanatory note "*Agonia . . . aut quia*".[4] The same letters AGON, AGO, or AG are attached to March 17 in the Caeretan and Vatican calendars,[5] to May 21 in the Esquiline, Caeretan, Venusian, and Maffeian calendars,[6] and to December 11 in

[1] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 155 *sq.*

[2] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 97; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 234.

[3] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 144 *sq.*

[4] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 223, 231, 306. [5] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 312. [6] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 318.

the Maffeian, Praenestine, and Antian calendars.[1] In the Amiternine calendar this last day (December 11) is marked by the letters AG IN,[2] which are probably a stonecutter's mistake for AGON, though Mommsen formerly proposed to explain them as an abbreviation for AG(ONIA) IN(UI), that is, "an Agonia in honour of Inuus". But this conjecture is highly improbable.[3] The meaning of the letters AGON was unknown to the ancients, as we may gather from Ovid's guesses in the following lines, and it has not been discovered by modern scholars, who have equally failed to trace any ritual connexion between the days (January 9, March 17, May 21, December 11) so marked in the ancient calendars ;[4] unless, indeed, we accept the view of Wissowa that *agonium* was simply an old word for "sacrifice", derived from the verb *agere*, "to act",[5] which was technically used in the sense of "to sacrifice", as Ovid himself reminds us a few lines below (line 322). In that case Ovid's first guess would be substantially right, and we could understand why the letters AGON were appended to the names of diverse and unrelated deities on different days of the year. The form of the name *agonium* is attested by Festus, who says that it was the name of the day on which the Sacrificial King sacrificed a victim ; "for the ancients called a victim an *agonia*. They also thought that the god who presides over the doing of things (*rebus agendis*) was called Agonius, and that his festival was called *Agonalia*."[6] Further, Festus derived the name *agonia*, "victim", from the verb *agere*, thus supporting the etymology adopted by Wissowa.[7] In agree-

[1] *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 336.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 245, 336.

[3] G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (München, 1904), pp. 231 *sq.*

[4] L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 178 *sq.* ; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] 323 ; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 280-282 ; G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 168 *sq.*, 231 *sq.* ; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 29, 317 note[3], 439 note[6].

[5] G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 169 note[1] ; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 29.

[6] Festus, *s.v.* "Agonium", p. 9 ed. Lindsay, "*Agonium dies appellabatur, quo rex hostiam immolabat ; hostiam enim antiqui agoniam vocabant. Agonium etiam putabant deum dici praesidentem rebus agendis ; Agonalia eius festivitatem.*" The festival Agonalia is mentioned also by Macrobius, who says that it was instituted by Numa (*Saturn.* i. 4. 7 and 9).

[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Agonias", p. 9 ed. Lindsay, "*Agonias hostias putant ab agendo dictas*".

ment with Festus, the great Roman antiquary Varro defines *Agonal* days as those in which the Sacrificial King sacrificed a ram in the king's house (*Regia*); and he derived the adjective *Agonal* from *agone*, "Shall I strike?" the question put by the priest's minister before killing the victim.[1] A comparison of these passages of Festus and Varro with the following passage of Ovid strongly suggests that the poet drew both his facts and his theories from Varro and Verrius Flaccus, the author of the treatise *On the Signification of Words*, of which the work of Festus is an abridgement. Otherwise we can hardly explain the coincidence between them in respect both of the derivation of *Agonal* from *agone* and the explanation of *agonia* as signifying a sacrificial victim or sheep.

From Ovid's statement that Janus must be appeased "on the Agonal morn" we may infer that the sacrifice of a ram offered on that day by the Sacrificial King in the king's house was offered to Janus.

But Festus suggests a second and quite different explanation of *agonium*. He says that perhaps *agoni* was a name for mountains, and that *agonia* were sacrifices offered on a mountain; hence at Rome the Quirinal hill was called *Agonus*, and the Colline Gate was called *porta Agonensis*.[2] With this we may compare another mutilated gloss in Festus, which is probably to be restored as follows: "*Septimontium* ('seven hills') is the name of the day in December the third before the Ides (that is, December 11), which is called Agonalia in the calendars, because on that day sacrifices are offered on seven hills, the Palatine, the Velian, the Fagutalian, the Subura, the Cermalus, the Caelian, the Oppian, and the Cispian".[3] This festival of the Seven Hills (*Septimontium*)

[1] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 12, "*Dies Agonales per quos rex in regia arietem immolat, dicti ab 'agone', eo quod interrogatur a principe civitatis et princeps gregis immolatur*". Here I read *agone* with K. O. Müller instead of *agon* with Goetz and Schoell, the latest editors of the treatise.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Agonium", p. 9 ed. Lindsay, "*Sive quia agonos dicebant montes, Agonia sacrificia, quae fiebant in monte; hinc Romae mons Quirinalis Agonus et Collina porta Agonensis*".

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Septimontium", restored by G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 234, "(*Septimontium dies ap*)*pellatur mense* (*Decembri iii. idus, qui dicitur in*) *fastis Agonalia*, (*quod ea die septem m*)*ontibus fiunt sa*(*crificia: Palatio, Velia, F*)*agutali, Subura*, (*Cermalo, Caelio, Oppio*), *Cispio*". The gloss is restored, with some unimportant differences of detail, by Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 336, and W. M. Lindsay in his edition of Festus, p. 458. Com-

on December 11 is confirmed by the entry under that date of *Septimontium* in a fragment of an ancient calendar (the *Fasti Guidizzolenses*),[1] and by the entry under the same date of *Septimontia* in the calendar of Philocalus.[2] But we have seen that December 11 was the day of the festival called *Agonium* or *Agonia*;[3] hence it would seem that Festus identified the festivals called *Agonium* and *Septimontium*. However, the two were distinguished by Joannes Lydus, though he recognized that they were celebrated on the same day; according to him, the *Agonalia*, as he calls it, was a festival in honour of the Laurel-bearing Sun (by whom he probably meant Apollo), and the *Septimontium* was a festival in honour of the Seven Hills on which Rome was founded, but he names the hills differently from Festus.[4] The question of the identity or difference of the *Agonium* and *Septimontium* remains obscure. Varro says that the day was called *Septimontium* after the seven hills on which Rome was built, but that it was a festival, not of the whole people, but only of the inhabitants of the hills.[5] It seems to have comprised a sacrifice, called *Palatuar*, offered on the Palatine Hill[6] by the priest called *flamen Palatualis*, who had charge of the sacred rites performed on the hill.[7] The festival of the Seven Hills (*Septimontium*) is mentioned also by Plutarch, but all that we gather from his notice of it is that on that day it was forbidden to use carts and carriages drawn by beasts of burden.[8] A feature of the day was a banquet, which on one occasion Domitian celebrated with great profusion, distributing large baskets of provisions to senators and knights and smaller baskets to the multitude,

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pare Festus (Paulus), *s.v.* "Septimontium", p. 459 ed. Lindsay, "*Septimontium appellabant diem festum, quod in septem locis faciebant sacrificium: Palatio, Velia, Fagutali*[*a*]*, Subura, Cermalo, Caelio, Oppio et Cispio*". Compare Festus, *s.v.* "Septimontio", pp. 474, 476 ed. Lindsay.

[1] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 253, 336.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 278, 336.

[3] Above, pp. 137 *sq.*

[4] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 155, pp. 172 *sq.* ed. Wuensch.

[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 24, "*Dies Septimontium nominatus ab his septem montibus, in quis sita urbs est; feriae non populi, sed montanorum modo, ut paganalibus* (*paganalia* C. O. Müller), *qui sunt alicuius pagi*"; compare *id.*, v. 41.

[6] Festus, *s.v.* "Septimontio", p. 476 ed. Lindsay.

[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Palatualis flamen", pp. 284, 285 ed. Lindsay.

[8] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 69.

and himself setting the example of falling to.[1] The festival is mentioned by Tertullian among the things in which no Christian should take part.[2]

I. 321. **just before he dyes the brandished knife in the warm blood, he always asks "Agone?" ("Shall I proceed?").**—Here Ovid probably followed Varro, who, as we have already seen, similarly derived *Agonal* from the question *agone* put by the priest's minister before he slaughtered the victim.[3] Hence these sacrificial butchers are said to have been called *agones*.[4]

I. 325. **Others think the ancients called this festival Agnalia ("festival of lambs").**—This proposed derivation of *Agonalia* from *agna*, "a lamb", is of course impossible.

I. 327. **because the victim fears the knives mirrored in the water before they strike.**—The somewhat subtle thought of the sacrificial victim shrinking at the reflection in the water of the knife raised to strike is repeated by Ovid in another passage.[5] We can hardly doubt that the poet borrowed the idea from Callimachus, who speaks of the oxen breaking their hearts at sight of the sharp knife in the water.[6]

I. 331. **In the ancient tongue, too, agonia meant a sheep.**—So Festus says that "the ancients called a sacrificial victim (*hostia*) an *agonia*".[7]

I. 332 *sq.* **the King of the Sacred Rites is bound to placate the divinities by sacrificing the mate of a woolly ewe.**—So Varro says that on an Agonal day "the King (of the Sacred Rites) sacrifices a ram in the king's house".[8]

[1] Suetonius, *Domitian*, 4. 5.

[2] Tertullian, *De idolotria*, 10. As to the *Septimontium* see further Th. Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*, iii. 1, pp. 113 *sq.*; H. Jordan, *Die Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1, pp. 199 *sq.*, ii. 210-212; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 265-267; G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 230-252; S. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 38-41.

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 12. See above, p. 139.

[4] Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 463.

[5] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 134 *sq.*, "*Percussaque sanguine cultros | inficit in liquida praevisos forsitan unda*".

[6] Callimachus, *Aitia*, iii. 1. 10 *sq.* (p. 206 ed. Mair), ἠῷοι μὲν ἔμελλον ἐν ὕδατι θυμὸν ἀμύξειν | οἱ βόες ὀξείαν δερκόμενοι δορίδα.

[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Agonium", p. 9 ed. Lindsay. See above, p. 138.

[8] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 12; compare Festus, *s.v.* "Agonium", p. 9 ed. Lindsay. See above, pp. 138, 139.

Though Ovid here speaks of placating the divinities in general, it is probable that the ram was sacrificed to Janus in particular.[1]

I. 335. **The victim is so called because it is felled by a victorious right hand.**—The Romans had two words, *victima* and *hostia*, to designate an animal offered in sacrifice. The words were not sharply distinguished, but on the whole *victima* was applied to the larger and nobler victims, particularly cattle (*armenta*), and *hostia* to the smaller and meaner victims, such as sheep and goats (*pecudes*).[2] Servius says that a *hostia* is a sacrifice offered by those who are about to march against an enemy (*hostis*); and that *victima* is a sacrifice offered after a victory (*post victoriam*). But this distinction, based on assumed etymologies of the two words, is untenable, and Servius himself admits that the words were used indiscriminately even by good authorities.[3] Festus says that the greatest *hostia* was the sheep, not on account of its size, but by reason of its gentle nature.[4] Horace seems to use the words *victima* and *hostia* as equivalent;[5] and Pliny employs *hostia* as a general word to include the larger horned victims, that is, cattle.[6]

I. 337. **Of old the means to win the goodwill of gods for man were spelt and the sparkling grains of pure salt.**—In a well-known ode Horace speaks of spelt and salt as an offering better fitted to appease the family gods (*Penates*) than a costly victim;[7] and Tibullus mentions spelt and sputtering salt as the offering presented by one who has an evil dream and desires to avert the omen.[8] According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, spelt (*far*) was the most ancient food of the Romans, as barley was of the Greeks; hence the Romans began every burnt sacrifice with spelt, just as the Greeks began it with barley.[9] Pliny says that spelt

[1] Compare line 318, above, p. 137.

[2] J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] 171; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 412.

[3] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 334, "*Sed haec licenter confundit auctoritas*".

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Maximam hostiam", p. 113 ed. Lindsay.

[5] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 23. 12 and 18.

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 39, "*Deorum causa in sacris nihil aliud excogitatum est quam ut auratis cornibus hostiae, maiores dumtaxat, immolarentur*".

[7] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 23. 16-20.

[8] Tibullus, iii. 4. 9-10.

[9] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 25. 2.

was the first food used by the Latins in antiquity;[1] and according to Verrius Flaccus the Romans used no other cereal for three hundred years.[2] In sacrifices, as Ovid here implies, they mixed the grain with salt: the mixture was called "salted meal" (*mola salsa*).[3] Pliny says that people who had no incense propitiated the gods and obtained favourable omens by an offering of this simple old kind.[4] The custom of worshipping the gods with salted meal was said to have been instituted by King Numa,[5] who in Roman tradition occupied a position like that of Moses in Jewish tradition as the reputed founder of religious laws and institutions. The spelt used in religious rites had to be toasted.[6] In the most solemn form of Roman marriage a loaf of spelt was carried before the bride and offered to Jupiter, who on this occasion was addressed by the title *Jupiter Farreus*, that is, Spelt Jupiter; hence this form of marriage was called *confarreatio*.[7] Ovid calls salt "pure" probably on account of its use in purificatory ceremonies, to which its cleansing properties and its power of preserving organic bodies from decay seemed naturally to adapt it. Thus a house was cleansed from ceremonial pollution by burning "pure" sulphur in it and by sprinkling it with water in which salt was mingled.[8] In Morocco bride and bridegroom at marriage are protected against evil spirits by the application of salt to their persons.[9] In Germany salt is generally believed to be a protection against witchcraft.[10]

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 83.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 62. Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 313.

[3] See note on *Fasti*, vi. 249 (Vol. IV. pp. 174 *sqq.*).

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* i. 11.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 7. Compare Plutarch, *Numa*, 8. 8.

[6] Pliny, xviii. 8.

[7] Gaius, *Instit.* i. 112, "*Farreo in manum conveniunt per quoddam genus sacrificii quod Iovi farreo fit: in quo farreus panis adhibetur, unde etiam confarreatio dicitur*"; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 10, "*In sacris nihil religiosius confarreationis vinculo erat, novaeque nuptae farreum praeferebant.*" In the passage of Gaius the words *quod Iovi farreo fit* are wanting in the old texts, including that of Poste (Oxford, 1875). It appears that the words were first supplied, presumably from the manuscript, by Studemund. See J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*[2], p. 33 note[1]; compare G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 118 *sq.*; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 1172 *sq.*

[8] Theocritus, xxiv. 96-98.

[9] E. Westermarck, *Short History of Marriage* (London, 1926), pp. 199, 216; compare *id.*, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), pp. 103-105.

[10] A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*[2] (Berlin, 1869), p. 91, § 118.

I. 341. **Euphrates had sent no incense, India no balm.**— Incense (*tus*) did not come to Rome from the Euphrates or Mesopotamia but from Arabia alone, and not from the whole of Arabia but only from the spice-bearing country of the Sabaeans,[1] the Sheba of the Old Testament. Of this Virgil was aware.[2] It is said that even among the Arabs only three families were charged with the cultivation of the incense-bearing trees: the members of these families were accounted sacred; and while they were engaged in cutting the trees and collecting the precious resin which exuded from the trunks, they might not pollute themselves by contact with women or funerals.[3] When the incense had been collected, it was brought on camels a distance of eight days' journey to Sabota, the capital of the Sabaean kingdom, situated on a high mountain. The caravans might travel only by a single road, and to diverge from it was made by the kings a capital offence. On reaching the city the caravans might enter only by a single gate, and there the priests exacted a tithe for the god called Sabis or Sabin, the tithe being taken by measure, not by weight. Until it had been paid, no traffic in the incense was permitted.[4] So abundant, it is said, were the incense-bearing trees in this part of Arabia that in summer, when the breeze blew from the land, the perfume was wafted out to mariners at sea,[5] a tradition which Milton has made good use of in describing Satan's approach to Paradise.[6] Ovid is more accurate in mentioning India as the land from which balm (*costum* or *costos*) was brought to Italy: Pliny tells us that the root and the leaves of the shrub were highly valued by the Indians (Hindoos); two sorts of it, a black and a white, grew in an island at the mouth of the Indus, and of the two the white was the better.[7] *Costum* or *costos* is the root of *Saussurea lappa*, a native of Cashmere, still used for scenting shawls.[8]

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xii. 51-52.

[2] Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 117, "*Solis est turea virga Sabaeis*".

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xii. 54.

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xii. 52 and 63. As to the spice-bearing country of the Sabaeans see Strabo, xvi. 4. 19; Diodorus Siculus, iii. 46.

[5] Diodorus Siculus, iii. 46. 4-5. [6] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iii. 159-167.

[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xii. 41. Lucan uses the feminine form of the name (*Pharsal.* ix. 917, "*Eoaque costos*").

[8] Sir W. T. Thiselton-Dyer, in *Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by Sir J. E. Sandys[3] (Cambridge, 1921), p. 88.

The Romans were well aware, as we may gather from the present passage of Ovid, that the use of incense in religious rites was a comparatively modern innovation. Pliny says that in the days of Troy incense was not employed in prayer.[1] Even in his own time, he tells us, the appearance of the incense tree was not certainly known; for, though the Roman arms had penetrated into a great part of Arabia, no Latin writer had described the tree, and the envoys who came from Arabia to Rome in his own lifetime had left the subject, perhaps purposely, even more obscure than they found it.[2] When the Christian Father Arnobius wrote about the end of the fourth century, he fiercely attacked the use of incense in religious rites as a comparatively modern invention ("*novella enim propemodum res est*"): incense, he says, was unknown in the heroic ages: Etruria, "the mother of superstition", had not so much as heard a report of it: it was never employed in worship during the four hundred years that the Alban kingdom lasted: neither Romulus nor Numa, that contriver of religious rites, was aware of its existence, as the use of spelt in the ancient sacrifices suffices to demonstrate. Thus in the days of old neither gods nor men desired the employment of this newfangled incense, which in Arnobius's own time was regularly burned on pagan altars in front of the images of the gods. Arnobius knew that incense was a resin that exuded from the bark of trees, and he asked why any other sort of resin would not serve equally well to raise clouds of smoke by its combustion on the altars?[3] It seems clear that, when the pious Father penned this invective, the Catholic Church had not yet borrowed from paganism the use of incense in its solemn ritual.

The incense (*tus*) of the ancients is believed to be what is now called *olibanum*, a resinous gum which exudes from incisions made in the bark of several species of Boswellia, a tree which grows on bare limestone rocks in the mountains of Somaliland (East Africa) and the south of Arabia. Aden is the port where it is chiefly received.[4]

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 2. [2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xii. 55-57.
[3] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 26-27.
[4] *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, New Edition, vol. vii. (London and Edinburgh, 1926) p. 596.

I. 343. **The altar was content to smoke with savine.**—Savine (*herba Sabina*) is a species of Juniper (*Juniperus Sabina*); it is a low, much-branched and widely spreading shrub with very small evergreen leaves. It bears little black berries, covered with a pale blue bloom. Its foliage has a strong, aromatic, penetrating odour,[1] which no doubt explains why it was burned on Roman altars before incense was imported from the East. Savine was burned with olive wood and laurels to raise a smoke at the shepherds' festival of the Parilia on the twenty-first of April.[2] Pliny says that many people used savine instead of incense for the purpose of fumigation;[3] and Virgil, or the author of the *Culex*, observes that "for the men of old the savine stood instead of rich frankincense",[4] a passage which Ovid may have had here in mind.

I. 344. **the laurel burned with crackling loud.**—The crackling of laurel in the fire was regarded as an omen that the corn crops would be good that year.[5] Witches also burned laurel as a means of kindling, by sympathetic magic, the flame of love in the breasts of the men they loved, and they marked the crackling of the leaves in the fire.[6]

I. 345. **garlands woven of meadow flowers.**—According to Pliny, garlands or crowns were at first confined to gods. Father Liber, the Latin equivalent of Dionysus, was said to have been the first to crown himself with ivy. Afterwards a custom was introduced of crowning the victims offered in sacrifice as well as the gods to whom the animals were sacrificed. Still later came the practice of crowning the victors in the sacred games; but in crowning them the presiding magistrate declared that they received this high honour not for their own sake but for the sake of their country. At Rome a victorious general was crowned at his triumph, and the crown was afterwards dedicated in a temple.[7] Lactantius alludes to the custom of crowning

[1] *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, New Edition, vol. vi. (London and Edinburgh, 1925) p. 379.
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 741 *sq.*
[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxiv. 102.
[4] *Culex*, 404, "*Herbaque turis opes priscis imitata Sabinis*".
[5] Tibullus, ii. 5. 81-84.
[6] Theocritus, ii. 23-26; Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 83-84; Propertius, ii. (iii.) 28 (20 or 25 or 26). 36.
[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 9-10.

the images of the gods,[1] and Juvenal to the custom of crowning the victims.[2]

I. 347. **The knife that now lays bare the bowels of the slaughtered bull had in the sacred rites no work to do.**—Here and in what follows Ovid appears to assume that in the olden time animals were not sacrificed, and that the only offerings consisted of vegetable products, such as corn, flowers, and aromatic herbs. There seems to have been in classical antiquity a persistent tradition of a period in the distant past when man was a strict vegetarian and spared the lives of all the animals, deeming them his kindred. It was said that in the time of Numa the sacrifices were mostly bloodless, consisting of meal, libations, and the least costly things, and it was observed that the practice conformed to the principles of Pythagoras,[3] one of whose precepts was to offer no slaughtered victims to the gods and to worship only at bloodless altars.[4] Ovid represents Pythagoras declaring that in the Golden Age men lived on herbs and the fruit of trees and never defiled their lips with blood : in those happy days the birds winged their way unmolested through the air : fearless the hare frisked in the ploughed fields : no too confiding fish hung on the baited hook : all the world was friendly and at peace.[5]

The tradition of such an age of innocence in the remote past was set forth most fully in the treatise *On the Abstinence from Animal Flesh* written by the pagan philosopher Porphyry in the fourth century of our era. The treatise has come down to us entire. In it the author maintains that men of old offered to the gods only the fruits of the earth, but not animals, and that they themselves subsisted on vegetable food alone, not taking the life or tasting the flesh of any living creature.[6] Among the proofs which he adduces of this thesis he points to an altar in the island of Delos at which even down to his own time no animal might be sacrificed, hence it went by the name of the Altar of the Pious ; and as an example of

[1] Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* ii. 1.

[2] Juvenal, xiii. 63. The custom of crowning the victims is mentioned by Lucian (*De sacrificiis*, 12).

[3] Plutarch, *Numa*, 8. 8.

[4] Diogenes Laertius, viii. 1. 22.

[5] Ovid, *Metamorph*, xv. 96-103.

[6] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 5-7, 20-22, 27-31.

primitive vegetarianism he cites the Pythagoreans, who abstained as a general rule from eating animal flesh the whole of their lives.[1] Further, he quotes utterances of the Delphic oracle to prove that the gods loved offerings of the fruits of the earth more than the blood and fat of slaughtered kine. Thus he tells of a certain Thessalian man who sacrificed to Apollo at Delphi hecatombs of oxen with gilded horns, but the priestess told him that the god preferred a man from Hermione who had offered barley cakes, which he had drawn with three fingers out of his wallet.[2]

Again, Porphyry relates how a certain very rich man, the owner of much cattle, came to Delphi from Magnesia in Asia Minor. He was wont out of his abundance to offer magnificent sacrifices every year, hoping thus to be well pleasing to the gods. So when he was come to the sanctuary he sacrificed a hecatomb in grand style to Apollo, and then inquired of the oracle who was the man that had best honoured the god and offered the sacrifices that were most pleasing to him. Now he expected that he himself would be awarded the first prize for piety by the grateful deity. What then was his surprise when the priestess answered that the man who best worshipped the gods was Clearchus, of Methydrium in Arcadia. While the vanity of the inquirer was disappointed by this answer, his curiosity was piqued to see the man of whom the deity thought so highly and to learn from him the manner of his sacrifices. So he made a journey for the purpose to the little town of Methydrium, situated in the very heart of the Arcadian highlands. The spot is now deserted: vineyards occupy the site of the ancient city, though here, as in so many forlorn places of Greece, mouldering remains of walls and towers still testify to the tide of life which once peopled the now melancholy solitude. When he was come to the town and looked about him, the heart of the rich man was filled with contempt for the pettiness and poverty of the place and its inhabitants, and he said to himself that even if they all clubbed together they could not honour the gods more magnificently than he did by himself; how then could a single townsman surpass him in piety? However, having come so far, he thought

[1] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 28. [2] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 15.

he might as well see and question the man whom the god had praised so highly. Accordingly he found Clearchus and put his question to him. Clearchus replied that he was diligent in offering sacrifices to the gods at the proper times. Every month at new moon he cleaned and burnished the images of Hermes and Hecate and of all the other deities bequeathed to him by his forefathers, and he crowned the images with flowers and honoured them with incense, and farls of barley, and cakes ; and every year he offered public sacrifices, never missing a single festival. But at these sacrifices he did not worship the gods with the slaughter of oxen and the chopping up of victims, but with the first-fruits of the earth and the natural produce of the seasons.[1]

Again Porphyry tells us that once upon a time, after a great victory over the Carthaginians, the tyrants, who had joined their forces for the defeat of the common enemy, vied with each other in bringing thank-offerings of hecatombs to the god at Delphi ; and having done so they inquired with which of all the sacrifices the deity was delighted the most. Contrary to their expectation Apollo answered that he was best pleased with the barley cakes of Docimus. Now Docimus was a poor peasant who wrung a scanty subsistence from a patch of stony ground on the heights above Delphi, and that same day he had come down to the sanctuary and offered the god a few handfuls of barley groats from his wallet, and with that humble offering the god was better pleased than with all the hecatombs of the tyrants.[2]

The preference thus accorded by the deity to the fruits of the earth over the blood and flesh of victims is in striking contrast to the view of sacrifice taken by the author of Genesis, who tells us that God did not respect the offering of Cain, which consisted of the fruits of the ground, but that he did respect the offering of Abel, which consisted of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof.[3] The writer of this passage was far removed in thought, not only from the gentle Greek philosopher, but also from the prophet of his own nation who declared that God was weary of the

[1] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 16. As to the situation and ruins of Methydrium see my note on Pausanias, viii. 36. 1 (vol. iv. p. 362).

[2] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 17.

[3] Genesis iv. 1-8.

multitude of sacrifices, that his soul hated the appointed feasts, that he delighted not in the blood of bullocks and lambs and he-goats, that he could not abide the Sabbath, and that even incense was an abomination to him.[1]

Not content with expounding his theory of the greater antiquity and higher value of vegetable offerings, Porphyry attempted, like Ovid in the present passage but more systematically, to trace the downward steps by which mankind had declined to the practice of bloody sacrifices, including the sacrifice of human beings. According to him, the first offerings were made from the wild products of the earth, grass, leaves, and roots. Then, when men had begun to till the ground, they offered barley to the gods, at first the whole grain, but afterwards the grain crushed and ground in the form of groats and meal. The use of barley groats thrown into the fire at the close of every sacrifice continued to the last, in Porphyry's opinion, to testify to the practice of the first authors of agriculture. The cultivation of wheat and the other cereals came later, and in time cakes of wheat and other grains found a place in the offerings to the gods. Of this gradual evolution of vegetable sacrifices Porphyry discovered evidence in the procession which, down to his own day, wound through the streets of Athens in honour of the Sun and the Seasons ; for the offerings which were carried on these occasions consisted entirely of the fruits of the earth, such as wild grasses and herbs of diverse sorts, acorns, pulse, barley, wheat, and cakes and soup or porridge made out of these ingredients. But as time went on, and lawlessness and disorder spread in the world, men learned to slaughter each other and the beasts, and so they came to stain their once innocent altars with animal and even human blood, and more than that to devour the flesh of their victims. Such, according to Porphyry, was in brief the sad history of human declension from an age of innocence and virtue.[2]

On the sorts of animals offered in sacrifice Porphyry makes some remarks which deserve to be borne in mind by the historians of this particular branch of human folly. He observes that the animals sacrificed are, as a rule, not

[1] Isaiah i. 10-15.

[2] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 5-7.

fierce and dangerous beasts, nor yet useless and repulsive creatures, such as snakes, scorpions, and monkeys, but gentle and useful animals, such as cattle, sheep, and some kinds of birds ; in fact, in his choice of victims man has been determined by his own tastes rather than by those of the gods, for the animals that he kills in sacrifice are just those which he likes to eat, and which indeed he devours after offering a portion, often an inferior portion, of the flesh to the deities.[1]

I. 349. **The first to joy in blood of greedy sow was Ceres, who avenged her crop by the just slaughter of the guilty beast.** — Elsewhere Ovid has put in the mouth of Pythagoras the notion that the pig was the first animal to be sacrificed on account of the harm that it did to the crops.[2] The pig was sacrificed to Demeter, the Greek equivalent of Ceres, in her mysteries at Eleusis, and a reason assigned for the sacrifice was that pigs injure the corn ;[3] not only that they ate the grain, but that bursting into the fields they laid low the young shoots or grubbed them up.[4] The ravages that wild pigs make in fields of corn are indeed notorious.[5] According to one tradition, it was Triptolemus who first sacrificed a pig to Ceres (Demeter), because he found that the animal had grubbed up the seed which he had received from Ceres, and which he had just planted in the ground.[6] A different account of the first sacrifice of a pig is given by Porphyry. According to him, in the early days of mankind, when the lives of animals were still sacred, a certain woman named Clymene accidentally shot a pig. Horrified at the crime, her husband repaired to Delphi and inquired of the oracle what could be done to expiate the outrage. The god took the matter lightly and pardoned the sinner ; hence ever after the killing of pigs was accounted legitimate.[7] Servius tells us that sacrificial victims were chosen on the ground either of their similarity or of their opposition to the deities to whom they were offered. Thus, according to him, the pig was sacrificed to Ceres because it injures the

[1] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, 22-25.

[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 111-113.

[3] Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 338 ; compare *id.*, on *Acharn.* 747, and on *Peace*, 374.

[4] Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* x. 16.

[5] I have collected evidence in *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 31 *sqq.*

[6] Hyginus, *Fab.* 277.

[7] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 9.

corn, and a goat was sacrificed to Liber (Dionysus) because it injures the vines; and for a similar reason a she-goat was sacrificed to Aesculapius, the god of health, because a she-goat is never free from fever. On the other hand black victims are sacrificed to Pluto on the principle of similarity, because the infernal god is dark.[1] Varro, like Ovid, thought that the pig was the first victim offered in sacrifice, but he assigns no motive for the choice of the victim. In proof of the antiquity of the rite he refers to the sacrifice of pigs in the mysteries of Ceres (Demeter), at the conclusion of a treaty, and at the marriages of ancient kings and great noblemen in Etruria.[2] Pigs are sacrificed for the good of the crops by some of the hill tribes of Assam. Thus among the Lhota Nagas, when the rice is coming into ear, the priest sacrifices a pig, praying to Rangsi, the deity of the crops, that the rice harvest may be good.[3] The Ao Nagas of Assam also sacrifice pigs for the good of the crops.[4] The Rabhas, a Mongolian people of Assam, worship a goddess of the crops called Bhai Kho or Khoksi Bai. At a great annual festival in her honour, which lasts seven days, they sacrifice fat gelded pigs in order that the crops may be good, the rains copious, and that no earthquakes may happen. On special occasions also they sacrifice a big pig for a big crop.[5] In the agricultural customs and beliefs of modern European peasantry, which are saturated with reminiscences of primitive paganism, the spirit of the corn is often conceived to be embodied in the form of a pig, and it is not impossible that Ceres or Demeter herself was so conceived before, with the growth of anthropomorphism, she was transformed into the likeness of a beautiful woman. If that were so, the killing of a pig in her ritual would be the slaying of the divinity herself. It would be a sacrament rather than a sacrifice.[6]

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 380.

[2] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. 4. 9. In this passage the text, as edited by Keil, appears to be in some disorder.

[3] J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas* (London, 1922), p. 50, compare pp. 51, 54 *sq.*

[4] J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas* (London, 1926), pp. 120, 121.

[5] *Census of India*, 1911, vol. iii. *Assam*, Part I. *Report*, by J. McSwiney (Shillong, 1912), p. 144.

[6] As to the spirit of the corn in the form of a pig, see *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. pp. 298-303; and as to the relation of Demeter to the pig, see *id.* vol. ii. pp. 16-22.

I. 353. **terrified by her example, billy goat, you should have spared the vine-shoot.** — Goats were sacrificed to Bacchus, the god of the vine, and the reason commonly assigned for the sacrifice was that goats injured the vine by nibbling it and were therefore justly punished by being slaughtered at the altar.[1] The first place at which the goat is said to have been sacrificed for this offence was Icarium or Icaria,[2] the earliest seat of the worship of Dionysus (Bacchus) in Attica.[3] But since the god was himself sometimes conceived of as a goat, it is possible that the sacrifices of goats in his worship, like the sacrifices of pigs in the worship of Demeter, were originally sacramental, that is, the god may have been supposed to be killed in the form of the animal.[4]

I. 357. **Pray gnaw the vine, thou he-goat.** — This and the following line are translated from a Greek epigram by Evenus. In it a vine is supposed to address a goat, saying: "Though thou eatest me to the root, yet will I bear fruit enough to pour a libation on thee when thou art sacrificed, O billy-goat".[5]

I. 359. **Thy foe, Bacchus, is given up to thee for punishment.**—Ovid here uses, perhaps with mock solemnity, a technical expression of the law.[6]

I. 362. **But the ox and you, ye peaceful sheep, what was your sin?**—Similarly, in the plea for sparing the lives of animals which Ovid puts in the mouth of Pythagoras, he represents the sage as admitting the guilt of pigs and goats, but asking what sheep and oxen have done to deserve death at the hands of men; he reminds their butchers of the

[1] Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, i. 2. 19; Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 380 *sq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 114 *sq.*

[2] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 10.

[3] See note on *Fasti*, iv. 939 (Vol. III. pp. 414 *sq.*).

[4] See *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. pp. 17 *sq.*, vol. ii. pp. 1 *sqq.*

[5] *Anthologia Palatina*, ix. 75:

κἦν με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω
ὅσσον ἐπισπεῖσαί σοί, τράγε, θυομένῳ.

[6] Festus, *s.v.* "Noxia", p. 181 ed. Lindsay, "*Noxia apud antiquos damnum significabat, sed a poetis ponitur pro culpa: noxa ponitur pro peccato aut pro peccato poena, cum lex iubet noxae dedere pro peccato*". Compare *id. s.v.*, "Noxia", p. 180 ed. Lindsay; Livy, xxvi. 29. 4, "*Obrui Aetnae ignibus aut freto satius illi insulae esse quam velut dedi noxae inimico*".

benefits which they derive from the wool and milk of sheep and from the labours of oxen in the plough.[1]

I. 363. **Aristaeus wept because he saw his bees killed.**— The following story of Aristaeus and his bees is told more at length and with great poetic beauty by Virgil.[2] Ovid here introduces the tale in order to explain the custom of slaughtering cattle in sacrifice. Diodorus Siculus relates, in agreement so far with Virgil, that Aristaeus was a son of Apollo by the nymph Cyrene; that he was brought up by the nymphs, who taught him the arts of making cheese, constructing beehives, and cultivating olives; that thus instructed he communicated these useful inventions to mankind, who in gratitude for these benefits honoured him as a god, like Dionysus. He was revered particularly in Ceos, where, by offering a sacrifice at the rising of the Dog Star (Sirius), he put an end to a pestilence which had been devastating the whole of Greece. He wandered also to Sardinia, Sicily, and other islands, dispensing the blessings of his discoveries wherever he went and reaping his reward in the gratitude of the people. In Sicily he was worshipped as a god, especially by olive-growers. Finally, he settled on Mount Haemus in Thrace, and after dwelling there for some time vanished away. But after his death he was accorded divine honours by the barbarians as well as by the Greeks.[3] Pindar represents the Centaur Chiron prophesying that at his birth the nymphs would drop nectar and ambrosia on the lips of Aristaeus, and that he would be known among men by the names of the Immortal Zeus, the Pure Apollo, the Hunter (*Agrius*), and the Herdsman (*Nomius*) as well as by that of Aristaeus.[4] The titles of Hunter and Herdsman were specially bestowed on him by the people of Mount Haemus.[5]

With regard to the sacrifice which Aristaeus offered to the Dog Star in the island of Ceos we gather some more particulars from Apollonius, supplemented by a note of his Scholiast. From them we learn that the Minoan Isles, that is, the Cyclades, were parched by a long drought,

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 111-126.
[2] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 315-558.
[3] Diodorus Siculus, iv. 81-82. Compare Justin, xiii. 7. 7-10.
[4] Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 59-65.
[5] Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 506 *sq.*

and that in their distress the inhabitants applied to Apollo, who advised them to send for Aristaeus. He came and settled in the island, bringing with him some Arcadians, descendants of Lycaon. There he built a great altar to Humid (*Ikmaios*) Zeus, and offered sacrifices in the mountains to the Dog Star (Sirius) and to Zeus himself, the son of Cronus. For that reason the Etesian winds cool the land every year for forty days; and in Ceos down to this day, says Apollonius, the priests offer sacrifices before the rising of the Dog Star.[1] According to the note of the Scholiast on this passage, the inhabitants of Ceos awaited the rising of the Dog Star fully armed,[2] as if they would repel by force the assault of his burning heat; for like many people in antiquity they attributed the glowing heat of July to the influence of the bright star then conspicuous in the nightly sky.[3]

I. 365. **his azure mother.** — Cyrene, the mother of Aristaeus, was a daughter of Hypseus, king of the Lapiths in Thessaly, who was a son of the river Peneus.[4] Hence Cyrene through her father was a water-nymph and therefore blue, like other nymphs of the water. Virgil represents her dwelling in the crystal depths of the river, where in her watery palace she received and comforted her sorrowing son.[5] A few lines below Ovid speaks of the azure beard of the sea-god Proteus.

I. 367. **Thy losses Proteus will retrieve and will show thee how to make good all that is gone.**—Virgil has described at much greater length the interview of Aristaeus with the oracular and shape-shifting sea-god Proteus, whom he caught slumbering on the yellow sands surrounded by his seals on a summer noon.[6] It is true that in Virgil's narrative the sea-god, carried away by the pathos of the tale of Orpheus and his lost Eurydice, quite forgets to explain how Aristaeus is to bring to life his dead bees; but the defect in the oracle

[1] Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 516-527, with the note of the Scholiast on line 498. Compare Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 4, who probably copied Apollonius. As to Humid (*Ikmaios*) Zeus compare A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 740.

[2] Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 498.

[3] Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 939 *sq.*, with the note.

[4] Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 10 (20) *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 69. 1, iv. 81. 1; Justin, xiii. 7. 7-8.

[5] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 319 *sqq.*

[6] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 418-529.

is supplied by Cyrene. She tells him to pick out four fine bulls and as many heifers, to sacrifice them to the nymphs in their leafy grove, and to leave the carcasses there for eight days. On the ninth morning he was to pay funeral honours to Orpheus by offering him poppies and a black lamb ; then he was to revisit the grove. He complied with his mother's injunctions, and when on the ninth morning he revisited the grove, great was his surprise to hear the buzz of bees in the rotting carcasses of the slaughtered cattle and to see the insects swarming out in clouds and settling in clusters on the trees of the grove.[1]

Virgil's account of the interview of Aristaeus with Proteus, and of the way in which he succeeded in binding the reluctant god despite his transformations, is closely modelled on Homer's description of the meeting which Menelaus had with the same shy and shifty deity in the island of Pharos off the mouth of the Nile ; and just as in Virgil the advice to consult the oracular god is given by a water-nymph, so in Homer it is given by the sea-god's own daughter Eidothea, who betrayed to the handsome Greek stranger the secret of her divine father's little weakness.[2] In Homer the prophetic deity turns himself successively into a bearded lion, a serpent, a leopard, a great boar, water, and a tall leafy tree before, held fast in the grip of Menelaus, he consents to reveal the future to the importunate inquirer.[3] Virgil cuts the pantomime somewhat shorter, saying that Proteus converted himself into all sorts of wonderful things —fire, a horrible wild beast, and a flowing river, until at last, all his tricks being played out, he resumed the shape of a man, or rather of a god, and held discourse with Aristaeus.[4] Such transformations are characteristic of Greek water-spirits, who effect them for the purpose of giving the slip to importunate suitors. Thus, when Peleus caught the sea-goddess Thetis to make her his bride, she is said, in various accounts, to have changed into fire, water, wind, a tree, a bird, a tiger, a lion, a serpent, and a cuttle-fish to escape him, and it was in the form of a cuttle-fish, according to the learned Tzetzes, that Peleus at last gripped and held her

[1] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 530-558.
[2] Homer, *Od.* iv. 354-570.
[3] Homer, *Od.* iv. 454-461
[4] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 440-444.

fast.[1] Again, when Hercules was charged by his task-master to bring him the golden apples of the Hesperides, he did not know where to look for them, but luckily he fell in with the nymphs of Zeus and Themis, who dwelt in a cave beside the river Eridanus, and they told him to inquire of the sea-god Nereus where the golden apples were to be found. So Hercules seized Nereus, and though the sea-god turned into water and fire, the hero clung to him till he returned to his natural shape and directed him to the land of the Hesperides.[2] Again, towards the close of his laborious life Hercules had a tussle with the river-god Achelous, who, finding himself no match for the hero, turned himself successively into a serpent and a bull, but all in vain.[3] Indeed, the river-god is said to have been in the habit of assuming all sorts of shapes.[4] When he applied for the hand of the fair Dejanira, he presented himself in the likeness first of a bull and afterwards of a serpent, but failing to make a favourable impression in these shapes, he next came in the body of a man with a bull-like head and streams of water flowing from his shaggy beard. But still the lady shrank from him in horror.[5]

I. 379. **swarms of bees hive out of the putrid beeve : one life snuffed out brought to the birth a thousand.**— This fable of the spontaneous generation of bees in the putrefying carcass of an ox is countenanced by Varro [6] and repeated by Columella, who in support of it quotes Democritus and Mago as well as Virgil. According to him, the time of year at which this marvel could take place was between the summer solstice and the rising of the Dog Star (Sirius), a period which, according to the manuscripts, he

[1] Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 62 (101) *sqq.*; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 35 (60), iv. 62 (101); Apollodorus, iii. 13. 5; Pausanias, v. 18. 5; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, iii. 618-624; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175, 178 (vol. i. pp. 446, 457 ed. Müller); Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 582; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 235 *sqq.*

[2] Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1396; Apollodorus, ii. 5. 11. The scholiast's account is the fuller.

[3] Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 30-86. Commonly the transformation into a bull is alone mentioned by ancient authorities. See Apollodorus, ii. 7. 5; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 35. 4; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxi. 194; Hyginus, *Fab.* 31.

[4] Hyginus, *Fab.* 31.

[5] Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 9-16.

[6] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. 5. 5.

reckoned at thirty days.[1] Virgil clearly had the same time of the year in mind, for he says that, when Aristaeus sought the advice of Proteus, the Dog Star (Sirius) was blazing in the sky, the grass was withered, and the rivers were dried up [2]—a faithful description of Greece in the height of summer. It is therefore probably not without significance that Aristaeus is said to have sacrificed to the Dog Star at its rising on behalf of the whole of Greece.[3] Modern biology has completely explained the fable of Aristaeus and the bees. What are generated in a rotting carcass are not bees, as the ancients thought, but drone-flies which resemble and indeed mimic bees, but are easily distinguished from bees because they have only two wings instead of four. Of course the drone-flies are not spontaneously generated, but hatched out, at first in the form of maggots, from eggs laid by drone-flies in the putrefying carcass.[4]

I. 381. **shameless it cropped the holy herbs.** — Ovid is engaged in explaining how the various animals now offered in sacrifice came to incur sentence of death after having been at first universally spared by man. The poet has dealt with the pig, the goat, and the ox; it is now the turn of the sheep, and he finds its offence to have been that of cropping some holy herbs which a pious old dame used to offer to the rural gods. The word here translated "holy herbs" is *verbenas*. In a note on this passage the excellent scholar William Ramsay says that "*verbena*, although usually considered the same with the herb we call *vervain*, seems to have been frequently used by the ancients in a wider sense to denote the leaves and branches of any sacred tree or shrub, such as the laurel, myrtle, olive, rosemary, or even grass when it grew within a holy inclosure and was applied to holy purposes".[5] In support of this definition he refers to a note of Servius in which that learned commentator says that *verbena* was properly a sacred herb taken

[1] Columella, *De re rustica*, ix. 14. 5-6.
[2] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 425-428.
[3] Diodorus Siculus, iv. 82. 2. See above, pp. 154 *sq.*
[4] A. Dendy, *Outlines of Evolutionary Biology*, Third Edition (London, 1923), pp. 222, 354.
[5] W. Ramsay, *Ovid, Selections for the use of Schools* (Oxford, 1868), p. 202.

from a sacred place on the Capitol, with which the sacred functionaries called the Fetials and the Pater Patratus crowned themselves when they were about to make a treaty or to declare war; but in practice the word was applied improperly to all hallowed leaves, such as laurel, olive, and myrtle; and he quotes from Terence the expression, "Take away the sacred herbs (*verbenas*) from the altar", where "the sacred herbs" appear to have been myrtle.[1] A synonym for *verbenae* was *sagmina*, a word which is thus explained by Festus: "*Verbenae*, that is, pure herbs, are called *sagmina* because they were fetched from a sacred place (*ex loco sancto*) by a consul or praetor for envoys setting out to make a treaty or to declare war".[2] This account of *sagmina* and *verbenae* is confirmed by Pliny, who says that the two words signified the same thing, to wit, a grass (*gramen*) plucked up along with its earth from the citadel, that is, the Capitol, and he adds that on sacred embassies one of the ambassadors was always called *verbenarius*, no doubt because he carried the *verbenae*.[3]

Livy has recorded the use of these sacred herbs (*verbenae* or *sagmina*) on two important occasions in Roman history. One was in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, when Rome concluded a treaty with Alba Longa. This treaty, the historian tells us, was the most ancient on record. The opening formality was this. The Fetial or sacred herald asked King Tullus, "Dost thou, O King, command me to make a treaty with the Pater Patratus of the Alban people?" When the king had so commanded him, the Fetial said, "I demand of thee, O King, the sacred herbs (*sagmina*)". The King said, "Take it pure". The Fetial brought a pure herb of grass (*graminis herba pura*) from the citadel; and with the

[1] Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 120, "Verbena *proprie est herba sacra* [*ros marinus, ut multi volunt, i.e.* λιβανωτὸς *Licutagonis*] *sumpta de loco sacro Capitolii, qua coronabantur Fetiales et Paterpatratus foedera facturi, vel bella indicturi. Abusive tamen* verbenas *iam vocamus omnes frondes sacratas, ut est laurus, oliva vel myrtus. Terentius*: Ex ara hinc verbenas sume. *Nam myrtum fuisse Menander testatur, de quo Terentius transtulit.*" The words enclosed in brackets appear to be a gloss. The passage of Terence is from the *Andria*, Act IV. Scene 3, line 11.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Sagmina", pp. 424-426 ed. Lindsay.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxii. 5.

sacred herb (*verbena*) he touched the hair and head of the Pater Patratus, whose office it was to pronounce the oath (*ad ius iurandum patrandum*) of the treaty, which he did in a set form of words at great length.[1] In this instructive passage the expressions *sagmina*, *verbena*, and *graminis herba pura* are clearly used as equivalent, though what the plant precisely was which was used in this curious ritual remains obscure. The other occasion on which Livy records the use of these sacred herbs was at the conclusion of the peace with Carthage in 201 B.C. The Fetials were then directed to take with them the sacred herbs (*verbenae*, *sagmina*) from the citadel, and also the sacred flint stones which were held in the hand of the Pater Patratus when he pronounced the words of the oath. Here again the expressions *verbenae* and *sagmina* are used as equivalent, and Livy defines them as " a sort of herb taken from the citadel, which was wont to be given to the Fetials ".[2]

As to the flint stone, the Pater Patratus in pronouncing the oath held it in his hand and prayed that if he knowingly deceived, Jupiter would cast him out even as he himself cast the stone out of his hand. So saying he seems to have thrown the flint from him.[3] The sacred herbs which the Fetials or sacred heralds carried with them were regarded as a badge of their office, like the *caduceus* or serpent-wand which Greek heralds bore for a similar purpose.[4] Perhaps the plant was also supposed to afford them magical protection in the midst of the enemy, and this is all the more probable if the sacred herb (*verbena*) was the plant which we call vervain (*verbena officinalis*); for in many parts of Europe peasants still believe that vervain is endowed with magical properties which insure houses against lightning, demons, sorcerers, thieves, and so forth. Hence the plant is especially sought, and chaplets of it are worn, above all at the witching season

[1] Livy, i. 24.

[2] Livy, xxx. 43. 9, "*Fetiales cum in Africam ad foedus feriendum ire iuberentur, ipsis postulantibus senatus consultum factum est in haec verba, ut privos lapides silices privasque verbenas secum ferrent: ut, ubi praetor Romanus iis imperaret, ut foedus ferirent, illi praetorem sagmina poscerent. Herbae id genus ex arce sumptum dari fetialibus solet.*"

[3] Festus, *s.v.* " Lapidem silicem ", p. 102 ed. Lindsay.

[4] Varro, *De vita Populi Romani*, lib. ii., quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* " Caduceum," p. 848 ed. Lindsay.

of the year, Midsummer Eve or Midsummer Day.[1] Thus it is possible that the word *sagmina* may, as has been suggested, be derived from *saga*, "a witch", so that the term would signify "the witch's herbs".[2] If the plant (*verbena*) with which the Fetials crowned themselves when they went on their sacred mission was indeed vervain, as seems not improbable, their practice would be exactly analogous to that of modern German, and especially Bavarian, peasants who wear chaplets of vervain and mugwort on Midsummer Eve or Midsummer Day,[3] if I am right in conjecturing that in both cases the original intention of these chaplets was to avert the baneful influence of witchcraft from the wearers.[4] South Slavonian peasants crown the horns of their cattle with flowers on St. George's Day (April 23) for the express purpose of guarding them against witchcraft: cows that have no crowns are regarded as given up to the witches.[5] Perhaps the ancient custom of crowning sacrificial victims[6] may have had the same intention: at such a critical moment the animals might well be thought to be especially exposed to the attacks and the power of sorcerers. The same motive may perhaps explain the custom of wearing crowns or chaplets on many other occasions. It seems certain that many of what are afterwards regarded purely as personal ornaments were originally adopted and worn as amulets to protect the wearer against sorcery and witchcraft.

On this subject the eminent Finnish ethnologist, Professor

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 162, 163, 165, vol. ii. p. 62. As to the folklore of vervain see further A. de Gubernatis, *La Mythologie des Plantes* (Paris, 1878–1882), ii. 367-369; H. Friend, *Flowers and Flower Lore* (London, 1886), pp. 171, 547 *sq.*

[2] W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*[3], ii. 588, *s.v.* "Sagmina".

[3] J. Boemus, *Mores, leges et ritus omnium gentium* (Lyons, 1541), pp. 225 *sq.*; *Bavaria, Landes- und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern* (Munich, 1860–1867), vol. iv. 1, p. 242.

[4] As to the special dangers apprehended from witches on Midsummer Eve and Midsummer Day, and the precautions then adopted against them, see *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. p. 127.

[5] F. S. Krauss, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Südslaven* (Münster i. W., 1890), p. 125. As to the custom of crowning cattle on certain days of the year, such as Midsummer Eve or Midsummer Day, see further *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 75, 126 *sq.*, 339, 341.

[6] See above, pp. 146 *sq.*

Rafael Karsten, has recently observed that " savage man's love of self-decoration has often been commented upon in general works on the anthropology of the lower races, but only comparatively seldom has it been recognized that certain ornaments—as, for instance, necklaces and bracelets made of coloured stones or of the teeth of wild animals—are also worn as charms and amulets. Generally the view has been taken that such things are, and have always been, merely pieces of self-decoration. Thus, for instance, Darwin, who, in his *Descent of Man*, largely deals with this question, speaks of the ' passion for ornaments ' displayed by savages all over the world, and seems to think that the only object of these ornaments is to make man ' beautiful ', and especially attractive to the opposite sex." [1] In regard to the personal decorations of the South American Indians, whom Professor Karsten has studied attentively for five years in their native country, he has arrived at the conclusion that " most Indian ornaments have originally had a purely practical object, being *magical charms against evil spirits* ".[2] If this conclusion be extended to include charms against the magic of living sorcerers and witches, I believe that it will ultimately be found to be of world-wide application. Inquirers are only beginning to plumb the depths of the influence which a belief in the efficacy of magic has exerted on the customs and institutions of mankind.

I. 383. **What creature is safe when even . . . ploughing oxen lay down their lives upon the altar?**—Ovid is arguing on the assumption that in the olden time man spared the lives of oxen as of all other animals. Similarly in his treatise on agriculture Varro makes one of his interlocutors observe that of old it was a capital crime to kill an ox, and in proof of it he refers to the practice of Attica and the Peloponnese; for at Athens the Buzyges took his title of nobility from cattle, and at Argos the same thing was true of Homogyrus.[3] This Buzyges was said to have been a hero who first yoked oxen to the plough ; from him an Attic family traced their

[1] R. Karsten, *The Civilization of the South American Indians* (London, 1926), p. xxiv.

[2] R. Karsten, *op. cit.* p. 200. The italics are Professor Karsten's.

[3] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. 5. 4.

descent, whose duty it was to perform the ceremony of the sacred ploughing.[1] At Argos a man named Homogyrus was similarly reported to have been the first who yoked oxen to the plough, and for this service he received divine honours after his death, a temple being dedicated and sacrifices offered to him.[2] But when Varro cited the practice of Attica in order to prove that to kill an ox was formerly a capital crime, he was probably thinking of the remarkable rite known as the *Bouphonia* or "Murder of the Ox," which was annually celebrated at Athens. The ritual was as follows. Barley mixed with wheat, or cakes made of them, were laid on the altar of Zeus Polieus on the Acropolis. Oxen were driven round the altar, and the ox which went up to the altar and ate the offering on it was sacrificed. The axe and knife, with which the beast was slain, had been previously wetted with water by maidens called "water-carriers". The weapons were then sharpened and handed to the butchers, one of whom felled the ox with the axe and another cut its throat with the knife. As soon as he had felled the ox, the first butcher threw away the axe and fled, and the second butcher seems to have done the same with the knife. Meantime the ox was skinned and all present partook of its flesh. Then the hide was stuffed with straw and sewed up; next the stuffed hide was set up on its feet and yoked to a plough as if it were ploughing. Thereafter a trial took place in the ancient law-court called the Prytaneum: the titular king of Athens sat in the seat of judgement, and the question submitted to him was, Who had murdered the ox? The maidens who had brought the water accused the men who had sharpened the axe and the knife; the men who had sharpened the axe and the knife blamed the men who had handed these implements to the butchers; and the butchers laid the blame on the axe and the knife, which were accordingly found guilty, condemned, and cast into the sea. Tradition ran that this very remarkable custom was instituted for the purpose of procuring a

[1] Hesychius, *s.v.* Βουζύγης; *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch et Schneidewin, vol. i. Appendix, *Cent.* i. 61, p. 388. See J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 136 *sqq.*

[2] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 6.

cessation of drought and dearth which had afflicted the land of Attica.[1]

This ritual, taken in conjunction with its name, *The Murder of the Ox*, undoubtedly suggests that the ox was, for this occasion at least, regarded as a sacred animal whose slaughter, or rather murder, had to be expiated by the condign punishment of the murderer, while a pretence was made of recalling the holy animal to life by stuffing its skin and attaching it to a plough, as if it were alive. If Varro inferred from this that in Attica oxen were formerly sacred and their slaughter punished with death, the inference was a very reasonable one, and that he actually drew it is rendered highly probable by the case of Porphyry, who certainly drew the very same inference from the very same facts. Yet we can hardly doubt that the inference was erroneous, that oxen in general were never sacred in Attica, and that the sacrifice of a particular ox at this ceremony is to be explained in some other way. Elsewhere, following the lead of W. Mannhardt,[2] I have argued that the ox which ate of the corn on the altar may originally have been looked upon as the Corn-spirit in animal form taking possession of his own, and that accordingly his slaughter, though really sacramental and designed to ensure his revival for next year's crop, was treated as a sacrilege which had to be expiated by the banishment or death of the guilty wretch.[3]

I. 385. **Persia propitiates the ray-crowned Hyperion with a horse.**—Hyperion, literally "he who goes above", is here used as a synonym for the sun. In Homer the word occurs

[1] Pausanias, i. 24. 4; *id.* i. 28. 10; Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 29-30; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* viii. 3; Scholia on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 419, and *Clouds*, 985; Hesychius, Suidas, and *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* Βουφόνια; Suidas, *s.v.* Θαύλων; Im. Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca* (Berlin, 1814–1821), vol. i. p. 238, *s.v.* Διιπόλια. No writer mentions the trial of both the axe and the knife. Pausanias speaks of the trial of the axe, Porphyry and Aelian of the trial of the knife. But from Porphyry's description it is clear that the slaughter was carried out by two men, one wielding an axe and the other a knife, and that the former laid the blame on the latter. Perhaps at the last stage of the trial the axe blamed the knife, which was then alone condemned and cast into the sea. That the titular king of Athens presided at the trial of all lifeless objects in the Prytaneum is mentioned by Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, 57) and Julius Pollux (viii. 90, compare viii. 120).

[2] W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1884), pp. 68-71.

[3] *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 4 *sqq.*

both as an epithet applied to the sun [1] and less frequently as a synonym for the sun.[2] In Hesiod the sun is not Hyperion but a son of Hyperion by his wife Thia,[3] and herein Apollodorus follows Hesiod rather than Homer.[4] Ovid himself is not quite consistent in his solar mythology. Here and elsewhere he makes Hyperion the sun,[5] but in at least one passage he follows Hesiod in making the sun a son of Hyperion.[6]

The Greek soldier and historian Xenophon, who was well acquainted with the Persians, tells us that they sacrificed horses to the sun by burning them entire in his honour.[7] Marching through the snow with the Ten Thousand, or what was left of them, on the mountains of Armenia, the same stout soldier came to a village where horses were being bred as tribute for the king of Persia, and in return for the hospitality which he received from the villagers he gave the headman a broken-winded old charger to fatten up and sacrifice to the sun, taking care to replace it by a colt which was being bred for his enemy, the Persian king.[8] The statement that the Persians sacrificed horses to the sun is confirmed by other Greek writers.[9] Herodotus tells us that the Massagetae, a people of Turkestan, to the east of the Caspian, used to sacrifice horses to the sun, alleging as their reason for doing so that the swiftest of the gods ought to receive for his share the fleetest of mortal animals.[10] This reason, which Ovid, probably with the passage of Herodotus in his mind, assigns as the motive for the Persian sacrifice, suggests that the Sun-god was supposed to ride a horse or to drive in a chariot drawn by horses across the sky, and that the intention of sacrificing horses to him was to replace the steeds which might reasonably be supposed to be worn out by the arduous journey. This conjecture is confirmed by the practice of the Rhodians, who were devoted to the

[1] Homer, *Il.* viii. 480, *Od.* i. 8, xii. 133, 346, 374.
[2] Homer, *Od.* i. 24, *Il.* xix. 398.
[3] Hesiod, *Theog.* 371-374.
[4] Apollodorus, i. 2. 2.
[5] Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 565, xv. 406, 407.
[6] Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 192.
[7] Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, viii. 3. 24.
[8] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iv. 5. 34 *sq.*
[9] Pausanias, iii. 20. 4; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* i. 31. 2.
[10] Herodotus, i. 216; Strabo, xi. 8. 6, p. 513.

worship of the sun; for every year they used to throw into the sea a chariot and four horses as a sacrifice to the sun "because", so we are told, "he is said to drive round the world on such a car".[1] Seeing the sun setting in the sea every night, the islanders no doubt thought that the weary Sun-god would find the new chariot and fresh horses waiting for him in the water at the end of his day's journey. The Spartans sacrificed horses to the sun on the top of Mount Taygetus, the splendid range behind which they beheld the sun set in glory every evening; and we may suppose that they also chose the place of sacrifice for the convenience of Sun-god changing horses at his inn on the mountains.[2] It is true that they burned the horses and scattered their ashes to the winds, but this may only have been intended to facilitate their ascension to the sky.[3] The idolatrous kings of Judah dedicated horses and chariots to the sun "at the entering in of the house of the Lord, by the chamber of Nathan-melech the chamberlain", but we are not told that the horses were sacrificed.[4] From the Jewish commentators it appears that the animals were harnessed to the chariots and driven out towards the east to meet and worship the sun at his rising.[5] We may suppose that the chariots and horses were thus placed at the disposal of the Sun-god to enable him to accomplish his journey across the sky in ease and comfort.

I. 387. **because a hind was once sacrificed to the triple Diana in room of a maiden, a hind is even now felled for her.** —It is said that Agamemnon incurred the wrath of Artemis (Diana) by shooting her hind and speaking disrespectfully of the goddess. In revenge Artemis detained the Greek fleet under his command at Aulis, and would not let it sail for Troy till the king should have appeased her by sacrificing his own daughter Iphigenia. Agamemnon was about to consummate the dreadful sacrifice when Artemis mercifully

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "October equus", p. 190 ed. Lindsay.

[2] Pausanias, iii. 20. 4.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "October equus", p. 190 ed. Lindsay. Festus says that the horses were sacrificed to the winds, but on this point Pausanias is more likely to have been correctly informed.

[4] 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

[5] S. Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, editio tertia (Leyden, 1682), vol. i. coll. 176 *sq.*; G. F. Moore, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, *s.v.* "Nature-worship", vol. iii. 3356.

substituted a hind for the human victim.[1] The legend is the subject of a famous tragedy of Euripides.[2] It is curious that, after offending the goddess by killing a hind, Agamemnon should have appeased her by sacrificing another hind. But a hind was a victim regularly sacrificed to Artemis (Diana), as Ovid does not fail to note. Thus at Patrae in Achaia a great festival was celebrated in honour of Artemis Laphria every year. It opened with a gorgeous procession, in which the rear was brought up by her virgin priestess riding in a car drawn by deer. Next day, a great pile of dry wood having been erected over the altar and enclosed by a strong palisade, deer and many other sorts of animals, including wild boars, bears, and wolves, were burnt alive on the altar. Pausanias tells us that on such an occasion he had seen some of the wild beasts bursting through the palisade and escaping by sheer strength; but the people dragged them back into the flames.[3] The virgin priestess riding in the car drawn by deer doubtless represented the Virgin Artemis herself. She is thus portrayed on coins of Patrae.[4] A festival called "Deer-shooting" (*Elaphebolia*) was held in her honour at Hyampolis in Phocis, and we may suppose that deer were sacrificed at it to the goddess.[5] A festival of the same name was held in Attica, at which cakes baked in the shape of deer were offered to the goddess, or deer were sacrificed in her honour.[6] It is possible that the tradition of the attempted sacrifice of Iphigenia preserves a reminiscence of a custom of sacrificing human victims, for whom deer were afterwards substituted.

[1] Apollodorus, *Epitome*, iii. 21 *sq.*; Pausanias, ix. 19. 6; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 183; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 108; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 27 (who substitutes a calf for a hind); Hyginus, *Fab.* 98; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 24-38.

[2] Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, especially verses 87 *sqq.*, 358 *sqq.*, 1541 *sqq.*

[3] Pausanias, vii. 18. 12-13.

[4] Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 78, with Plate Q xiii.; *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Peloponnesus*, Plate V. 21.

[5] Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* iv. 1. 1, p. 660 D; *id.*, *Mulierum virtutes*, p. 244 D; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der Attischen* (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 221 *sqq.*

[6] Athenaeus, xiv. 55, p. 646 e; Im. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, i. 249, *s.v.* Ἐλαφηβολιών, *μὴν Ἀθηνῃσι πέμπτος, ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλάφων αἵ τινες τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ ἐθύοντο τῇ ἐλαφηβόλῳ Ἀρτέμιδι*; M. P. Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 224; Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 311.

In speaking of Diana as triple Ovid has identified or confused her with Hecate, whose triple images he has already mentioned.[1] As we have seen, Virgil before him similarly identified or confused the two goddesses.[2] The three phases of the moon at waxing, at full, and at waning appear to be the natural phenomena which were personified variously as the triple Hecate or the triple Diana (Artemis).[3]

I. 389. **I have seen the entrails of a dog offered to the goddess of the Triple Roads (Trivia) by the Sapaeans.**— The goddess of the Triple Ways (*Trivia*) is Hecate or her equivalent Diana (Artemis). Varro quotes from Ennius the expression "*Titanis Trivia*," and explains it to mean Diana, who, he says, "was called Trivia ('She of the Triple Roads') because in Greek cities her image was generally placed at cross-roads (*in trivio*), or because she is said to be the moon, which moves in the sky by triple roads, upwards and cross-wise and long-wise".[4] According to Macrobius, the epithet Trivia was applied to Diana because she had power over all roads (*viae omnes*).[5] An exactly equivalent epithet (*Trioditis*) was applied to Hecate, in Greece, where, as Varro says, her image was set up at cross-roads and sacrifices were offered to her there.[6] The sacrifice was called her supper.[7] Her images represented her with three heads and many hands.[8] The base of a statue inscribed with a dedication to Diana of the Triple Roads has been found at Capua.[9] Dogs were sacred to Artemis or Hecate on

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 141, with the note. [2] Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 511.

[3] Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 34. On the relation of Artemis (Diana) to Hecate see Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 321 *sqq.*

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 16.

[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 6, "*Dianae vero ut Triviae viarum omnium tribuunt potestatem*".

[6] Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 34; Athenaeus, vii. 126, p. 325 a; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Τριοδος; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1180; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iii. 10, p. 44 ed. Wuensch.

[7] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 111.

[8] Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 22. 5, "*Trivia trinis capitibus et multis manibus horrifica.*"

[9] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3270, "*Dianae Tifatinae Triviae sacrum*". As to the goddess of the Triple Roads (*Trivia, Trioditis*), whether Hecate or Artemis (Diana), see further Weinreich, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie, s.vv.* "Trioditis" and "Trivia"; and as to the many superstitions attaching to cross-roads see J. A. MacCulloch and

account, we are told, of their use in the chase and their habit of baying at night.[1] The Greeks also sacrificed dogs to Hecate.[2] The people of Colophon sacrificed a black bitch puppy by night to her under the title of the Goddess of Roads.[3] Plutarch tells us that formerly almost all the Greeks used to sacrifice dogs at purificatory rites and that some of them still did so in his time: further he informs us that on such occasions among the things used as instruments of purification were puppies, which people carried out for Hecate, and with which they rubbed all over the persons who were being purified. This curious rite was called *periskylakismos*, from *skylakion*, "a puppy".[4] Plutarch does not say that after being thus used to cleanse the guilty or polluted the puppies were sacrificed, but from his general statements as to the sacrifice of dogs in purificatory rites and in the rites of Hecate we may safely infer that they were so. Probably the pollution was thought to pass from the persons to the puppies and to be annihilated, or at least finally got rid of, by the sacrifice of the animals. Similarly in certain purificatory rites a person was scoured with bran and mud or loam,[5] to which no doubt his uncleanness was supposed to be transferred. The superstitious man in Theophrastus invites the priestess to purify him with a puppy or a squill,[6] probably meaning that she was to rub him down with one or the other. In the mysteries of Samothrace dogs were sacrificed to Hecate,[7] presumably as a rite of purification. A public form of purification in Boeotia was to cut a dog in two and pass between the severed pieces of the victim.[8] The mode of purifying a Macedonian army was precisely similar. A dog was cut in two; the head and fore part of the animal were set on one side of a road and the

R. Wuensch, in J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, iv. 330-336; also note on *Fasti*, ii. 601 (below, pp. 453 *sqq.*).

[1] Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 34.

[2] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 52.

[3] Pausanias, iii. 14. 9.

[4] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 68; *id.*, *Romulus*, 21. 8.

[5] Demosthenes, *De corona*, 259, p. 313.

[6] Theophrastus, *Characters*, xxviii. p. 164 ed. Jebb. As to such modes of purification see Ch. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 652 *sqq.*; E. Rohde, *Psyche*[3], ii. 406; P. Stengel, *Griechische Kultusaltertümer*[3], p. 162.

[7] Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 277.

[8] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 111.

hinder part with the entrails on the other, and the whole army in arms marched between them.[1]

The Romans themselves sacrificed dogs on various occasions, as at the Lupercalia,[2] at the Robigalia,[3] and in the worship of an obscure goddess called Genita Mana: in offering the sacrifice to Genita Mana they prayed that none of their household might "become good", apparently a euphemism for dying.[4] If a Roman farmer sheared his sheep on a holiday (*feriae*), he had to sacrifice a puppy as an expiation for the offence.[5]

The Sapaeans, whom Ovid saw offering the entrails of a dog to Hecate, were a tribe in the interior of Thrace. Xerxes marched through their country on his way to invade Greece, and he compelled them to join his army.[6] The poet probably passed through their land on his way to his place of exile at Tomi on the Black Sea.

I. 391. **A young ass is slain in honour of the stiff guardian of the country-side.**—"The stiff guardian of the countryside" is Priapus, the god of gardens, whose rude wooden image was set up in gardens as a scarecrow to protect them from the depredations of birds and thieves. To make it more terrifying, the image was painted red and carried a billhook in its right hand.[7] Ovid repeatedly refers to the red colour of the effigy.[8] The ass was the victim sacrificed to Priapus at Lampsacus on the Hellespont,[9] the inhabitants of which worshipped Priapus above all the gods.[10] Most of the tribes of Carmania, a country to the east of Persia, employed asses for war instead of horses, and they

[1] Livy, xl. 6. 1-4; Quintus Curtius, *De gestis Alexandri Magni*, x. 9. 28. On the significance of such rites see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 391 *sqq.*

[2] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 111; *id.*, *Romulus*, 21. 5.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 907 *sq.*, with the note.

[4] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 52; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxix. 58. As to this goddess see G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 240.

[5] Columella, *De re rustica*, ii. 21 (22). 4.

[6] Herodotus, vii. 110; Strabo, xii. 3. 20, pp. 549 *sq.*

[7] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 111 *sq.*; Horace, *Sat.* i. 8. 1-7; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 640; Tibullus, i. 1. 17 *sq.*, "*Pomosisque ruber custos ponatur in hortis,*| *terreat ut saeva falce Priapus aves*".

[8] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 400, 415, vi. 332.

[9] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 345; Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 21, referring to Ovid's account of the origin of the custom.

[10] Pausanias, ix. 30. 2; Catullus, *Frag.* 2, p. 182 ed. Cornish. Compare Strabo, xiii. 1. 12, p. 587.

sacrificed asses to their war-god, the only deity whom they worshipped. Among them no man might marry till he had brought an enemy's head to the king; and he who had brought most heads was most honoured.[1] We hear of other people who sacrificed asses to the war-god Ares.[2]

I. 392. **the cause is shameful, but beseems the god.**— The following story (lines 393-440) of the discomfiture of Priapus, which Ovid professedly tells to account for the sacrifices of asses to that deity, is repeated by him later on in the poem with little change but the substitution of Vesta for Lotis.[3] If the poet had lived to give the final touches to his poem, he would probably have struck out one of the two narratives as little more than a duplicate of the other.

I. 393. **A feast of ivy-berried Bacchus . . . which the third winter brought about at the appointed time.** — Ovid means that the festival was biennial, though in accordance with the ancient mode of reckoning he writes as if it were triennial. The festivals of Dionysus (Bacchus) were biennial in many places.[4] Dr. Farnell has suggested that the biennial period in many Greek festivals is to be explained by "the original shifting of land-cultivation which is frequent in early society owing to the backwardness of the agricultural processes; and which would certainly be consecrated by a special ritual attached to the god of the soil".[5] Later on in the present work Ovid explains on legendary principles why ivy was sacred to Dionysus.[6] In the Attic township of Acharnae the god was worshipped under the title of Ivy Dionysus, because ivy was said to have appeared there for the first time.[7]

I. 395. **the gods who wait upon Lyaeus.**—Lyaeus, in the sense of Deliverer (from care), was an epithet applied to the wine-god Bacchus (Dionysus). Ovid often employs it elsewhere.[8] The same or a corresponding epithet (*Lyaios* or *Lysios*) was applied to him in the same sense

[1] Strabo, xv. 2. 14, p. 727.
[2] Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 21.
[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 319-346.
[4] G. F. Schömann, *Griechische Alterthümer*[2] (Berlin, 1897–1902), ii. 524 *sqq.*
[5] L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1896–1909), v. 180 *sq.*
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 767-770.
[7] Pausanias, i. 31. 6.
[8] Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 11, viii. 274, xi. 67, *Amores*, ii. 11. 49, iii. 15. 17.

in Greek.[1] But the text of the present passage of Ovid is uncertain. See the Critical Note.

I. 399. **came old Silenus on an ass with hollow back.** —Later on in this poem Ovid applies the same adjective (*pandus*) to the hollow back of the ass ridden by Silenus.[2] The adjective is a favourite of our author to express a curve or hollow, particularly of something bowed down under a load, as an ass's back under a rider or branches bent under the weight of fruit.[3]

I. 403. **Liber bestowed the wine.**—Liber was a native Italian god of fertility.[4] He was said to have been the discoverer or inventor of wine.[5] The Romans and Greeks identified him with Bacchus (Dionysus) and called him Father Liber.[6] His festival, the Liberalia, which fell on March 17,[7] was identified with the Greek Dionysia.[8] Cicero was aware of the distinction between the Italian Liber and the Greek Dionysus.[9] The wife, or at all events the female counterpart of Liber, was Libera, with whom he was often coupled.[10] On a coin of L. Cassius, issued about 79 B.C., the heads of Liber and Libera, crowned with ivy, are exhibited on the obverse and reverse respectively.[11]

I. 412. **thee, whose brows are wreathed with pine.**—Pan was represented wearing on his head a wreath of pine-leaves or pine-cones.[12]

[1] Pausanias, ii. 2. 6, ii. 7. 6, ix. 16. 6 (*Lysios*); Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* i. 1. 2, p. 613 C, *εἰ δὲ πάντων μὲν ὁ Διόνυσος Λύσιός ἐστι καὶ Λυαῖος, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς γλώττης ἀφαιρεῖται τὰ χαλινὰ καὶ πλείστην ἐλευθερίαν τῇ φωνῇ δίδωσιν*; *id.* iii. 6. 4, p. 654 F, v. 6. 1, p. 680 B; Athenaeus, viii. 64, p. 363 b; Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 709.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 749.

[3] Ovid, *Heroides*, vi. 10, "*sub iuga panda*", xvi. 112, "*panda carina*"; *Amores*, i. 13. 16, "*sub iuga panda*", ii. 11. 24, "*panda carina*"; *Metamorph.* iii. 674 *sq.*, "*panda . . . naris*", iv. 27, "*pando non fortiter haeret asello*" (Silenus), xiv. 282, "*pando occallescere rostro*", xiv. 660, "*pandos autumni pondere ramos*", xv. 112 *sq.*, "*pando eruerit rostro*".

[4] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vi. 9, vii. 21.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Liber", p. 103 ed. Lindsay.

[6] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 104.

[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 713 *sqq.*

[8] Festus, *s.v.* "Liberalia", p. 103 ed. Lindsay.

[9] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 24. 1.

[10] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 24. 1; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vi. 9; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 2439, 3378, 3380, 3381, 3382, 4379, 9104, 9104*a*.

[11] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République romaine*, i. 329.

[12] Lucretius, iv. 586 *sq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 699; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 1149, fig. 1342.

I. 415. **Priapus, glory and guard of gardens, lost his heart to Lotis.**—Elsewhere Ovid has described how the nymph Lotis, fleeing from the amorous advances of Priapus, was turned into a lotus-tree (nettle-tree), which grew, full of bright blossoms, near a pool, and how, when someone plucked the blossoms, gouts of blood dropped down and all the branches shivered.[1]

I. 440. **He is now the victim dear to the Hellespontine god.**—Asses were sacrificed to Priapus, who was worshipped at Lampsacus on the Hellespont.[2]

I. 441. **Ye birds, the solace of the countryside . . . ye were inviolate once.**—Having explained the causes which led men to sacrifice beasts, Ovid now proceeds to do the same for birds. The ground of the offence which led to their slaughter was, on his view, their habit of chattering and so revealing to men the secrets of the gods, with which they were naturally acquainted; for flying up to the sky they had many opportunities of overhearing the gods consulting together in their celestial mansions.

I. 448. **the truer are the signs ye give, whether by wing or voice.**—Roman augurs distinguished birds which gave omens by their flight from birds which gave omens by their cries: the former they called *praepetes*,[3] the latter *oscines*.[4] Like the Romans, the Kenyahs and Kayans of Borneo pay great attention to the flight and notes of birds, from which they draw omens. Their most important omen birds are certain species of hawks.[5] Analogies have been traced between the Bornean and the Roman systems of divination by birds.[6]

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 340-362.

[2] See above, note on line 391, p. 170.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Praepetes", pp. 224, 286, 287 ed. Lindsay; Aulus Gellius, vii. (vi.) 6; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 15.

[4] Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 53. 120; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 76; Festus, *s.vv.* "Oscinum", "Oscines", pp. 214, 215 ed. Lindsay. On the two terms *praepetes* and *oscines* see Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 393, iii. 246 and 361, iv. 462; Isidore, *Origines*, xii. 7. 75-78; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, iv. 200 *sq.*; A. S. Pease, on Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 47. 106, i. 53. 120.

[5] Ch. Hose and W. M'Dougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (London, 1912), ii. 8 *sqq.*, 51 *sqq.*, 74 *sqq.*; Ch. Hose, *Natural Man, a Record from Borneo* (London, 1926), pp. 220 *sqq.*

[6] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 159 *sqq.*

I. 451. **the white dove, torn from her mate, is often burned upon Idalian hearths.** — Doves were sacred to Aphrodite (Venus) and her Oriental equivalent Astarte.[1] Nevertheless in Cyprus doves were burnt alive in honour of Aphrodite's favourite, the dead Adonis; they were thrown upon a pyre from which they only flew away to fall into another, where they were consumed. The custom gave rise to a proverb like our English, "Out of the frying-pan into the fire".[2] We may suppose that Ovid was familiar with the proverb, and that he alludes to it in the present passage. Idalium was a city in Cyprus, which had, however, apparently ceased to exist by the first century of our era.[3] In its palmy days it was the seat of a famous worship of Aphrodite (Venus), or rather perhaps of her Phoenician counterpart Astarte. To this worship of the goddess at Idalium the Roman poets often allude.[4] Ovid himself elsewhere refers to Venus as the Idalian goddess.[5] Statius repeatedly speaks of doves as "Idalian birds"[6]; he may, like Ovid, have been thinking of the custom of burning the birds on the pyre. Idalium would seem, indeed, to have been especially associated with Adonis, the lover of Aphrodite; for Phoenician inscriptions found on the site make mention of a king named Pumi-yathon, which is the Phoenician form of the name that the Greeks corrupted into Pygmalion.[7] Now the grandfather of Adonis was Pygmalion,

[1] J. Selden, *De dis Syris* (Leipzig, 1668), pp. 274 *sqq.*; S. Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, editio tertia (Leyden, 1692), ii. 4 *sqq.* As to the sanctity of doves in the worship of the Syrian goddess (one of the forms of Astarte) at Hierapolis on the Euphrates, see Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 14 and 54.

[2] Diogenianus, *Praefatio*, in *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch et Schneidewin, i. (Gottingae, 1839), p. 180, καὶ γὰρ τῷ Ἀδώνιδι ἐν Κύπρῳ τιμηθέντι ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν οἱ Κύπριοι ζώσας ἐνίεσαν ⟨πυρᾷ⟩ περιστεράς, αἱ δ' ἀποπτᾶσαι καὶ διαφυγοῦσαι αὖθις ἀδοκήτως εἰς ἄλλην ἐμπεσοῦσαι πυρὰν διεφθάρησαν. I have conjecturally inserted πυρᾷ, which is required by the following εἰς ἄλλην πυρὰν and could easily drop out before περί.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 130.

[4] Catullus, xxxvi. 12, lxiv. 96; Virgil, *Aen.* i. 681, x. 52; Statius, *Silv.* i. 2. 360, i. 5. 10, iii. 4. 21, *Theb.* ii. 287; Silius Italicus, i. 19.

[5] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 694.

[6] Statius, *Theb.* v. 63, xii. 16, *Achill.* i. 372.

[7] G. A. Cooke, *Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), Nos. 12 and 13, pp. 55 *sq.*, 57 *sq.* Coins inscribed with the name of King Pumi-yathon are also in existence. See G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus* (London, 1904), pp. xl *sq.*, 21 *sq.*, Pl. IV. 20-24. He was deposed by Ptolemy (Diodorus Siculus, xix. 79. 4). Most probably he is the Pymaton of Citium who

king of Cyprus,[1] and although he belonged to legend rather than history, the tale of his wedding an image of Aphrodite,[2] taken in connexion with his reputed relationship to Adonis, points to a close association of his royal house with the worship of the Oriental Aphrodite, with which indeed the island of Cyprus appears to have been saturated.[3] The Romans also sacrificed doves to Venus ;[4] they may have borrowed the custom from Cyprus.

I. 453. **nor did his saving of the Capitol protect the goose from yielding up his liver on a charger to thee, daughter of Inachus.** — When the Gauls besieged the Capitol in 390 B.C., and a party of them had clambered up the face of the rock by night without attracting the attention of the sentinels or even of the dogs, the alarm was given by the sacred geese of Juno, which by their cackling and the flapping of their wings roused the garrison in time to repulse the enemy.[5] In reward for their services in thus saving the last stronghold of Rome from the enemy, geese were accorded peculiar honours by the grateful Romans. The first charge upon the public exchequer, for which the censors on taking office contracted, was the expense of feeding the sacred geese ;[6] and every year a goose or geese, arrayed in purple and gold, were carried solemnly in procession seated in a splendid litter, while at the same time a dog or dogs, crucified on crosses of elder wood, were borne from the temple of Youth (*Iuventus*) to that of Summanus, as a punishment

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purchased the kingdom some time before the conquests of Alexander. See Athenaeus, iv. 63, p. 167, where the name Pymaton, which is found in the MSS., agrees closely with the Phoenician form Pumi-yathon and ought not to be changed into Pygmalion, as the latest editor of Athenaeus (G. Kaibel) has done.

[1] Apollodorus, iii. 14. 3.

[2] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vi. 22 ; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 57, p. 51 ed. Potter. Ovid has altered the tradition in his poetical version (*Metamorph.* x. 243-297).

[3] Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. ii. pp. 31-56.

[4] Propertius v. (iv.) 5. 65 *sq.*

[5] Livy, v. 47. 1-5 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* xiii. 7-8 (9-12); Florus, i. 7. 15 ; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 652-662 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 652 ; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 27 ; *id.*, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 12, p. 325 B-D ; Diodorus Siculus, xiv. 116; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xii. 33.

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 51 ; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 98 ; compare Cicero, *Pro Roscio Amerino*, 20. 56.

for the negligence of the dogs who had failed to bark at the approach of the Gauls.[1]

But while geese were thus highly honoured by the Romans, they were sacrificed in Egyptian ritual to Isis, as Ovid here remarks; for by "the daughter of Inachus" he means the great Egyptian goddess Isis, who was by Greek and Roman mythologists often identified with the Argive Io, daughter of Inachus.[2] Propertius and Martial, like Ovid in the present passage, use the name Inachis, that is, daughter of Inachus, instead of Isis.[3] Herodotus remarked on the likeness between the images of Isis and Io, both being represented as women with the horns of a cow.[4] At the great sanctuary of Isis near Tithorea in Phocis, which was said to be the greatest sanctuary of Isis in the whole of Greece, festivals, accompanied by fairs, were held twice a year, in spring and autumn; and on these occasions poor people sacrificed geese and guinea-fowl, but rich people sacrificed oxen and deer.[5] In an illustrated manuscript of the calendar of Philocalus, under the month of November, Isis is represented with a goose at her feet, which seems to show that the Romans sacrificed geese to her in November.[6] They sacrificed geese also to Osiris.[7] We read of a Roman officer who, before leaving Rome to join the army, vowed a goose to Mars, and less than four months later the pious bird offered itself a willing victim at the altar.[8]

I. 455. **by night to goddess Night the crested fowl is**

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxix. 57; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 652; Plutarch, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 12; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xii. 33. As to Summanus see Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 731, with the note.

[2] Apollodorus, ii. 1. 3; Diodorus Siculus, i. 24. 8; Lucian, *Dialog. Deorum*, iii.; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 21. 106, p. 382 ed. Potter; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 728-747; Propertius, iii. 20 (ii. 28). 17 *sq.*; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 526 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145; Statius, *Sylv.* iii. 2. 101 *sq.* Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 619 *sq.*, with the note.

[3] Propertius, iii. 25 (ii. 33). 4; Martial, xi. 47. 4.

[4] Herodotus, ii. 41.

[5] Pausanias, x. 32. 14-16.

[6] G. Lafaye, *Histoire du Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie, Sérapis, Isis, Harpocrate et Anubis hors de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1884), p. 267. The manuscript is in what used to be the Imperial Library at Vienna. In the calendar of Philocalus the 2nd and 24th days of November are marked *Dies Aegyptiacus*. See *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 276. These were no doubt the days on which geese were sacrificed to Isis.

[7] Juvenal, vi. 540 *sq.*

[8] Martial, ix. 31.

slain.—This sacrifice of a cock to the goddess Night appears not to be mentioned elsewhere by classical writers.

I. 456. **Meantime the bright constellation of the Dolphin rises above the sea.**—Ovid means that the constellation of the Dolphin rises in the morning on January 9. Columella says: "The Dolphin begins to rise in the morning on the sixth day before the Calends of January",[1] that is, on December 27. Pliny says: "In Caesar's calendar the Dolphin rises in the morning on the day before the Nones of January",[2] that is, on January 4. All three statements are incorrect; but of the three the statement of Columella is the least, and that of Ovid the most, erroneous, for in their time the Dolphin rose in the morning on December 31.[3]

I. 459. **The morrow marks midwinter.**—Thus Ovid regarded the tenth of January as the middle of winter. Columella and Joannes Lydus dated midwinter on the fourth of January.[4]

I. 461. **When next Aurora quits Tithonus' couch.**—This is a poetical way of saying, "Next morning". So Homer speaks of Morn (Aurora) rising from Tithonus' bed to shine on immortals and on men,[5] and in Virgil the Morn (Aurora) repeatedly leaves Tithonus' saffron bed to discharge the same office.[6] Tennyson had her saffron bed in mind when, with a change of the mythical personages, he wrote that

> "... *the planet of Love is on high,*
> *Beginning to faint in the light that she loves*
> *On a bed of daffodil sky.*"

Tithonus was a son of Laomedon, whom the goddess of the morn (Aurora) carried off to be her spouse beside the streams of Ocean at the ends of the earth.[7]

I. 462. **the rite pontifical of the Arcadian goddess.**—The "rite pontifical of the Arcadian goddess" is the Carmen-

[1] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 94. [2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 234.
[3] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 148.
[4] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 97; Joannes Lydus, *De ostentis*, 59, p. 357 ed. Bekker. [5] Homer, *Il.* xi. 1 *sq.*, *Od.* v. 1 *sq.*
[6] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 446 *sq.*, *Aen.* iv. 584 *sq.*, ix. 459 *sq.*
[7] *Homeric Hymns*, V. *To Aphrodite*, 218 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, iii. 12. 3 *sq.*; Propertius, iii. 9. 7 *sqq.* ed. Paley (ii. 18A. 3 *sqq.* ed. Butler).

talia, the festival of the goddess Carmentis or Carmenta,[1] who was commonly supposed to have been originally an Arcadian prophetess, as Ovid has set forth in the following passage. But in reality Carmentis appears to have been a genuine old Italian goddess, whose functions were prophecy and the helping of women in childbirth. In the latter capacity she was worshipped chiefly by Roman matrons, who sacrificed to her and are said to have founded her temple.[2] Some thought, perhaps rightly, that her name was derived from, or connected with, *carmina*, "songs", because she chanted her prophecies.[3] Her predictions appear to have specially concerned the fate of infants at their birth. In this connexion she was sometimes, like the Greek Fates (*Moirai*), spoken of in the plural. Thus Augustine refers to "those goddesses who sing the fate of infants at birth and are called Carmentes".[4] In old Latin prophetesses are said to have been called Carmentes, and the scribes who wrote down their inspired utterances were called *Carmentarii*.[5] Warde Fowler thought that "the Carmentes may originally have been wise women whose skill and spells assisted the operation of birth".[6]

A somewhat different explanation of the multiplication of Carmentis into Carmentes is suggested by an instructive passage of Varro, which has been preserved for us by Aulus Gellius. After explaining that a child may be born either

[1] Carmentis is the form of the name adopted by Ovid (*Fasti*, i. 499, ii. 201, vi. 529), Varro (*De lingua Latina*, vi. 12), Verrius Flaccus (in *Fasti Praenestini*, *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 231, 307), Virgil (*Aen.* viii. 336, 339), Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 336, 337), Aulus Gellius (xviii. 7. 2), and Tertullian (*Ad Nationes*, ii. 11, in a mutilated passage). The form Carmenta is supported by Hyginus (*Fab.* 277) and the Greek writers Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquit. Rom.* i. 32. 2), Strabo (v. 3. 3, p. 230), and Plutarch (*Romulus*, 21. 2; *Quaest. Rom.* 56). The testimony of Livy is ambiguous, for in one passage (i. 7. 8) he has Carmenta, and in another (v. 47. 2) he has Carmentis. The same is true of Solinus (i. 13) and Aurelius Victor (*Origo gentis Romanae*, 5. 1 and 2), both of whom employ the two forms in the same passage. Thus the form Carmentis is the better authenticated of the two. According to a curious and unexplained tradition, the original name of Carmentis was Nicostrate. See Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 5. 2; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 336; Strabo, v. 3. 3, p. 230; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 56.

[2] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 56; *id.*, *Romulus*, 21. 2.

[3] Plutarch, *ll.cc.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 336.

[4] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 11.

[5] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 336.

[6] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 292.

head first or feet first, and that the former is the normal and easy posture, and the latter the abnormal and difficult, he proceeds: "Since then some infants are born contrary to nature feet first and with their arms stretched out, thus retarding delivery and rendering the mother's travail harder, for the sake of deprecating this peril altars have been set up at Rome to the two Carmentes, of whom the one is called Postverta ('Backward') and the other Prorsa ('Forward') with reference to the birth of the child in the direct or the perverse posture."[1] Later on Ovid himself refers to these two goddesses, though he calls one of them Porrima instead of Prorsa and interprets them quite differently of the past and the future, upon both of which Carmentis was supposed to touch in her inspired utterances.[2] Macrobius gives the two names in the slightly different forms of Antevorta and Postvorta and interprets them in the same sense as Ovid.[3] But we can hardly doubt that Varro's interpretation is the true original one; and it is probable that he was right in distinguishing two goddesses of birth, one of whom favoured normal and the other abnormal births. Such a distinction is entirely in harmony with that minute subdivision of functions which was eminently characteristic of Roman religion, and which was exhibited in full perfection in the native gods (*Di Indigites*), on the principle enunciated by the pontiffs that every single action has its own presiding deity.[4]

Wissowa holds that Carmentis was originally a water-goddess,[5] and this view derives some support from her association on January 9 with Juturna, the goddess of the famous spring in the Forum. It is also in harmony with the association of prophetic inspiration with the drinking of certain waters, of which we have met with an instance in the oracles of the Clarian Apollo;[6] and further, the union of prophetic inspiration with the function of facilitating

[1] Varro, quoted by Aulus Gellius, xvi. 16.
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 633-636. [3] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 20.
[4] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 141, "*Et Pontifices dicunt singulis actibus proprios deos praeesse*". See R. Peter, *s.v.* "Indigitamenta", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 170 *sqq.*
[5] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 219 *sq.*
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 20, with the note (above, pp. 5 *sq.*).

childbirth, which was characteristic of Carmentis, was equally characteristic of Egeria, who was certainly a water-nymph.[1] Thus Wissowa may very well be right in tracing Carmentis to a watery origin. The antiquity and importance of her worship are vouched for by her possession of a flamen devoted to her worship (*Flamen Carmentalis*). This flamen is mentioned by Cicero,[2] and again in an inscription which records a dedication to the Sun and Moon, to Apollo and Diana, by a certain Tiberius Claudius Pollio who held the office of flamen Carmentalis,[3] though what his duties were we do not know.

The Carmentalia, the festival of Carmentis, is mentioned by Varro.[4] From the testimony of Ovid, confirmed by that of the Praenestine, Maffeian, and other ancient calendars, we know that the Carmentalia, the festival of Carmentis, extended over two days, January 11 and 15, separated from each other by an interval of three days.[5] It seems to have been a general rule that when Roman festivals extended over two days, these days should not be continuous but should be separated by an interval either of one or of three days in order to prevent the second day from being one which bore an even number ; for even numbers were deemed unlucky, and accordingly it was arranged that Roman festivals, with very few exceptions, fell on odd days of the month.[6] Hence if the second day of a festival were allowed to follow the first day either immediately or after an interval of two days, it would necessarily have been an even day of the month (the second, fourth, etc.). To avoid this disastrous consequence the pontifical wisdom ordained that the two days of the festival should be separated by an interval

[1] As to Egeria see *Fasti*, iii. 275 *sq.*, with the note. Pregnant women used to sacrifice to the nymph Egeria because she was supposed to facilitate delivery. See Festus, *s.v.* " Egeriae nymphae ", p. 67 ed. Lindsay.

[2] Cicero, *Brutus*, 14. 56.

[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 1418.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 12, " *Carmentalia nominantur quod sacra tum et feriae Carmentis* ".

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 461 *sq.*, 617 *sqq.*; *C.I.L.* i.² p. 307. In the inscribed calendars (Praenestine, Maffeian, and Caeretan) the festival is indicated by the letters KARM, KAR, or CAR. In the calendar of Philocalus under January 11, it is entered as *Dies Carmentariorum ;* in the calendar of Polemius Silvius under the same day it is entered as *Carmentalia de nomine matris Evandri.*

[6] See note on *Fasti*, v. 421 (Vol. IV. pp. 45 *sq.*).

either of one day or of three days, for by this ingenious device the festival was celebrated on odd days only.[1]

The temple, or rather shrine (*fanum*), of Carmentis was situated at the foot of the Capitol, near the Carmental Gate (*Porta Carmentalis*), which took its name from the shrine; in her lifetime Carmentis is said to have dwelt there.[2] No remains of the shrine have come to light, and curiously enough no dedication to Carmentis has been discovered. It would seem that as a goddess who aided women in travail she was eclipsed by the rivals who discharged the same important function with equal efficiency, Mater Matuta, Diana, and Juno Lucina.[3]

I. 463. **Thee, too, sister of Turnus, the same morn enshrined at the spot where the Virgin Water circles the Field of Mars.**—The sister of Turnus is the water-nymph Juturna, the goddess of a spring of very wholesome water near the river Numicius in Latium. In the fourteenth book of his lost work *On divine Things* Varro included her among the true or proper deities and nymphs.[4] According to Virgil, she was originally a woman, the sister of the Rutulian leader Turnus, and being beloved by Jupiter she was turned by that great deity into a water-goddess, who presided over meres and sounding rivers.[5] For this fiction, which was adopted by Ovid here and in another passage,[6] the poet had apparently no better ground than the accidental resemblance of the names Turnus and Juturna. From the sacred spring of Juturna water used to be brought to Rome for all sacrifices,

[1] G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, "De feriis anni Romanorum antiquissimi", pp. 162 *sqq.*

[2] Solinus, i. 13; Aulus Gellius, xviii. 7. 2; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 629; Festus, *s.v.* "Scelerata Porta", p. 450 ed. Lindsay; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 337; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 32. 2; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 56. Solinus and Aulus Gellius call the shrine a *fanum*; Ovid calls it a *sacellum*; Servius and Dionysius speak only of an altar; no author mentions a temple (*templum* or *aedes*). Varro, as we have seen (p. 179), definitely mentions two altars, and no doubt he was right, but this does not exclude the existence of a chapel.

[3] On Carmentis or Carmenta see L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 405-407; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 290-293; Aust, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, iii. 2, coll. 1594 *sq.*, *s.v.* "Carmenta"; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Romer*[2], pp. 219-221.

[4] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 139.

[5] Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 137 *sqq.*

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 585 *sqq.*

and a festival called Juturnalia was celebrated at Rome in honour of the nymph by all whose business was especially concerned with water.[1] A temple was built for the goddess in the Field of Mars by a certain Lutatius Catulus,[2] perhaps Quintus Lutatius Catulus, consul in 241 B.C., who may have vowed it for the naval victory over the Carthaginians at the Aegatian Islands, off the coast of Sicily.[3] The dedication of a temple to a water-nymph would be a suitable thank-offering for a victory at sea, in spite of the saltness of the water on which it was won. From the present passage of Ovid we learn that the temple was dedicated on the eleventh of January, and that it stood near the termination of the aqueduct called the *Aqua Virgo* in the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*).

But this was not the only shrine which Juturna possessed at Rome. She had a lake or pool in the Forum, near the temple of Vesta and the temple of Castor and Pollux, where on two occasions the divine twins Castor and Pollux are said to have appeared, riding white horses and bringing news of victory: after watering their panting horses at the pool and washing off the dust and blood from their bodies they vanished away. The first occasion was the victory over the banished house of Tarquin at the Lake Regillus in 497 B.C.: the second occasion was the victory over Perseus, king of Macedonia, in 168 B.C.[4] The appearance of the divine horsemen after the battle of Lake Regillus was commemorated long afterwards by Aulus Postumius Albinus, a descendant of the Dictator Aulus Postumius who had

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 139. [2] Servius, *l.c.*

[3] Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 17. As to the victory at the Aegatian Islands, see Livy, *Per.* xix., who refers the victory to Caius Lutatius Catulus, consul in 242 B.C. See the *Fasti Consulares* in *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 138.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 705-708; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vi. 13; Florus, i. 28. 14-15; compare Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 2. 6. See note on *Fasti*, i. 705, below, p. 269. Dionysius speaks of a sacred spring in the Forum beside the sanctuary of Vesta; he does not name Juturna. Florus says that on the very same day on which the victory was won over King Perseus two young men on white horses washed away the dust and blood "at the Lake of Juturna". That they had fought in the battle appeared from the blood that dripped from them; that they had come from Macedonia was known by the panting of their horses. Cicero mentions the divine annunciation of victory on both occasions without reference to a pool or spring. The proper title of the water seems to have been the Lake of Juturna (*lacus Iuturnae*, Ovid and Florus, *ll.cc.*).

commanded the Roman army on the great day which decided the freedom of Rome for centuries. On the reverse of coins (*denarii*) issued by A. Postumius Albinus about 89 B.C. we see Castor and Pollux standing beside their horses, which are drinking from a raised basin or trough. The twins wear their characteristic high caps and hold their spears in their hands.[1] A more imposing monument of the appearance of Castor and Pollux was the temple erected to them in the Forum, at the place where they had watered their horses beside the Lake of Juturna.[2] Three splendid columns of the temple are still standing and are among the most conspicuous and beautiful ruins in the Roman Forum.

The Lake of Juturna itself was discovered about the end of the nineteenth century (in 1900) by the great Italian antiquary, Giacomo Boni, in the course of the memorable excavations which he conducted in the Forum The lake, or rather pool, was found exactly on the spot where the indications of Ovid and of Dionysius would have led us to expect it, between the sanctuary of the Vestals and the temple of Castor and Pollux. It is a quadrangular basin enclosed by masonry, about 16 feet 9 inches square and 6 feet 6 inches deep. The basin is fed by two springs, one in the north-east and the other in the north-west corner; the water of the springs runs as clear and as fresh as on the first day when Castor and Pollux watered their jaded steeds on the spot. In the middle of the basin rises like a little island a base built of tufa in network style (*opus reticulatum*). The whole basin is lined with slabs of white marble, which seem to date from the Imperial period; below them are remains built of tufa belonging to an earlier structure. On the ledge beside the basin stands a beautiful marble altar carved with reliefs on all four sides. On one of the short sides we see Jupiter standing in a dignified pose, with a tall sceptre in his raised right hand and a thunderbolt in his left. On the other short side stands Leda, a graceful figure, with the upper part of her body bare and the swan at her feet. On one of the long sides Castor and Pollux are sculptured standing

[1] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. 377-380.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vi. 13. 4. As to the temple see Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 705-708, with the note (below, pp. 261 *sqq.*).

with their usual characteristics, the high caps and spears. On the other side we see a draped female figure standing and holding with both hands a torch across her body. She is probably Helen, the daughter of Jupiter and Leda, and sister of Castor and Pollux. The torch which she carries may refer to the weird lights seen on the masts of ships in a storm, lights which mariners attributed to the presence of Helen, Castor and Pollux.[1] The little lake or basin appears to have occupied the centre of a small precinct, some 33 feet square, the boundary of which is still marked by a sill of travertine that shows traces of having supported a fence. At a late epoch, perhaps in the fourth century A.D., the eastern part of the lake, on the side of the house of the Vestals, was roofed over by a large semicircular arch of brickwork for the purpose of widening the rooms which lay to the east, between the lake and the staircase leading up to the Palatine. These rooms may have been used for some religious purpose. The largest room, the one in the middle, has a rectangular niche in the rear wall. On the ground in front of the niche was found lying a statue representing Aesculapius with an acolyte (*camillus*) holding in his hand a cock, the bird that was usually sacrificed to the god of healing. The presence of the image of the divine physician in a chamber adjoining the lake suggests that the water, like that of many holy springs, may have been supposed to possess medical qualities of which the sick sought to avail themselves. Patients may have been lodged in these eastern chambers. Many mediaeval potsherds, found on the spot and now stored in one of the rooms, show that the springs continued to be used down to a comparatively late time. Statues of Castor and Pollux and a headless statue of Apollo were found, broken into many pieces, in the basin itself. The statues of Castor and Pollux are thought to be an original work of the fifth century B.C. executed in Southern Italy. A marble base found at the eastern side of the precinct seems to show that in the reign of Constantine the adjacent building was used as the office of the city waterworks; for from an inscription[2] we learn that the base supported a

[1] See note on *Fasti*, v. 720 (Vol. IV. pp. 121 *sq.*).
[2] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 8943.

statue of Constantine, which was dedicated, along with the office (*statio*) of waterworks, by a certain Fl. Maesius Egnatius Lollianus, the head of the city waterworks (*curator aquarum*), on March 1st, A.D. 328; and many more fragments of inscriptions relating to these officials and their office of works have been found on the site.

Some four or five yards to the south of the little lake is a fairly preserved group of buildings including a small chapel (*aedicula*), built of bricks with marble facing, which was probably dedicated to the worship of Juturna. A statue of the goddess may have stood in the apse. A piece of the entablature bearing the inscription IVTVRNAI S(*acrum*) was found near the lake. In front of the chapel there is still standing in its original position a beautiful round well-head (*puteal*) of white marble. An inscription on it attests that the well-head was dedicated to Juturna by a curule aedile named M. Barbatius Pollio, perhaps in the time of Augustus.[1] Near the well-head was found a marble altar with two figures, a male and a female, sculptured on it in relief. The male figure, armed with spear and shield, is holding out his left hand to the woman, who is clothed. Perhaps they represent Juturna and her brother Turnus. The style of the sculptures points to the time of Severus. Cicero speaks of gilded statues being set beside Juturna's water.[2]

The Virgin Water, to which Ovid here alludes, is the great aqueduct of that name (*Aqua Virgo*), which still exists and still brings water to Rome It was built, or at least completed, by Agrippa in 19 B.C.; the water began to flow on the ninth of June of that year. The starting-point was in an estate of Lucullus at the eighth milestone on the Collatine Way. The marshy spot was surrounded by a dam built of concrete to confine the gushing water. The aqueduct took the name of the Virgin Water because, when soldiers were looking for water, a young girl pointed out to them some springs, and digging there they discovered a copious supply. A

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 9261.

[2] Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*, 36. 101. As to the Lake of Juturna see Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum, its History and Monuments*, translated by J. B. Carter[2] (Rome, 1909), pp. 164-170; S. B. Platner, *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2] (Boston, New York, etc., 1911), pp. 214-219; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] (Munich, 1901), pp. 358 *sq.*; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*[6] (Paris, 1923), pp. 279-281.

shrine was built on the spot; it contained a picture commemorating the discovery of the springs. The greater part of the aqueduct ran underground; only about seven hundred yards of it rested on arches.[1] In Rome the arches of the aqueduct began under the gardens of Lucullus (on the Pincian Hill) and ended in the Field of Mars opposite the polling-booths (*saepta*).[2] The water was no doubt used to supply the public baths which Agrippa built in the Field of Mars about the same time that he constructed the Pantheon.[3] Among the sights of Rome which Ovid in exile remembered with fond regret were the greensward of the Field of Mars, the neighbouring gardens, and the Virgin Water.[4] At various points in Rome portions of the original aqueduct still remain, as in the gardens of the palazzo Castellani, at No. 12 Via Nazareno, and in the court of the palazzo Sciarri. Some of the arches exist near the Fontana di Trevi, and remains of the termination of the aqueduct are to be seen near the Church of St. Ignazio.[5] The Fontana di Trevi itself, the most magnificent of the public fountains of Rome, together with the fountains in the Piazza di Spagna, the Piazza Navone, and the Piazza Farnese, are still fed by the Virgin Water (*Acqua Vergine*). Outside the Porta Maggiore the Via Collatina, which diverges to the left from the Via Praenestina, skirts the arches of the ancient aqueduct.[6]

I. 467. **Thyself enlighten me, O thou (Carmentis), who dost take thy name from song (carmen).** — Being about to tell the traditionary story of the first settlement on the hills where Rome afterwards stood, the bard girds himself up for the important task by invoking, in the approved Homeric style, a Muse to inform him of the truth and to inspire his verses. For this purpose he appeals appropriately enough to the prophetess Carmentis herself, who plays the leading

[1] Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae*, i. 10; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 42.
[2] Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae*, i. 22.
[3] Dio Cassius, liii. 27. 1-2, liv. 29. 4.
[4] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 8. 33-38.
[5] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1, p. 471; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* [2], pp. 97 *sq.*
[6] K. Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome* [15] (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 184 *sq.*, 438; *The Blue Guides, Southern Italy*, by L. V. Bertarelli (London and Paris, 1925), pp. 92, 205.

part in the following narrative. The story that the first settlers at Rome were emigrants from Arcadia is told in substantially the same form, though more concisely, by Livy, Virgil, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Pausanias, and other writers;[1] but it appears to have had no other foundation than a false etymology, Palatium, the name of the Palatine hill at Rome,[2] being identified with Pallantium, the name of a town in Arcadia,[3] from which it was hastily concluded that the ancestors of the Romans must needs have come. Never, perhaps, was history more transparently falsified than in the derivation of Palatium from Pallantium. But it is an ill wind that blows nobody good, and the Arcadians of Pallantium reaped a rich harvest from the accidental resemblance of the name of their town to that of a hill at Rome; for on the strength of it the Emperor Antoninus Pius elevated their town from the rank of a village to that of a city and granted it political freedom and immunity from taxes.[4] No wonder that when Pausanias visited Pallantium not many years afterwards, he found a statue of Evander set up by the proud and grateful natives in a temple.[5] Could they do less for the mythical hero to whom they owed so much?

However, the derivation of Palatium from Pallantium, though apparently the most popular, was not the only etymology propounded in antiquity. Some thought that

[1] Livy, i. 5. 1-2, i. 7. 8; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 51-54; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 31; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 5; Justin, xliii. 1. 6; Pausanias, viii. 43. 2.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Palatium", p. 245 ed. Lindsay.

[3] Livy, i. 5. 1, "*A Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum*"; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 20, "*Pallantium unde Palatium Romae*"; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 31. 4, ὄνομα δὲ τῷ πολίσματι τούτῳ τίθενται Παλλάντιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ σφῶν μητροπόλεως. νῦν μέντοι Παλάτιον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων λέγεται. Compare Pausanias, viii. 43. 2.

[4] Pausanias, viii. 43. 1.

[5] Pausanias, viii. 44. 5. It is true that Pausanias merely mentions that in a temple at Pallantium there were stone (marble) images of Evander and Pallas. It is doubtful whether this Pallas was Pallas the son of Lycaon and traditionary founder of Pallantium (Pausanias, viii. 3. 1), or Pallas the son of Evander, celebrated by Virgil (*Aen.* viii. 104, 110, etc.); but the mention of Evander is in favour of the second identification, and if that identification is correct we may fairly assume that the statues of Evander and his son were not set up at Pallantium until that obscure little town had burst into fame through the guess of some misguided Roman antiquary. For Evander appears to be a creation of Roman, not of Greek, mythology.

the hill was named after a certain Pallas, who was buried there.[1] This Pallas was not the son of Evander who is immortalized by Virgil; he was a son of Hercules by Launa, daughter of Evander. This derivation of the name of the Palatine was accepted by Polybius, as we learn from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who, however, tells us that he saw no tomb of Pallas in Rome and never heard of any libations or other honours paid to his memory, whereas he was well aware of the altars erected to Carmenta (Carmentis) and Evander, on both of which sacrifices were publicly offered by the Romans every year. The altar of Carmenta (Carmentis) stood, as we have seen, at the foot of the Capitol beside the Carmental Gate; the altar of Evander stood at the foot of the Aventine not far from the Triple Gate (*Porta Trigemina*).[2] Yet others preferred to derive the name Palatium from *palare*, "to stray", or from *balare*, "to bleat", with reference to the bleating flocks that strayed over the hill in days of old.[3]

I. 469. **The land that rose before the moon . . . derives its name from the great Arcas.**—Ovid means Arcadia, which was supposed to take its name from Arcas, one of those mythical heroes invented by false etymology to account for the names of countries and cities. He was said to have introduced the cultivation of corn into the country and to have taught the rude natives to bake bread, to spin wool, and to weave garments.[4] He was reputed to be a son of Jupiter (Zeus) by the nymph Callisto, whom the jealous Juno (Hera) punished by turning her into a bear.[5] Before the time of Arcas the country was said to have been called Pelasgia and the people Pelasgians.[6]

Later on in the present poem Ovid repeats the notion that the Arcadians were older than the moon.[7] The fable was often alluded to by the ancients. Thus Apollonius Rhodius says that "the Arcadians are fabled to have lived before the

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Palatium", p. 245 ed. Lindsay.
[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 32. 1-2.
[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Palatium," p. 245 ed. Lindsay; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 53.
[4] Pausanias, viii. 4. 1.
[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 155 *sqq.*, *Metamorph.* ii. 409 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, iii. 8. 2; Pausanias, viii. 3. 6.
[6] Pausanias, viii. 4. 1; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀρκάς.
[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 289 *sq.*

moon, eating acorns on the mountains ".[1] Hence Greek poets bestowed on them the epithet *proselenoi*, " the men before the moon ".[2] The first who is said to have applied the adjective was Hippys of Rhegium.[3] Many more or less absurd explanations of the adjective and of the fable were propounded.[4] Perhaps the least absurd of them was the one suggested by Aristotle in his work on *The Constitution of the Tegeans*. He thought that the barbarous aborigines of the country were expelled by the Arcadians before the rising of the moon, and that hence the conquerors were called " the Men before the Moon ".[5]

I. 471. **Evander . . . though illustrious on both sides, yet was the nobler for the blood of his sacred mother.**— However, according to the usual account, the father of Evander was the god Mercury (Hermes), and his mother only a nymph,[6] so that on this showing his paternal lineage was more illustrious than his maternal. Ovid would seem to have followed some other tradition as to Evander's father. Some thought that Evander was a son of Echemus, king of Arcadia, by Timandra, daughter of Tyndareus.[7] Ovid may have had in his mind a passage of Livy in which that historian speaks of Evander as " a man venerable for the miracle of letters (a new thing among men uncivilized), but still more venerable for the supposed divinity of his mother Carmenta (Carmentis) ".[8] The Arcadian Evander was said to have introduced the art of writing among the rude aborigines of Italy.[9]

I. 478. **the god of his Parrhasian home.** — The Parrhasians were an ancient tribe of Arcadia. Their territory seems to have comprised the plain on the left bank of the Alpheus and the eastern slopes of Mount Lycaeus, including

[1] Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 264 *sq.*
[2] Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* i. 6, p. 6 ed. Potter.
[3] Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* 'Αρκάς.
[4] Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 264; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 482.
[5] Aristotle, quoted by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 264.
[6] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 138; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 31. 1; Pausanias, viii. 43. 2; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 5. 1.
[7] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 130. As to Echemus and Timandra see Pausanias, viii. 5. 1.
[8] Livy, i. 7. 8.
[9] Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 14; Hyginus, *Fab.* 277.

the towns of Lycosura and Trapezus.[1] Here and elsewhere Ovid uses the adjective Parrhasian in the general sense of Arcadian,[2] as Virgil had done before him,[3] and as Lucan [4] and Statius [5] did after him

I. 490. **Cadmus . . . halted an exile on Aonian soil.** —The Aonians were an ancient tribe of Boeotia whom Cadmus, on his arrival from Phoenicia, is said to have suffered to remain in the country and to coalesce with his Phoenician colonists.[6] Hence Ovid and other learned poets like Callimachus, Lycophron, Apollonius Rhodius, and Statius, used Aonia and Aonian as polite equivalents for Boeotia and Boeotian, which were apt to convey a shade of reproach or contempt.[7]

I. 491. **Tydeus endured the same.** — Tydeus, son of Oeneus, was banished from his native Calydon on account of a homicide. He fled to Argos, where the king, Adrastus, gave him his daughter to wife. Afterwards he marched with Adrastus to Thebes, where he was slain.[8]

I. 491. **Pagasaean Jason.** — Jason is called Pagasaean because his ship, the Argo, sailed from Pagasae, a port of Thessaly.[9] Hence Valerius Flaccus calls the Argo "the Pagasaean ship".[10]

I. 492. **Every land is to the brave his country, as to the fish the sea.**—Ovid was thinking of two famous lines of Euripides: "To an eagle the whole air is passable, and to a brave man every country is his fatherland".[11]

[1] Pausanias, viii. 27. 4 with my note (vol. iv. p. 306); Strabo, viii. 8. 1; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Παρρασία.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 618, iv. 577, *Metamorph.* ii. 460, viii. 315, *Heroides*, xviii. 152, *Tristia*, ii. 190.

[3] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 344, xi. 31.

[4] Lucan, ii. 237.

[5] Statius, *Sylv.* iv. 5. 5, *Theb.* viii. 370, ix. 744.

[6] Pausanias, ix. 5. 1.

[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 245, *Heroides*, ix. 133, *Amores*, i. 1-12, *Metamorph.* i. 313, iii. 339, vii. 763, ix. 112, xii. 24; Callimachus, *Hymn*, iv. 75; Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 1209; Apollonius Rhodius, iii. 1178, 1185; Statius, *Theb.* i. 34, 226, 314, ii. 721, iii. 1.

[8] Apollodorus, i. 8. 5, iii. 6. 8, with my notes; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 114, 120.

[9] Apollonius Rhodius, i. 238, 524; Strabo, ix. 5. 15, p. 436; Propertius, i. 20. 17 *sq.*

[10] Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* i. 421, viii. 378, "*Pagaseia puppis*".

[11] Euripides, *Frag.* 1047, in *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², p. 692, ἅπας μὲν ἀὴρ αἰετῷ περίσιμος, | ἅπασα δὲ χθὼν ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ πάτρις.

I. 501. **the river bank, where it is bordered by Tarentum's shallow pool.** — Tarentum or Terentum, as the name was also spelled, was a place in the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*), where there was an altar dedicated to the infernal deities, Father Dis and Proserpine. The altar was buried at a depth of twenty feet below the surface of the ground. The way in which the altar, after being long buried and forgotten, is said to have been discovered was as follows. Once on a time, when a great plague was laying waste both city and country, a certain man called Valesius, who dwelt in the Sabine region, despaired of the life of his three children, for they were very sick. So he fell on his knees before the household gods (*Lares familiares*) and prayed them to save the lives of his children, even at the expense of his own. A voice answered that they would be saved if he conveyed them down the river Tiber to Tarentum and there refreshed them with warm water fetched from the altar of Father Dis and Proserpine. He feared to undertake the long and perilous journey to Tarentum in the south of Italy ; however, trusting in the divine guidance the pious man put his children in a boat, and with them floated down the Tiber. When darkness fell, he landed for the night at the Field of Mars and learned from the pilot that the place was called Tarentum. He joyfully accepted the omen, and dipping up some water from the river in a vessel he carried it to a spot where he saw smoke issuing from the ground ; there he found a smouldering fire which he contrived to blow up into a flame and so to heat the water, which he thereupon gave to his sick children to drink. Refreshed by the draught they fell into a sound sleep, from which they awoke hale and well ; their long sickness had departed. They now told their father that while they slept they had a vision of a god, who wiped their bodies with a sponge and commanded a sacrifice of dusky victims to be offered at the altar of Father Dis and Proserpine, from which the draught had been brought to them ; further, the deity enjoined on them that a divine banquet (*lectisternium*) should be served and games held by night at the altar. As the father saw no altar on the spot, he went into the city to purchase one, leaving some men to dig the foundations for

it. On digging down some twenty feet they found an altar with an inscription recording its dedication to Father Dis and Proserpine. When he heard of this discovery, Valesius gave up his intention of buying an altar, and sacrificed black victims at the spot called Tarentum ; and he celebrated games and divine banquets on three successive nights, because the number of his children saved from death was three. Following his example, Publius Valerius Publicola, one of the first consuls who held office after the expulsion of the kings, in the interests of the whole community publicly sacrificed black cattle at the same altar to Dis and Proserpine, the victims for Dis being bulls and the victims for Proserpine cows. Moreover, he celebrated games for three nights at the altar, and when they were over he buried the altar again in the earth. Such, according to Valerius Maximus, was the origin of the games called Secular.[1]

The tale is told in substantially the same form by the Byzantine historian Zosimus, except that he carries the story still further back by relating the original foundation of the buried altar. He says that in a war between the Romans and the Albans, when the two armies were about to engage, there appeared to them a dreadful phantom clad in a black hide, who cried that Dis and Proserpine commanded them to offer sacrifice to their divinities under ground before coming to grips with each other. Having said this, the phantom vanished. The Romans complied with his injunction : they built an altar under ground, and having sacrificed on it they covered it over with earth to a depth of twenty feet, that none but Romans might know where it was. This was the altar which was afterwards discovered by Valesius. At a later time, in the first year after the expulsion of the kings, Publius Valerius Publicola sacrificed a black bull and a black heifer at the altar to Dis and Proserpine in order to save the city from a pestilence which was then raging, and on the altar he engraved an inscription to this effect : " I, Publius Valerius Publicola, dedicated this igneous plain to Dis and Proserpine, and I celebrated rites

[1] Valerius Maximus, ii. 4. 5. Compare Festus, *s.v.* " Saeculares ludi ", pp. 440, 441 ed. Lindsay ; *id.*, *s.v.* " Terentum ", pp. 478, 479 ed. Lindsay.

in honour of Dis and Proserpine on behalf of the freedom of Rome ".[1]

The games celebrated at this place were originally called Tarentine but afterwards Secular, because they were supposed to be held at the end of a certain period called a *saeculum*; however, as to the exact length of this period the ancients themselves were uncertain: it was commonly reckoned either at a hundred or a hundred and ten years. Varro and Livy defined it as a hundred years; but the Commentaries of the Fifteen Men, whose office it was to regulate the sacred rites, and the edicts of Augustus fixed the length of the period at a hundred and ten years.[2] This latter length (a hundred and ten years) is the one expressly mentioned by Horace in the ode which he wrote for the celebration of the Secular Games instituted by Augustus in 17 B.C.;[3] and it is also the period mentioned in the Sibylline oracle which was quoted as the authority for the celebration of the games on that occasion.[4] On the other hand the *saeculum* was reckoned at a hundred years by Festus,[5] who probably followed Verrius Flaccus, and also by Augustine.[6]

The celebration of the Secular Games in 17 B.C., which Horace commemorated and Ovid most probably witnessed, was one of the achievements on which Augustus prided himself, for he recorded it, with the date, in the great historical inscription (*Monumentum Ancyranum*) in which he bequeathed to posterity his long roll of glory. In this record he professes to have celebrated the games on behalf of the

[1] Zosimus, ii. 1-3.

[2] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xvii. 7-9, quoting the first book of Varro's treatise *De scaenicis originibus*, and Book cxxxvi. of Livy. In the passage of Varro quoted by Censorinus the games are called the Tarentine Games (*ludi Tarentini*), and it is said that they were celebrated in obedience to the direction of the Sibylline Books, because many portents had happened, and the wall and tower between the Colline and Esquiline Gates had been struck by lightning. That Livy reckoned the *saeculum* at 100 years appears also from his reference to another celebration of the Secular Games (*Per.* xlix., "*ludi Patri Diti ad Tarentum ex praecepto librorum facti, qui ante annum centesimum primo Punico bello, quingentesimo et altero anno ab urbe condita facti erant*").

[3] Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, 21 *sq.*

[4] The oracle is quoted at length by Zosimus (ii. 6) and by Phlegon (*De macrobiis*, 4, in *Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci*, ed. A. Westermann, Brunsvigae, 1839, pp. 203 *sq.*). The text is printed by H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 133-135.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Saeculares ludi", p. 441 ed. Lindsay.

[6] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iii. 18.

College of the Fifteen Men and in the character of Master of the College, with Agrippa for his colleague.[1] This was reckoned the fifth celebration of the games.[2] The sixth celebration took place in A.D. 47 under the reign of the Emperor Claudius, who thus clearly reckoned the *saeculum* at a hundred years ; for the year A.D. 47 was reckoned the seven hundredth year since the foundation of Rome and therefore the correct year in which to celebrate the sixth centenary of the city.[3] As Claudius was a learned antiquary, specially versed in Etruscan history, on which indeed he composed a work in twenty books,[4] his testimony to the hundred years' length of the *saeculum* carries weight, all the more so because the *saeculum* was apparently a very ancient institution among the Etruscans, who originally reckoned it at a hundred years.[5] When we add the evidence of Claudius to the concurrent testimony of such high authorities as Varro, Livy, and Verrius Flaccus, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the *saeculum* was properly a period of a hundred years,[6] and that its supposed extension to a hundred and ten years was nothing more than a contrivance to suit the political convenience of Augustus, who " fixed upon the year 17 B.C., because it marked the end of his first ten years' *imperium*, and also the consummation of his social and domestic legislation, which was to usher in a new and purer age ".[7] It is true that the Emperor pleaded the authority of the Fifteen Men and the Sibylline Books ; but we shall probably be doing no injustice to the College of the Fifteen Men, who had charge of the sacred volumes,[8] if we

[1] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, ed. Th. Mommsen[2] (Berlin, 1883), iv. 36-37, p. 91; *Monumentum Ancyranum*, ed. E. G. Hardy (Oxford, 1923), iv. 36-37, p. 103, " *Pro conlegio quindecemvirorum magister conlegii collega M. Agrippa ludos saeclares C. Furnio C. Silano cos. feci.*" Compare Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31. 4.

[2] Dio Cassius, liv. 18. 2.

[3] Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 11 ; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xvii. 11 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 159, viii. 160.

[4] Suetonius, *Claudius*, 42.

[5] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xvii. 5-6, and xvii. 13, " *Quod Etruscos, quorum prima saecula centenum fuerunt annorum, etiam hic ut in aliis plerumque imitari voluerunt* ".

[6] Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), p. 186, "*Das hundertjährige Saeculum, das einzige wirklich und ursprünglich römische* ".

[7] E. G. Hardy, *Monumentum Ancyranum*, p. 104.

[8] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 332. The College originally numbered only two members ; they were afterwards increased to ten, and this number lasted

suppose that they felt little scruple at garbling or concocting an oracle to suit the requirements of the Emperor.

The Emperor Domitian celebrated the Secular Games for the seventh time in A.D. 87, reckoning, we are told by Suetonius, the date for them from the celebration by Augustus in 17 B.C. and not from the celebration of them by Claudius in A.D. 47.[1] But if, as seems probable, Domitian, like Augustus, reckoned a *saeculum* at 110 years, he anticipated the proper period by seven years; since a period of 110 years from 17 B.C. expired in A.D. 93, and the following year (A.D. 94) would, on that reckoning, have been the correct year in which to celebrate the Secular games for the sixth (not the seventh) time. We may suppose that the vainglorious and foolish Domitian preferred to follow the calculation of Augustus, which brought the celebration of the games within his own reign, rather than that of Claudius, which would have deferred it till A.D. 147, a time by which the cruel tyrant had long fallen by the hand of the assassin. We may suppose that the same childish impatience led him, even on his own chosen calculation, to anticipate the proper date of the celebration by seven years. Thus in estimating the proper length of the *saeculum* no weight can be attached to the celebration of the Secular Games by Domitian in A.D. 87. However, that celebration was memorable on another ground; for the historian Tacitus tells us that he was present at it and superintended the rites in an official capacity as a member of the College of the Fifteen Men, who had charge of the celebration.[2] The event is alluded to by the contemporary poets Statius and Martial in their usual style of shameless flattery. They seem to have forgotten Tarentum as the name of the place where the games were held and to have converted it into a hero named Tarentus or Tarentos, in whose honour the festival was

down to the time of Sulla, when it was increased to fifteen (Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 73). Besides keeping and interpreting the Sibylline Books the College had to superintend the rites of Apollo and of other foreign deities (Livy, x. 8. 2). Thus the College of the Ten or Fifteen Men was sharply distinguished from that of the Pontiffs, who occupied themselves with the native Roman gods (*dii patrii*, *dii proprii*) alone. See J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] 379 *sqq.*

[1] Suetonius, *Domitianus*, 4. 3; Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 11.

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 11.

held. Martial speaks of "the sacred rites which Romulean Tarentos enjoys",[1] and Statius refers to the coming renewal or recall of the altar of ancient Tarentus.[2]

The site of the place called Tarentum, where the Secular Games were held, was discovered in the winter of 1886–1887, when the new Corso Vittorio Emmanuele was being opened at the back of the Cesarini palace. The place is between the Chiesa Nuova and the Piazza Sforza-Cesarini. Here, at a depth of about sixteen feet below the level of the Corso, were found the remains of a large altar, no doubt the altar of Dis and Proserpine. Two blocks of the altar were discovered, resting on a pedestal, which was approached by three steps. The altar must have measured about eleven feet square. Behind it was a massive wall of tufa, and round it a triple wall of peperino. Further, in a mediaeval wall some 300 yards to the north of the altar there were discovered fragments of a huge block or blocks of marble inscribed with the official record of the celebration of the Secular Games under Augustus in 17 B.C. and under Septimius Severus in A.D. 204. These inscriptions are now in the Museo delle Terme at Rome.[3]

The documents thus fortunately brought to light illustrate, confirm, and supplement the notices of the festival which have been bequeathed to us by ancient writers. The ceremonies began on the night of May 31, when, in the Field of Mars, beside the Tiber, the Emperor Augustus sacrificed nine ewe lambs and nine she-goats to the Fates (*Moerae*), and prayed the goddesses to accept the sacrifice and be gracious to the Roman people, the Fifteen Men, the Emperor himself, and his family. When the sacrifice had been offered, plays (*ludi*) were acted on a stage in the open air, without

[1] Martial, iv. 1. 8, "*Et quae Romuleus sacra Tarentos habet*"; compare *id.* x. 63. 3.

[2] Statius, *Sylv.* iv. 1. 38, "*Et tibi longaevi renovabitur* (or *revocabitur*) *ara Tarenti*", where *Tarenti* is a necessary correction of Turnebus for the MS. reading *parentis*; compare *Sylv.* i. 4. 18, "*Aut instaurati peccaverit ara Tarenti*".

[3] R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* (London, 1897), pp. 449 *sq.*; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], p. 225; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 478; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, p. 343; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 5050, 5050*a* (vol. ii. pars 1, pp. 282-288).

any seats being provided for the audience; but in the two following nights the performances were given in a wooden theatre erected for the purpose beside the Tiber. At the same time one hundred and ten matrons, whose number corresponded to that of the years in the *saeculum*, offered a solemn banquet to Juno and Diana, seats being set for the invisible goddesses. Next day, being the first of June, Augustus and his minister Agrippa sacrificed each a bull to Jupiter Best and Greatest (*Optimus Maximus*) on the Capitol, and prayed to him in much the same form as they had prayed to the Fates on the preceding night. That night (June first) Latin plays were acted in the wooden theatre beside the Tiber, and the hundred and ten matrons entertained the two goddesses as before. Moreover, the Fifteen Men issued an edict that women in mourning should lay aside all tokens of sorrow and bereavement in honour of the gods. Why this edict should be issued at this stage of the proceedings instead of before the beginning of the festival, is not apparent. That same night Augustus offered a sacrifice of nine cakes of each of three different sorts of cakes, or twenty-seven cakes in all, to the Goddesses of Childbirth (*Ilithyiae*), together with a prayer in which, curiously enough, he addressed only one of the goddesses (*Ilithyia*). Next day, being the second of June, Augustus and Agrippa sacrificed each a cow to Queen Juno on the Capitol and prayed in much the same form as before. After they had prayed, the hundred and ten matrons in their turn offered a solemn prayer to Queen Juno for the prosperity of the Roman people at home and abroad and for their eternal victory. That night plays were acted as before, and at night beside the Tiber Augustus sacrificed a farrow sow to Mother Earth with a prayer; and the hundred and ten matrons entertained the two goddesses for the third time. Next day, being the third of June, Augustus and Agrippa sacrificed to Apollo and Diana on the Palatine three different sorts of cakes, nine of each, making twenty-seven cakes in all, and offered a prayer in the usual form. After the sacrifice of the cakes and the prayer, twenty-seven boys, whose fathers and mothers were alive, sang an ode composed by Q. Horatius Flaccus (the poet Horace), and afterwards they chanted it

in the same manner on the Capitol. When the theatrical performances were over, a racecourse was laid out near the place where sacrifices had been offered on the preceding nights, and where the wooden theatre had been set up. There four-horse chariots raced, and pairs of horses ran with single riders who leaped from one horse to the other (*desultores*). This concluded the Secular Games (*ludi saeculares*). But after an interval of a day (the fourth of June) they were followed by other Honorary Games (*ludi honorarii*) which lasted seven days, from the fifth to the eleventh of June. These were offered spontaneously to the public by the College of the Fifteen Men, and they included plays in the wooden theatre beside the Tiber, in the theatre of Pompey, and in the theatre of Marcellus. The plays were followed by a hunting of wild beasts and chariot races.[1]

The legend as to the origin of the Secular Games appears to indicate that at first they were instituted for the purpose of staying a pestilence, or perhaps more generally of putting an end to a time of public danger and distress. Their celebration might be taken to mark the end of an old period of unhappiness and adversity and the beginning of a new period of happiness and prosperity. Such ideas were undoubtedly associated with the celebration of the Secular Games in the reign of Augustus; Horace gave expression to them when he said that now Peace and Honour, Good Faith and ancient Modesty, and Virtue, so long neglected, dared to return to the world, and that blessed Plenty now showed herself with her full horn.[2] Nothing could be more natural than these hopes and aspirations in a world exhausted, as the Roman world then was, by many years of internecine strife and bloodshed and just beginning to taste

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 5050 (vol. ii. pars 1, pp. 282-287). Dessau only prints the portion of the inscription which describes the actual celebration of the games. For the complete text of the inscriptions see Th. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, viii. (Berlin, 1913) pp. 570-576, with Mommsen's commentary (pp. 567-626); R. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (London, 1892), pp. 363 *sqq.* (Mommsen's text). Compare Sir J. E. Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy* (Cambridge, 1919), pp. 176 *sq.* As to the *desultores* who leaped from horse to horse see Livy, xxiii. 29. 51, xliv. 9. 4; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 39. 2; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] 524. The feat of leaping from horse to horse at full gallop is as old as Homer (*Il.* xv. 679-684).

[2] Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, 57-60.

the blessedness of internal calm and tranquillity after the storm. There are indeed indications that the coming of a new era of peace and prosperity had been anticipated and even predicted a good many years before Augustus attempted to crown these hopes and fulfil these prophecies by celebrating the Secular Games. When a comet appeared after the murder of Julius Caesar, a seer named Vulcatius is said to have proclaimed in a public assembly that it heralded the beginning of a new age (*saeculum*), but that the gods would punish him for revealing their secrets; and the words had hardly passed his lips, when he fell down dead.[1] About the same time, or a little later, the great Roman antiquary Varro, in his book on the descent of the Roman people, called attention to the doctrine of palingenesis, according to which souls were reborn in their original bodies after a period of four hundred and forty years.[2] This period is clearly obtained by multiplying a period of a hundred and ten years by four; but a period of a hundred and ten years is the *saeculum* on which Augustus based his celebration of the Secular Games; and it is probable that Virgil had in his mind either the period of a hundred and ten years or its multiple by four when, in his fourth Eclogue, he announced the end of the period foretold by the Sibyl of Cumae, and prophesied the beginning of a great new era, the return of the Golden Age.[3] Though Virgil died in 19 B.C., two years before Augustus celebrated the Secular Games, we can hardly doubt that as an intimate of Augustus he was acquainted with the plans of the Emperor for inaugurating in a formal manner the new era, so long and so ardently desired by a weary world, and that in this famous poem, which more than any other production of Greek or Roman literature resembles the utterance of a Hebrew prophet, he echoed the hopes and aspirations of his genera-

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* ix. 47.

[2] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xxii. 28, "*Mirabilius autem quiddam Marcus Varro ponit in libris, quos conscripsit de gente populi Romani: cuius putavi verba ipsa esse ponenda. Genethliaci quidam scripserunt, inquit, esse in renascendis hominibus quam appellant* παλιγγενεσίαν *Graeci: hac scripserunt confici in annis numero quadringentis quadraginta, ut idem corpus et eadem anima, quae fuerint coniuncta in homine aliquando, eadem rursus redeant in coniunctionem*".

[3] Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 4 *sqq.*

tion. It is true that he does not definitely connect the new era with the doctrine of palingenesis, but one of his old commentators, Probus, is probably right in supposing that the poet had that doctrine in mind ;[1] for the ages of the world, according to the poets, were four in number, to wit, the Golden Age, the Silver Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age. Now if the Golden was to return, as Virgil predicted, this would be the fifth age of the world, and, as we have seen,[2] the celebration of the Secular Games by Augustus in A.D. 17 was reckoned the fifth of these great periodic festivals.[3]

We have seen that the chorus which chanted the ode of Horace at the Secular Games consisted of boys whose fathers and mothers were alive (*pueri patrimi et matrimi*). The employment of such boys in religious or magical rites was common both in ancient Greece and ancient Rome, and it is still customary in many different and widely separated parts of the world, including Bulgaria, Morocco, Central Africa, Madagascar, Japan, and Central Celebes. I have collected evidence of it in another work, but more evidence could be adduced.[4] The motive for employing such boys in ritual seems to have been a belief that the children of living parents are endowed with a fund of vitality, which they impart by sympathetic magic to others. Hence

[1] Probus, on Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 4, "*Cumaei : vel a Sibylla, quae Cumana : et post quattuor secula* παλιγγενεσίαν *futuram cecinit ; vel Cumaei carminis, i.e. Hesiodi, a patre Dio, qui Cumaeus fuit ; Hesiodus autem libris suis quattuor seculorum facit mentionem*".

[2] See above, p. 194.

[3] Compare Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), pp. 178 *sqq.*; G. Wissowa, "Die Saecularfeier des Augustus", *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 192-210, especially pp. 202-204.

[4] *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. ii. pp. 236-248. For more evidence see Cicero, *De haruspicum responsis*, 11. 23 ; Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 1 and 40, pp. 151, 164 ed. O. Rossbach ; Callimachus, *Aitia*, iii. 1. 1-3 ed. Mair ; A. Strausz, *Die Bulgaren* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 294 ; Ed. Westermarck, *Marriage Customs in Morocco* (London, 1914), pp. 156, 297, 350 ; E. Laoust, "Feux de joie chez les Berbères", *Hesperis*, i. (1921) p. 37 ; J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 128 ; *id.*, *The Banyankole* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 55, 111, 112 *sq.*, 126, 131, 150; A. et G. Grandidier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, ii. (Paris, 1914) pp. 285 *sq.*, 294 ; *iidem* in *L'Anthropologie*, xxvi. (1915) pp. 353 note, 354, 355 ; L. Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (London, 1894), i. 130 *sq.* In Japan it is a rule that only persons who have both their parents alive may partake of fish on a certain day of the Festival of the Dead (L. Hearn, *l.c.*).

they are particularly employed at birth and marriage ceremonies in order to ensure the life of the new-born child or of the expected offspring. This intention comes plainly out in certain customs observed by the Banyankole, a pastoral tribe of the Uganda Protectorate in Central Africa. Among them, when a woman had given birth to a child, she "retired to bed as soon as the after-birth came away, and four small boys or girls whose parents were alive and well were sent to look for and bring to the house leaves of the trees *nyawera*, *kirikiti* and *mulokola muhiri*. A hole was dug in the doorway and these were put in and the placenta laid on them; it was covered with more leaves, and the hole was filled up with earth which was beaten hard. This was said to ensure that the child would grow up strong like the children who performed the ceremony, and that its parents would live like theirs to look after it."[1] Again, in the same tribe, when the navel string had dropped from a new-born infant, a number of children, who were in good health and had both their parents alive, came with a bunch of purifying herbs and a pot of fresh water and sprinkled the baby, saying, "Grow up strong and good."[2] Once more, among the Banyankole, a boy whose parents were alive and well sometimes "slept with the bride and bridegroom for a few nights to ensure that the bride would bear healthy children".[3] We know from an allusion in a poem of Callimachus that the Greeks practised a bridal custom of the same sort, doubtless for the same reason.[4] The same principle of what we may call infectious vitality is applied by the Banyankole to cattle. Acting on this principle they often employed in ritual cows whose calves were alive and well. Thus, when they entered a new kraal, the headman milked a cow that had two calves, both of which were alive and well. He drank milk from this cow before anyone else might drink milk in the kraal. "This was *ya kuza omusozi*, 'to give luck', like that of the cow from which the milk was taken."[5] Again at marriage among the Banyankole a mouthful of milk drawn from a

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, p. 111.
[2] J. Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, pp. 112 *sq.*
[3] J. Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, p. 126.
[4] Callimachus, *Aitia*, iii. 1. 1-3 ed. Mair.
[5] J. Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, p. 66.

cow that had one or two calves alive and well was puffed by the bridegroom over the bride and by the bride over the bridegroom.[1] Another application of the same principle of infectious vitality is the rule which in the Bombay Presidency of India prescribes that the women who officiate in certain rites must be matrons whose husbands are alive.[2]

Among the Toradyas of Central Celebes, at a marriage the bridegroom's sword and betel-pouch are carried into the bride's house by a woman or a girl whose parents are alive, and who, if she is married, has never lost a child.[3] In this last case a double, triple, or manifold guarantee of life is required of a married woman; for not only must both her parents be alive, but all her children must be alive also. Among the Merina of Madagascar a male infant is carried out of the house for the first time by a boy or a man whose parents are both alive, and as he crosses the threshold he says, "May this child have a long life!"[4]

If any doubt should still subsist as to the reason for the ritual use of children whose parents are alive, it would seem to be set at rest by a curious ceremony observed by these Merina of Madagascar at the first cutting of an infant's hair. The cutting of the hair is done by two men, one whose parents are alive, and one whose parents are dead. The man whose parents are dead first clips a lock of hair over the child's left ear with a bad pair of scissors which he holds in his left hand; and as he clips he says, "Behold the bad lock of hair which would cause sicknesses to this child, which would draw misfortunes on him; I remove it". So saying he inserts the lock of hair in the hollow stalk of a reed and throws it away as a sort of scapegoat (*faditra*), along with the scissors which he used in the operation. After that, the man whose father and mother are alive cuts seven locks of hair over the child's right ear with a pair of scissors which he holds in his right hand: these locks are called the good

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, p. 126. For more examples of the use of such cows in ritual see *id.* pp. 47, 52, 54.

[2] R. E. Enthoven, *The Folklore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 180, 186, 267, 268, 284, 297, 327.

[3] N. Adriani en A. C. Kruijt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradjas van Midden Celebes* (Batavia, 1912–1914), ii. 19.

[4] A. Grandidier et G. Grandidier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, ii. (Paris, 1914) pp. 285 *sq.*

locks of hair. As he cuts them, the man whose father and mother are alive says: "I offer these firstlings to thee, O my God, and to you, our ancestors. Grant this child a long life, that he may be strong, that he may be happy, that he may be rich, that he may do honour to his family!"[1] Here the opposition in ritual between the man whose parents are alive and the man whose parents are dead is sharp and clear. The man whose parents are alive contributes by his vitality to the long life of the child: the man whose parents are dead contributes by his mortuary character to the destruction of the evil influences which threatened to impair the health and fortunes of the infant.

I. 513. **May the sight of you be of good omen.**—The literal translation is "be of good birds", the word "birds" being used as equivalent to "omens", because omens were so constantly drawn from the flight or cries of birds. So Horace speaks of "a bad bird", "a favourable bird", "a better bird", meaning "a bad omen", "a favourable omen", "a better omen".[2] Similarly in Greek the words for "bird" are used as equivalent to "omen",[3] as in the famous saying of Hector that "one bird (omen) is best, to fight for fatherland".[4]

I. 519. **Anon Dardanian barks shall ground upon these shores.**—The prophetess is predicting the arrival of Aeneas, and his Trojans, who claimed descent from Dardanus, the traditional founder of Dardania, the city on Mount Ida which was afterwards replaced by Troy in the plain.[5] Hence Ovid uses the adjective Dardanian here and elsewhere[6] as equivalent to Trojan.

I. 520. **here, too, a woman shall be the source of a new war.**—Carmentis means that just as the Trojan war was

[1] A. Grandidier et G. Grandidier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, ii. (Paris, 1914), p. 294.

[2] Horace, *Od.* i. 15. 5, "*Mala ducis avi domum*"; *id.*, *Od.* iii. 3. 61, "*Troiae renascens alite lugubri fortuna*"; *id.*, *Epod.* x. 1, "*Mala soluta navis exit alite*"; *id.*, *Epod.* xvi. 23 *sq.*, "*Secunda | ratem occupare quid moramur alite?*"; *id.*, *Od.* iv. 6. 23 *sq.*, "*Potiore ductos | alite muros*".

[3] P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*[3] (Munich, 1920), p. 59.

[4] Homer, *Il.* xii. 243, εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. Compare Herodotus, ix. 91, δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνόν.

[5] Homer, *Il.* xx. 215 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, iii. 12. 1.

[6] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 335, xv. 431, 767.

caused by the elopement of Helen with Paris, so in Latium the war between the Trojans and Rutulians would be caused by the marriage of Aeneas, the Trojan leader, to Lavinia, daughter of King Latinus, whose hand had been promised to Turnus, the prince of the Rutulians. This latter war is the subject of the last six books of the *Aeneid*.

I. 521. **Pallas, my grandson dear, why don these fatal arms?**—Pallas, the son of Evander and grandson of Carmentis, was slain by Turnus, but his death was avenged by Aeneas, who slew his slayer, as Virgil has told at full length in the last three books of the *Aeneid*.[1]

I. 525. **Ye conquering flames, consume Neptunian Pergamum.**— By "Neptunian Pergamum" the prophetess, or rather the poet, means Troy, the walls of which were said to have been built by Apollo and Poseidon (Neptune), or by Poseidon alone, for Laomedon, the faithless king of the city, who cheated the two divine masons of their wages.[2] According to Lucian, the sum of which the deities were defrauded was more than thirty Trojan drachmas.[3] Virgil, like Ovid, speaks of "Neptunian Troy".[4] In the present passage Carmentis predicts that, though Troy was to be burnt to the ground, the descendants of the Trojans would build on the banks of the Tiber the capital of the world: Rome was, in a sense, to rise on the ashes of Troy. Ovid may have had in mind two lines of Propertius.[5]

I. 528. **"Vesta, admit the gods of Ilium!"**—The sacred and eternal fire which burned in the temple of Vesta at Rome was thought to have been brought by Aeneas from Troy to Latium;[6] and in the same temple were popularly supposed to reside the Penates of the Roman people,[7] which Aeneas had rescued from the flames of the burning city and established at first in Lavinium.[8] Indeed, some appear to have

[1] As to the death of Pallas see Virgil, *Aen.* x. 479 *sqq.*; as to the death of Turnus see *Aen.* xii. 919 *sqq.*

[2] Homer, *Il.* vii. 452 *sq.*, xxi. 441-457; Apollodorus, ii. 5. 9, with my note.

[3] Lucian, *De sacrificiis*, 4.

[4] Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 625.

[5] Propertius v. (iv.) 1. 53 *sq.*, "*Vertite equum, Danai, male vincitis: Ilia tellus | vivet, et huic cineri Iuppiter arma dabit.*"

[6] Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 29, 417 *sq.*; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 297 *sq.*

[7] Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 41.

[8] Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 717, iii. 148-150; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 67.

thought that the true original Penates always remained at Lavinium.[1]

I. 530. **a god shall in his own person celebrate the sacred rites.**—Both Julius Caesar and Augustus held the office of High Priest (Pontifex Maximus) and in that capacity celebrated the sacred rites, and both were deified. As a courtly poet Ovid here probably refers especially to Augustus, for in his poetical letters written in exile he constantly flatters the reigning emperor by speaking of him as a divinity.[2]

I. 531. **In the line of Augustus the guardianship of the fatherland shall abide.**—Ovid puts in the mouth of the prophetess a prediction that there will be a succession of Roman emperors bearing the title of Augustus, a prediction which was confirmed by the event. Elsewhere he speaks of "the Augustan gods" with reference to the imperial family.[3]

I. 533. **Thereafter the god's son and grandson, despite his own refusal, shall support with heavenly mind the weight his father bore.**—The god here referred to is the deified Julius Caesar; his son is Augustus, the adopted son of Julius Caesar; his grandson is the Emperor Tiberius, the adopted son of Augustus. Hence these lines must have been inserted in the poem after the accession of Tiberius, which took place in A.D. 14; consequently the verses were not in the original draft of the poem but were added to it during the poet's exile and not very long before his death. Before he succeeded to the empire, Tiberius made a hypocritical pretence of declining the burden in order to compel the Senate to thrust the dignity upon him. The farce enacted in the Senate-house on this occasion is described by Tacitus,[4] and more particulars of the arch-dissembler's assumed reluctance and the importunities employed to overcome it are given by Suetonius.[5] On the other hand the contemporary historian Velleius Paterculus writes as if the reluctance of Tiberius were genuine; but doubtless he did

[1] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 144, "*oppidum quod primum conditum in Latio stirpis Romanae, Lavinium*: *nam ibi dii penates nostri*".

[2] See for example Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 2. 35, v. 3. 46, v. 10. 52, v. 11. 20, *Ex Ponto*, i. 2. 71, i. 4. 44, 55 *sq.*, i. 10. 42, ii. 2. 41 *sq.*, 109, 122, iii. 6. 16, iv. 13. 26.

[3] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iii. 6. 15 *sq.*, "*Facis ut reverentia talis* | *fiat in Augustos invidiosa deos*".

[4] Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 11-13.

[5] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 24.

so only to flatter the emperor.[1] Elsewhere Ovid says that Tiberius often refused the empire.[2]

I. 536. **so shall Julia Augusta be a new divinity.**—By the will of Augustus his wife Livia was adopted into the Julian family and took the name of Augusta, so that her new style was Julia Augusta.[3] Divine honours were afterwards accorded to her by her grandson the Emperor Claudius.[4] Ovid has here anticipated her apotheosis.

I. 543. **Lo! the club-bearer hither drives the Erythean kine.**—The club-bearer is Hercules, whose characteristic weapon was a club. Ovid applies the epithet to the hero elsewhere.[5] The following story (lines 543-582) of the encounter of Hercules with the robber Cacus had previously been told in substantially the same way by Virgil, Propertius, and Livy,[6] and it is similarly narrated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Aurelius Victor.[7] The legend was told to explain the origin of the Great Altar (*Ara Maxima*) in the Cattle-market (*Forum Boarium*), which Ovid mentions below (lines 581-582). The "Erythean kine" are the cattle which the triple-bodied Geryon kept in the island of Erythia or Gadira (the modern Cadiz). The tenth labour imposed on Hercules by Eurystheus was to fetch these cattle. The hero slew the monster and brought the herd to Eurystheus at Tiryns, after driving them through Spain, Italy, and Thrace.[8] It is said that on his journey through Spain the hero was received with honour by a certain king, and that as a reward for his hospitality Hercules left some of the Erythean kine with him. The king showed his appreciation of the gift by consecrating them all to Hercules, to whom he afterwards annually sacrificed the finest of the bulls. "These cattle", observes the historian Diodorus Siculus, "continue to be kept sacred in Iberia (Spain) down to our own time."[9]

We learn from Virgil and Ovid that the reputed father of

[1] Velleius Paterculus, ii. 124.
[2] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 13. 27 *sq.*
[3] Tacitus, i. 8.
[4] Suetonius, *Claudius*, 11. 2.
[5] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 22 and 284.
[6] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 185-279; Propertius v. (iv.) 9; Livy, i. 7. 4-11.
[7] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 39; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 6-8. Aurelius Victor refers to the Pontifical Books as his authority for the legend of Hercules and Cacus.
[8] Hesiod, *Theog.* 287-294, 979-983; Herodotus, iv. 8; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 17 *sq.*; Apollodorus, ii. 5. 10.
[9] Diodorus Siculus, iv. 18. 3.

Cacus was the fire-god Vulcan or Mulciber, as Ovid calls him, and that, when he was hard put to it in combat, the monster spouted fire from his mouth[1] or from his three mouths, for according to Propertius he had three of these orifices.[2] Associated with Cacus was his sister Caca, who is said to have betrayed him to Hercules. For the service thus rendered in helping to rid the neighbourhood of the bandit, Caca was worshipped as a goddess in a chapel where a perpetual fire was kept up and sacrifices were offered to her as a sort of Vesta.[3] All this seems to suggest that Cacus and Caca were an ancient pair of Roman divinities of fire, of whom Cacus corresponded to Vulcan, and Caca corresponded to Vesta. This has already been recognized by some scholars ;[4] Schwegler and Wissowa also see in Cacus and Caca an ancient pair of Roman deities ; Wissowa even observes that they must date from the time before the fixing of the calendar, though afterwards they fell into complete oblivion.[5] Yet a trace of the worship of Cacus long persisted ; for in the *Curiosum* and the *Notitia*, documents of the fourth century A.D., which give lists of Roman buildings then extant, we find mention of a Hall of Cacus (*atrium Caci*) in the eighth region of the city, the region which included the Old or Great Roman Forum.[6] Such halls (*atria*) were dedicated to the worship of other deities at Rome, such as Vesta, Minerva, and Liberty.[7] If this interpretation of

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 199 *sq.*

[2] Propertius, v. (iv.) 9. 10, "*Per tria partitos qui dabat ora sonos*", where Paley reads *focos* for *sonos*.

[3] Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 20, "*Colitur et Caca, quae Herculi fecit indicium de furto boum, divinitatem consecuta, quia prodidit fratrem*" ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 190, "*Hunc* (*Cacum*) *soror sua eiusdem nominis prodidit. Unde etiam sacellum meruit in quo ei pervigili igne sicut Vestae sacrificabatur*". The reading *pervigili igne sicut* is found in at least one manuscript. The ordinary reading is, *in quo ei per virgines Vestae sacrificabatur*. See G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 161 note [6].

[4] L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], ii. 287 ; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 133 *sq.*, "In reality Cacus was an ancient Italic fire-god, he and his sister Caca being worshipped as deities of the hearth. This worship of Caca was afterwards displaced by that of Vesta."

[5] A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 371 *sq.* ; G. Wissowa, *s.v.* "Caca", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 842 *sq.* ; *id.*, *s.v.* "Cacus", in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, iii. 1. 1165-1169 ; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Romer*[2], p. 161.

[6] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, ii. 553.

[7] H. Jordan, in L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], ii. 287 note [2].

Cacus and Caca is correct, their worship furnishes an instructive parallel to the worship of Vesta by which it was apparently cast into the shade. In the worship of Vesta the fire-goddess is a virgin associated with no male power; in the worship of Cacus and Caca she is associated with a male power, who is described as her brother but whom we may surmise to have been originally her husband. Certainly the Roman legends which attributed the impregnation of virgins to contact with the fire, as in the legend of the birth of King Servius Tullus,[1] contain implicitly a belief in the generative power of fire which approaches closely to the conception of physical fatherhood.

We do not know where the chapel of Caca was situated, but probably it was on or near the Aventine Hill; for Ovid (line 551) speaks of Cacus as "the terror and the shame of the Aventine wood", and Solinus more definitely says that "Cacus inhabited the place called the Salt-works (*Salinae*), where is now the Triple Gate (*Porta Trigemina*)".[2] The Triple Gate was between the Aventine and the Tiber, and may have taken its name from the triple-mouthed or triple-headed monster who was said to have dwelt in the neighbourhood, though more probably the adjective referred to triple archways.[3] However, the name of Cacus was associated with the Palatine as well as with the Aventine, for a staircase leading up from the valley of the Circus Maximus to the Palatine was known as the Staircase of Cacus.[4] Steps of the staircase, hewn in the rock, and lined on both sides with masonry, are still to be seen on the slope of the hill; at the upper end of the staircase, on the top of the hill, are some travertine foundations of a gate of the Imperial period.[5]

[1] As to these legends see *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 195 *sqq.*; H. J. Rose, "De religionibus antiquis quaestiunculae tres", *Mnemosyne*, N.S. liii. (1925) pp. 410-413; and below, note on *Fasti*, vi. 627, Vol. IV. pp. 300 *sqq.*

[2] Solinus, i. 8, "*Qui Cacus habitavit locum, cui Salinae nomen est; ubi Trigemina nunc porta*".

[3] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 235; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* [2], p. 46.

[4] Solinus, i. 18; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 21. 2; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 20. 4, where we must read παρὰ τοὺς λεγομένης βαθμοὺς σκάλης κακίης (for καλῆς ἀκτῆς), comparing the λιθίνην κλίμακα τὴν ὀνομαζομένην ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κακίαν of Diodorus Siculus, *l.c.*

[5] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 41; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient*

The combat of Hercules with Cacus and his recovery of the cows, which the monster had hidden in his cave, has been compared with the combats which Indra, the great Vedic god of thunder, is said to have waged with the demons of drought and darkness, and in which the mighty god succeeds in liberating the waters or the sunbeams, in the form of cows, from the dark cave in which the demons had hidden them. This Indian myth appears to be essentially a description of the clearing of the sky and the fall of rain after a thunderstorm; and accordingly the mythologists, who have instituted the comparison and extended it to Iranian, Greek, and German mythology, are of opinion that the Roman legend is in fact a particular case of a weather-myth common to all the Indo-European peoples.[1] The comparison of the Italian legend with the old Indian myth is rendered somewhat difficult by the variety, and to some extent the inconsistency, of the forms which the myth assumes in the Vedic poems. The principal feature in the rich mythology of which Indra is the subject is undoubtedly his combat with the demon of drought, who is most frequently called by the name of Vṛitra, the Obstructor, but who is also very often styled Ahi, the Serpent or Dragon. The conflict is terrible. Heaven and earth tremble with fear when Indra shatters Vṛitra with his bolt. He smote Vṛitra who encompassed the waters, or the dragon that lay round the waters, the dragon that was hidden in the waters and that obstructed the waters and the sky. Indra released the imprisoned waters, he released the streams pent up by the dragon: he opened the orifice which had been closed, and the waters ran out: "he slew the dragon lying on the mountain, released the waters, pierced the belly of the mountains".[2] Further, Indra is often said to have found, delivered, or won cows; and in many instances these cows

Rome [2], pp. 133 *sq.*; O. Gilbert, *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 46 *sq.*

[1] A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 371; M. Bréal, "Hercule Cacus", *Mélanges de Mythologie et de Linguistique* (Paris, 1877), pp. 1-161 R. Peter, *s.v.* "Hercules", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 2279; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 143 *sq.*

[2] A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 54, 58 *sq.* (in G. Bühler's *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie*).

appear to be a metaphorical expression for waters, which are occasionally compared to lowing cows. Thus Indra is said to have found the cows for man when he slew the dragon. But in other passages of the Vedas the cows appear to be the red beams of dawn or perhaps the rosy clouds of sunrise with reference to Indra's winning of light; for the ruddy rays of daybreak are compared to cattle coming forth from their dark stalls.[1]

But while the victory of Indra over Vṛitra is the main episode in the mythical history of Indra and procured for him his characteristic epithet of *Vṛtrahan* or Vṛitra-slayer, the adversary of the great god appears in the Vedic poems under other names, and in some of these passages the analogy of the myth with the story of Hercules and Cacus is still closer. This is particularly true of a myth, recorded chiefly in a single hymn, which relates how Indra captured the cows of the Panis. These demons, who in this connexion appear to represent the niggards that withhold cows from the pious sacrificer, own herds of cows which they keep hidden in a cave far beyond the Rasa, a fabulous river. Indra sends his messenger Sarama, who tracks the cows and asks for them in Indra's name, but is mocked by the Panis. In another passage Indra, desiring the cows around the rock, is said to have pierced Vala's unbroken ridge and to have overcome the Panis. Elsewhere the cows are spoken of as confined by the demon Vala, without reference to the Panis, and driven out by Indra.[2]

The points of analogy between the Indian myth and the Italian legend are thus summed up by the historian Schwegler, one of the advocates of the vital connexion between the two stories. Speaking of the tale of Hercules and Cacus, he says: "It has already been observed by others that this myth occurs in a strictly analogous form in Indian mythology. There, too, the sky-god Indra has to combat an enemy who appears under many names; there, too, the combat is concerned with a theft of cattle which Vala, the foe of Indra, has committed; there, too, it is a rocky cave in which the

[1] A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 59, 61.

[2] A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 63 *sq.* As to the myth of Ind a and his combat with Vṛitra see also H. D. Griswold, *The Religion of the Rigveda* (Oxford University Press, 1923), pp. 88, 178 *sqq.*

robber has hidden the stolen cattle of the gods ; there, too, Indra recovers the cattle and slays his foe. The agreement between the Indian and the Roman legend extends even to details ; for example, the cattle betray their place of detention by lowing, and Indra breaks open the cave and slays his foe with his club. In Greek mythology the same myth recurs in the well-known theft of the cattle by Hermes. This legend plainly belongs to that common original nucleus and stock of mythical ideas which has been inherited by all the peoples of the Indo-Germanic race." [1]

On the other hand the eminent historian of Roman religion, Wissowa, is of opinion that the story of Hercules and Cacus is clearly borrowed from Greek mythology and adapted to account for the topography and sanctuaries of ancient Rome. The combat of Hercules with Cacus is modelled, he thinks, on the combats of Hercules with Alcyoneus and Geryon, and on the theft of the cattle by Hermes. The story, according to Wissowa, is hardly older than Virgil, though he admits that the poet may have taken a hint from a similar Campanian tale which appears to be attested by the engraving on a bronze vessel found at Capua, which represents Hercules punishing a cattle-stealing monster.[2] In this scene the robber is represented as youthful: Hercules has tied his hands and feet and hung him up on a tree, while at the same time he himself is driving off the recovered cattle.[3] With this engraving may be compared a sculptured relief found at Golgoi in Cyprus which served as a base for a statue of Hercules. In this relief a wild man with long hair and beard, holding an uprooted tree on his left arm, is driving off a herd of cattle, while at the same time he turns round and with his clenched fist threatens Hercules, who is pursuing him with uplifted club.[4]

[1] A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 371.

[2] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 282 *sq.* As to the fights of Hercules with Alcyoneus and Geryon see Apollodorus, i. 6. 1, ii. 5. 10, with my notes. On the theft of the cattle by Hermes see *Homeric Hymns*, IV. *To Hermes*, 68 *sqq.*

[3] C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, i. (Berlin, 1920) p. 474, referring to *Monumenti del Instituto*, v. 25 ; Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum*, 560 ; C. Robert, in *Hermes*, xix. (1884) p. 480.

[4] C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, i. 474, referring to Cesnola, *Cypros*, Plate 12 ; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, iii. 574, fig.

I. 557. **Above the doorway skulls and arms of men were fastened pendent.**—So Virgil describes the rotting faces of men nailed to the door of the cave, while the ground reeked of fresh blood.[1]

I. 565. **the shoulders on which the sky itself had once rested.**—When Hercules was ordered by his taskmaster Eurystheus to fetch the apples of the Hesperides, he was warned by Prometheus not to go himself to the enchanted garden for the purpose, but to beg Atlas to fetch the apples for him, while he himself in the meantime relieved Atlas of the burden of the heavenly vault which rested on his shoulders. Glad to be lightened of the tremendous weight even for a short time, Atlas willingly accepted the proposal and fetched the apples. Then a happy thought struck him; he would himself carry the apples to Eurystheus and leave Hercules to support the sky at his leisure. Hercules, who was in no position to give a flat refusal, pretended to acquiesce. "Very good," he said, "but just hold up the sky for a moment while I put a pad on my head, so that the sky may sit easier on it." The simple-minded Atlas set the apples on the ground and took his old burden once more on his shoulders, whereupon Hercules picked up the apples and walked off, but not till he had bidden an affectionate farewell to Atlas, whom he left grunting and sweating under the weight of the sky.[2] This humorous scene was sculptured on one of the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, where it was seen and described by Pausanias, though he seems to have misinterpreted it.[3] The metope was discovered in the German excavations at Olympia in the nineteenth century along with the other sculptures of the temple, of which it is one of the best preserved. We see Hercules with bowed head supporting the sky, while Atlas stands before him, holding out in his two hands the apples at which Hercules looks down with a

387. In citing and describing this and the preceding monument Robert refers to the parallel story of Hercules and Cacus, which, like Wissowa, he regards as simply transplanted from Greek mythology.

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 195-197.

[2] Apollodorus, ii. 5. 11; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396.

[3] Pausanias, iii. 10. 9. However, the accuracy of his interpretation of the scene has recently been maintained. See C. Murley, "Pausanias and the Atlas metope", *Classical Philology*, xix. (1924) pp. 365-368.

twinkle in his eyes. Behind Hercules stands a fair and compassionate maiden, perhaps one of the Hesperides, who tries to help Hercules by supporting the sky with her raised left hand.[1] In other passages of his works Ovid alludes to this legend.[2]

I. 573. **at every blast you might deem that Typhoeus blew.** —Typhoeus or Typhon was a fire-spouting giant whom Zeus (Jupiter) overwhelmed by thunderbolts and buried under Mount Etna, the eruptions of which were supposed to be caused by the fiery breath of the monster.[3]

I. 581. **and for himself he set up the altar which is called the Greatest at the spot where a part of the city takes its name from an ox.** — The altar which was called the Greatest (*Ara Maxima*) stood in the Cattle-market (*Forum Boarium*), where there was a bronze image of an ox.[4] To that image Ovid seems to refer in the present passage. According to the usual tradition, which our author follows, the altar was founded by Hercules himself;[5] but another tradition had it that the altar was dedicated by Evander to Hercules, who was present in person at the ceremony.[6] The altar has disappeared, but it seems to have been situated near the place where the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin now stands, probably on the north side of the church, for near there, in the Piazza Bocca della Verita, were found two inscriptions relating to the sacrifice of a heifer which the City Praetor (*Praetor Urbanus*) offered publicly once a year to Hercules at the Greatest Altar.[7] In offering the

[1] See my commentary on Pausanias, v. 10. 9 (vol. iii. pp. 524 *sq.*); A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 1081, fig. 1286 (a good reproduction), 1104 x.

[2] Ovid, *Heroides*, ix. 57 *sq.*, *Metamorph.* ix. 198.

[3] Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus*, 353 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 15 (30) *sqq.*; Apollodorus, i. 6. 3; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 352 *sq.*, and *Fasti*, iv. 491 *sq.*; compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 782 *sq.*

[4] Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 24; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 40. 6.

[5] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 271 *sq.*; Propertius, v. (iv.) 9. 63-70; Livy, i. 7. 11; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 6 and 8.

[6] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 40. 2; Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 41.

[7] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 54. The annual sacrifice of a heifer is mentioned also by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquit. Rom.* i. 40. 3). For the inscriptions see H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3402, 3403. As to the situation of the Greatest Altar (*Ara Maxima*) see H. Jordan,

sacrifice the Praetor wore a crown of laurel ; none but laurel crowns might be worn in sacrifices at this altar.[1] The ritual was always entirely Greek.[2]

The sacred rites performed at the Greatest Altar were for many generations conducted by two families, the Potitii and the Pinarii, of whom the Potitii for a long time enjoyed the preference. For it is said that when the sacrifice was first offered, the Potitii arrived in good time and received the inwards of the victims as their share ; but the Pinarii came too late to partake of them, and were consequently debarred from ever enjoying that privilege. But the Potitii were rewarded for their punctuality, for Evander instructed them in the ritual and appointed them priests of Hercules, an office which the family retained for many generations.[3] But in the year 312 B.C., in an unhappy moment for them, the Potitii were bribed by the rash and headstrong Censor Appius Claudius, for a large sum, to instruct certain public slaves in the manner of performing the ritual of Hercules, in order to devolve their sacred office on these unworthy caitiffs. The consequences of this horrible sacrilege were not long of appearing. At the time when it was perpetrated the Potitii numbered twelve families including thirty men of mature age ; but before the year was out, nay, within thirty days, according to some authorities, they were all dead and the family extinct. Well might the historian, who records this judgement of God, observe that it was an awful warning against tampering with religious rites. The Pinarii took the lesson to heart and guarded the secret of the rites henceforth with the utmost fidelity. But the Censor himself, whose rash advice had precipitated the calamity, did not escape scot-free ; for in a few years he lost his sight, and it needed no preternatural sagacity to discern in his blindness the wrath of a justly

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Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum, i. 2, p. 481, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 143 note [76] ; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* [2], pp. 33, 187-189 ; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* [2], pp. 397 *sq.*

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 12. 2.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 39. 4.

[3] Livy, i. 7. 12-14 ; Festus, *s.v.* " Potitium ", p. 270 ed. Lindsay ; Solinus, i. 10 ; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 8. 1-4 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 40. 4 ; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 60. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 268-270.

offended deity.[1] However, in the time of the historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and therefore in the lifetime of Ovid, the Pinarii themselves no longer officiated at the altar; that office was, strangely enough, entrusted to public slaves bought for the purpose.[2] Thus the very innovation for which the Potitii and Appius Claudius had been so signally punished became in time the regular rule of the worship, and the deity himself accepted or at least winked at it. The Potitii are mentioned in a dedication to Hercules found near the site of the Greatest Altar.[3]

Women were not allowed to participate in the rites of Hercules at the Greatest Altar, and various reasons were assigned for their exclusions. It is said that, after his combat with Cacus, the weary Hercules was athirst and looked about for water. Hearing the sound of purling streams and female laughter in a neighbouring grove, he bent his steps thither. But women were there celebrating the rites of the Good Goddess, which no male might witness, and when the parched hero asked for a drink at the door of the temple, the priestess refused it, saying that the fountain flowed for none but maidens. In a rage Hercules put his shoulder to the door, burst it open, and drank the spring dry. Then he declared that, as a punishment of the women's refusal to let him slake his thirst, no woman should ever worship at the altar which he had set up to commemorate the recovery of the cows.[4] Others said that women were excluded because Carmentis, mother of Evander, had not accepted an invitation to attend the first sacrifice offered at it or had come too late.[5] Similarly at Lanuvium women were not allowed to partake of the sacrifices offered to Hercules.[6] At Erythrae in Ionia there was a very ancient

[4] Livy, ix. 29. 9-11; Festus, *s.v.* "Potitium", p. 270 ed. Lindsay; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 9. 5 *sq.*

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 40. 5, νῦν μέντοι οὐκέτι τοῖς γένεσι τούτοις ἡ περὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας ἐπιμέλεια ἀνάκειται, ἀλλὰ παῖδες ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ὠνητοὶ δρῶσιν αὐτάς.

[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latini Selectae*, No. 3402, "*Hercules invicte . . . (sacrum) tradidisti quod Potitis Evandreo (saeculo) administrandum quodannis hic ad a(ram maxim)am*".

[4] Propertius, v. (iv.) 9. 21-70.

[5] Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 6. 7; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 60.

[6] Tertullian, *Ad Nationes*, ii. 7.

sanctuary of Hercules with an antique image, which was said to have floated to the city on a raft from Tyre in Phoenicia. None but Thracian women were allowed to enter the sanctuary, and they enjoyed this privilege because Thracian women had shorn their hair and made a rope of it wherewith to tow the raft with its sacred burden ashore, when the native ladies of Erythrae refused to sacrifice their tresses for the purpose. The rope of women's hair, which had drawn the god's image to land, was preserved in his sanctuary down to the time of Pausanias.[1] In Phocis there was a sanctuary of Hercules where the deified hero was known by the title Hater of Women (*Misogynos*), because his priest might have no intercourse with women during his year of office.[2] At Geronthrae in Laconia there was a temple of Ares in a sacred grove. Every year a festival was held in honour of the god, but while it lasted women were forbidden to enter the sacred grove.[3] On Mount Olympus in Cyprus there was a temple of Aphrodite which no woman might enter or even look upon.[4] At Clazomenae in Ionia there was a sanctuary of Hermotimus, entrance into which was forbidden to women.[5] There was a sanctuary of Orpheus in Thrace, where the head of the murdered bard was said to have been buried. No woman might set foot on the holy ground, because women had torn the musician in pieces.[6] In the island of Mykonos there was a sacrifice to Seaweed (*Phykios*) Poseidon, at which no women might be present.[7]

A singular proof of the rooted antipathy to the female sex which Hercules appears to have cherished even after his apotheosis, is given in a statement of Aelian, whose work on the nature of animals deserves to rank with that of Goldsmith in point of entertainment, as well as of accuracy. He tells us, on the authority of a certain Mnaseas, that somewhere in Europe there was a sanctuary of Hercules

[1] Pausanias, vii. 5. 5-8.

[2] Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 20.

[3] Pausanias, iii. 22. 6 *sq.*

[4] Strabo, xiv. 6. 3, p. 682, Ἀφροδίτης Ἀκραίας ναόν, ἄδυτον γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀόρατον.

[5] Apollonius, *Histor. Mirab.* 3 (*Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 105).

[6] Conon, *Narrationes*, 45.

[7] *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, ed. J. de Prott et L. Ziehen (Lipsiae, 1896–1906), i. p. 13. See further Th. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult* (Giessen, 1910), pp. 125-129.

which enclosed two temples, one of the god himself and one of his wife Hebe. Cocks were kept in the temple of Hercules and hens in the temple of Hebe, and they had the run of a yard, in which, however, the plots assigned to the two sexes were strictly divided by a stream of pure running water. No hen ever presumed to trespass on the ground sacred to cocks and to Hercules; but whenever the cocks desired to mate they crossed the stream and coupled with the hens, and when they returned the running stream purified them from the pollution they had incurred by contact with the other sex.[1]

It is said that Hercules sacrificed on the Greatest Altar a tithe of the cattle of which he had robbed Geryon.[2] On this occasion also, according to the historian Diodorus Siculus, "Hercules, in gratitude for the kindness he had received from the inhabitants of the Palatine, foretold them that after his own departure to the gods all who should vow to dedicate to Hercules a tithe of their substance would live a life of greater affluence thereafter, which has continued to prove true down even to our own time. For many of the Romans, not merely those of moderate means, but even some of the very wealthy, have vowed to dedicate to Hercules a tithe of their substance, and having become wealthy thereafter have actually dedicated a tithe of their fortune, when that fortune amounted to four thousand talents. For Lucullus, almost the richest Roman of his time, had an estimate made of the amount of his private property, and sacrificed to the god a full tithe of it in the form of continuous and costly banquets."[3] To the same effect Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a contemporary of Diodorus and of Ovid, says that offerings of tithes were often made at the Greatest Altar in fulfilment of vows; further, he informs us that in consequence of the great sanctity of the altar it was customary to take oaths and make solemn engagements at it, whenever the parties desired to bind each other by an indefeasible obligation. At the same time he observes that, in spite of its great reputation, the altar was very much plainer than

[1] Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xvii. 46.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Potitium", p. 270 ed. Lindsay; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 40. 3.

[3] Diodorus Siculus, iv. 21. 3-4.

you might have expected.[1] Sulla expended a tenth of his substance as a tithe-offering to Hercules in providing costly feasts for the people.[2] The custom of offering tithes to Hercules, to which Plautus repeatedly refers,[3] may possibly be of Phoenician origin; for the Carthaginians, as colonists from Tyre, used to send a tithe of all their revenue to Hercules, that is, to Melcart, in their mother-city, though when they grew very wealthy the real amount of the sacred tribute sank much below its nominal value.[4] To offer tithes to the gods was a common Greek custom,[5] but apparently no case is reported of such offerings to Hercules in Greece.[6]

I. 583. **Nor did Evander's mother hide the truth that the time was at hand when earth would have done with its hero Hercules.** — In other words, Carmentis predicted the approaching apotheosis of Hercules, which, strictly speaking, did not take place till after his death on the pyre on Mount Oeta. But the sacrifices offered to him in person at the Greatest Altar in Rome were an anticipation of his future divinity; they were the first he ever received.[7]

I. 587. **On the Ides the chaste priest offers in the altar's flames the bowels of a gelded ram in the temple of great Jove.**— Ovid has already told us that a white ewe-lamb was regularly sacrificed to Jupiter on the Ides of every month.[8] Why he should here mention a wether (castrated ram) instead of a ewe-lamb is not apparent. The sacrifice of castrated victims appears to have been lawful in Greek ritual.[9] In ancient Vedic ritual the sacrifice of a castrated ram (wether) to the dead was specially enjoined,[10] the impotence of the victim being apparently thought to harmonize with the weakness of

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 40. 6.
[2] Plutarch, *Sulla*, 35.
[3] Plautus, *Stichus*, 232-234, 386, *Bacchides*, 665 *sq.*
[4] Diodorus Siculus, xx. 14. 2. Compare Justin, xviii. 7. 7.
[5] Pausanias, i. 28. 2, i. 42. 5, iii. 18. 7, v. 10. 4, v. 23. 7, vi. 24. 4, x. 9. 4, x. 10. 1, x. 11. 2, x. 13. 10; P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*[3], p. 89.
[6] On the Roman custom of offering tithes to Hercules see Varro, cited by Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 12. 2; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 277 *sqq.*
[7] Livy, i. 7. 8-12; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 40. 2-3.
[8] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 56.
[9] P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*[3], p. 153.
[10] H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), p. 358.

the ghosts to whom it was offered For a similar reason probably the Homeric Greeks sacrificed barren cows to "the powerless heads of the dead".[1] On the other hand in Greek ritual it is sometimes prescribed that the victim, whether ram or goat, should be uncut.[2]

"The chaste priest" who offered the sacrifice to Jupiter on the Ides was the Flamen Dialis.[3] The epithet "chaste" probably refers to the numerous rules of ceremonial purity which he was bound to observe;[4] among these rules an obligation of chastity in the sense of continence is not mentioned; indeed, the Flamen Dialis was bound to be a married man and to resign his priesthood if he lost his wife.[5] But it is probable that he had to observe continence while he was engaged in his sacred functions and for some time before and after them; for in ancient religion such times of sexual abstinence were often obligatory not only on priests but on worshippers, for example, in the rites of Isis.[6] The obligation is based on a deep-rooted belief in dangers attaching to sexual intercourse; and not only among civilized peoples but among savage and barbarous races this belief has imposed a multitude of restrictions on the relations of the sexes in a great variety of circumstances, such as war, hunting, fishing, baking, brewing, and so forth.[7] To take a single instance from Roman usage, Columella lays it down that a beekeeper should observe strict chastity the day before he handles the beehives.[8] But the Latin adjective *castus*

[1] Homer, *Od.* x. 521-523, xi. 29-31, with the notes of the scholiasts on both passages.

[2] Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 147 (rams to the river Spercheus); *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, ed. J. de Prott et L. Ziehen, i. p. 13 (white rams to Poseidon); Lucian, *Bis accusatus*, 10 (goat to Pan).

[3] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 16. See above, note on *Fasti*, i. 56.

[4] Aulus Gellius, x. 15; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 109-112.

[5] Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 22.

[6] A large body of evidence on this subject has been collected by E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910); as to the chastity of priests and priestesses see his book, pp. 75 *sqq.*; as to chastity in the rites of Isis, *ib.* pp. 135-137.

[7] For examples see *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 11, 163 *sq.*, 166 *sqq.*, 191 *sqq.*, 200 *sqq.*, etc. The instances there given might be multiplied indefinitely.

[8] Columella, *De re rustica*, ix. 14. 3, "*Verum maxime custodiendum est curatori, qui apes nutrit, cum alvos tractare debebit, uti pridie castus ab rebus venereis, neve temulentus, nec nisi lotus ad eas accedat*".

was applied much more widely than the corresponding English *chaste*, so as to include things as well as persons in the general sense of holy or sacred, pure or undefiled. Thus it was applied to holy groves,[1] and to the torches used to kindle the fire on the altar.[2]

I. 589. **On that day, too, every province was restored to our people, and thy grandsire received the title of Augustus.** —These words were addressed to Germanicus, to whom the first book of the *Fasti* is dedicated. He was a grandson of the Emperor Augustus only by adoption, he being the adopted son of Tiberius (afterwards Emperor), who was in turn the adopted son of Augustus. The events here briefly mentioned are narrated more fully by Augustus himself in what we may call his autobiography, recorded in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. The passage runs thus: "In my sixth and seventh consulship (28 and 27 B.C.), when I had extinguished the civil wars, after being put, by universal consent, in possession of all things, I transferred the commonwealth from my power to the control of the Senate and the Roman People. For the which my service I received by decree of the Senate the title of Augustus, and the doorposts of my house were publicly draped with laurels, and a civic crown (of oak leaves) was fixed above my door, and a golden shield was placed in the Julian Senate-house (*Curia Iulia*), which, as the inscription on it testifies, was given to me by the Senate and the Roman people for the sake of my valour, clemency, justice, and piety. After that time I ranked above all in dignity, but of power I had no more than my colleagues in each several magistracy."[3] The long speech in which Augustus, addressing the Senate, professed to renounce supreme power, to restore the republic, and to resume the rank of a citizen, is recorded by Dio Cassius;[4] his report of it may be substantially correct. The delusive impression of a restored republic, which the Emperor desired to give, as much perhaps for the sake of his own

[1] Horace, *Odes*, i. 12. 59 *sq.*; Tacitus, *Germania*, 40.

[2] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 71. As to the sense of *castus* see further E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, pp. 206 *sqq.*

[3] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, vi. 13-23, pp. 151-160 ed. Hardy, pp. 42-44 ed. Diehl[4]; *Res gestae divi Augusti*, ed. Th. Mommsen[2], pp. 144 *sq.*

[4] Dio Cassius, liii. 2-10.

personal safety as in the public interest (for he clearly had the fate of Julius Caesar before his eyes), is echoed in the brief notice which the servile contemporary historian Velleius Paterculus gives of the event: "The civil wars were ended in the twentieth year, foreign wars were buried, peace restored, the fury of arms everywhere lulled to sleep: to the laws were given back their force, to the courts of justice their authority, to the Senate its majesty: the power of the magistrates was reduced to its ancient limits, only the number of praetors was increased by two. The good old form of the republic was restored."[1] But however the Emperor may have succeeded in deceiving his contemporaries, later historians too plainly perceived the hollowness of his professions or at least their failure to effect the restoration of liberty. Speaking of the measures passed by Augustus in his sixth consulate (28 B.C.), when he annulled the commands which he had issued in the triumvirate, Tacitus observes that "from that time the bonds were drawn tighter",[2] and Dio Cassius writes that "from that time the Romans began again to be strictly ruled by monarchs in spite of Caesar's (that is, Augustus's) resolution to lay down his arms and to commit the management of affairs to the Senate and the people".[3]

In the present passage Ovid implies, or rather asserts, that all the provinces of the Empire were placed once more under the direct control of the Roman people. But this was very far indeed from being the case. While he nominally restored to the Senate the peaceful provinces, situated at a safe distance from the frontier, Augustus kept in his own hands the more turbulent and warlike provinces and such as, lying on the borders of the empire, required the constant presence of garrisons to protect them from invasion. Thus he retained the power of the sword, the first requisite for a despotism.[4]

According to Ovid, the day on which the Emperor made his profession of restoring the republic and was rewarded

[1] Velleius Paterculus, ii. 89. 3.

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 28.

[3] Dio Cassius, lii. 1. 1.

[4] On the distribution of the provinces between the Emperor and the Senate, and their respective modes of government, see Dio Cassius, liii. 12-15; Strabo, xvii. 3. 25, p. 840; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 47.

by the grateful Senate with the title of Augustus, was the Ides of January, that is, January 13; and the date is confirmed by the Praenestine calendar, for under that day it contains a mutilated note which may be restored as follows: "The Senate decreed that a crown of oak should be placed over the door of the house of the Emperor Caesar Augustus, because he restored the republic to the Roman people".[1] But according to the calendar of Cumae the day on which the Emperor received the title of Augustus was January 16,[2] and this date was accepted by Mommsen as the true one.[3] If this calendar, which deals only with events memorable in the history of Augustus and of his family, was engraved in the lifetime of Augustus, as Mommsen and Dessau believe, it possesses high authority; but there is some doubt as to the reading.[4] According to the usually accurate Censorinus, the Emperor was known by the title of Augustus, bestowed on him in his seventh consulate (27 B.C.) by the Senate and people, from January 17 onward,[5] which is perhaps not inconsistent with the view that the ceremony of conferring the title took place on January 16. The proposal to confer the title was moved in the Senate by L. Munatius Plancus.[6] Some of the Senators thought that the title should be Romulus to indicate that the Emperor was the second founder of Rome; and, according to Dio Cassius, the Emperor himself coveted the title of Romulus but feared to accept it, lest by so doing he should be suspected of openly aspiring to the kingdom, the name of which was hateful to the Romans, though they were content to

[1] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 231, 307. On p. 231 this note appears to be assigned, not to the Ides (January 13), but to the following day (January 14); but in his commentary (p. 307) Mommsen definitely assigns it to the Ides; and in his edition of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (*Res gestae divi Augusti*², p. 146) he also assigns the note to January 13. I follow his authority with some hesitation.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 229. But in Dessau's edition of this calendar (*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 108, vol. i. p. 30) the entry is dated January 15. As the first two letters of the figure (xviii.) are wanting in the inscription, there is room for doubt; but Dessau's dating seems the more accurate. Indeed, in *C.I.L.* i.² p. 229 the entry "Jan. 16" appears to be a mistake for "Jan. 15".

[3] *Res gestae divi Augusti*, ed. Th. Mommsen², p. 149.

[4] See note [2] above.

[5] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxi. 8.

[6] Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxi. 8; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 7. 2.

acquiesce in the reality. So he preferred the title of Augustus which, says Dio, "implies something superhuman, since all the most precious and most sacred things are called *august*".[1] Ovid himself in the following lines expatiates unctuously on the dignity of the title.

I. 591. **Peruse the legends graved on waxen images ranged round noble halls.** — These were the images of ancestors which were arranged round the halls of noble families, who prided themselves on the effigies as the patents of their nobility. To such proud aristocrats the Satirist Juvenal said, "Though ancient waxen images deck your hall on every side, virtue is the one and only nobility".[2] We hear of a vainglorious man crowding his hall with these images.[3] The proper place for them was in the wings of the hall.[4] In the old Roman houses, Pliny tells us, these ancestral images were not made of bronze or marble by foreign artists; they were wax masks moulded in the likeness of the dead and kept in cupboards, so that, whenever a member of the family died, the likenesses of all his departed kinsfolk might attend him to the grave or to the pyre.[5] At the funerals of great nobles these masks were worn by men chosen, as far as possible, for their resemblance in person and stature to the deceased, and clad in robes like those worn by the dead whom they personated, it might be the robes of a consul, a general, or what not. Thus arrayed they rode in chariots to the Forum, where, seated in the ivory chairs of office, they listened to the formal oration in praise of the nobleman whose obsequies they attended. The custom is described by the Greek historian Polybius, who had obviously witnessed the stately ceremony and was deeply impressed by it.[6] On each of these waxen images, kept in the houses, was engraved an inscription setting forth the name of the dead man with a list of the offices and

[1] Dio Cassius, liii. 16. 6-8; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 7. 2.

[2] Juvenal, viii. 19 *sq.* Compare Ovid, *Amores*, i. 8. 65. In both these passages, as in the present passage of Ovid, the images are called *cerae*, "waxes".

[3] Martial, ii. 90. 5 *sq.*

[4] Vitruvius, vi. 4. 6, "*Imagines item alte cum suis ornamentis in latitudinem alarum sint constitutae*".

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 6.

[6] Polybius, vi. 53.

honours he had won.[1] It is to these honorific inscriptions that Ovid refers in the present line.[2]

Among the Kwottos of Northern Nigeria maskers known as *Dodos* appear at funeral dances, covered from head to foot, including the face, in tight-fitting knitted costumes of bright colours. They represent the ghosts of the departed; and the ghost of the deceased ancestor, in whose honour the dances are held, is believed to be present at the ceremony.[3] These African maskers are counterparts of the maskers at Roman funerals.

I. 593. **Africa named her conqueror after herself.**—Publius Cornelius Scipio the elder received the title of Africanus for his victory over Hannibal in Africa (202 B.C.), which ended the second Punic War.[4] Publius Cornelius Scipio the younger took the same title for the final conquest of Carthage in 146 B.C.

I. 593. **another by his style attests Isaurian or Cretan power subdued.**—Publius Servilius Vatia, consul in 79 B.C.,[5] as Proconsul waged war on the Cilician pirates and conquered the Isaurians, a people to the north of the Taurus Mountains. For this victory he was granted the title of Isauricus. He was the first Roman general to cross the Taurus Mountains. His campaign against these free-booters and mountaineers lasted three years.[6] Quintus Caecilius Metellus received the title of Creticus for his conquest of Crete, which he laid waste with fire and sword for three years from 69 B.C. onward, finally reducing it to the condition of a Roman province. One of the objects of his campaigns was to suppress the pirates, who had their strongholds in the island as well as in Cilicia, but in this work he had to encounter the opposition of Pompey, who had a general commission for the suppression of piracy in

[1] Livy, x. 7. 11; Valerius Maximus, v. 8. 3; Tibullus, iv. 1. 30.

[2] As to these ancestral images see J. Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*[2], i. 240 *sqq.*; W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*[3], i. 992 *sqq.*

[3] J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, "Ethnological Notes on the Kwottos of Toto (Panda) District, Keffi Division, Benue Province, Northern Nigeria", *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxvi. No. civ. (July 1927), pp. 377 *sq.*

[4] Livy, xxx. 45. 6-7.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 154.

[6] Livy, *Per.* xciii; Florus, i. 41. (iii. 6) 4 *sq.*; Eutropius, vi. 3; Strabo, xiv. 3. 3, p. 665, xiv. 5. 7, p. 671.

the Mediterranean. But being a man of resolute character Metellus did not brook any interference with his operations. With this ruthless conquest the long independence of Crete came to an end.[1]

I. 595. **one gloried in Numidians laid low, another in Messana.**—Quintus Caecilius Metellus (not to be confused with his namesake the conqueror of Crete) received the title of Numidicus for his conspicuous successes in the war with Jugurtha in Numidia (109–107 B.C.), though by the intervention of Marius he was debarred from crowning his victories by the capture of the Numidian king, one of the ablest enemies whom the Roman arms ever encountered. The military exploits of Metellus are immortalized by Sallust in his history of Jugurtha.[2] Messana, the modern Messina, in Sicily, was coveted alike by the Carthaginians and the Romans, because, situated on the narrow strait which divides Sicily from Italy, it forms a sort of bridgehead between the two countries. Accordingly when the smouldering jealousies between Rome and Carthage threatened to burst into the flame of war, both sides were anxious to possess themselves of so important a position. The Carthaginians anticipated the Romans by throwing a garrison into the citadel of Messana ; but the Roman consul Appius Claudius, with his army, contrived to cross the strait by night and, expelling the Carthaginian garrison, to make himself master of Messana (264 B.C.). Thus the Romans obtained a foothold in Sicily. The capture of the city was the beginning of the long struggle between Rome and Carthage, and by carrying the Roman arms for the first time across the sea it laid the foundation of the Roman empire. Hence the achievement was one of which Appius Claudius might well be proud, though he could not foresee its far-reaching consequences.[3] But apparently he neither celebrated a triumph nor took the title of Messanicus. Hence it can hardly be he to whom Ovid refers in the present

[1] Florus, i. 42 (iii. 7) ; Eutropius, vi. 11 (9) ; Livy, *Per.* xcviii–c ; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 34 and 38. 6 ; Plutarch, *Pompey*, 29. The date of Metellus's departure for Crete (69 B.C.) is given by Dio Cassius (xxxvi. 1).

[2] Compare Livy, *Per.* lxv, lxvi, lxviii ; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 11 ; Eutropius, iv. 27 ; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 62.

[3] Polybius, i. 10-12 ; Diodorus Siculus, xxiii. 1 ; Florus, i. 18. 5 *sq.* ; Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome* (London, 1868), ii. 32 *sqq.*

passage. Doubtless the commentators are right in supposing that the poet alludes to Manius Valerius Maximus Corvinus, consul in 263 B.C., who took the cognomen of Messala on account of his capture of Messana in the second Punic War and transmitted the name to his descendants.[1]

I. 596. **while from the city of Numantia yet a third drew his renown.** — Publius Cornelius Scipio the younger, the conqueror of Carthage, gained the title of Numantinus for his capture and destruction of Numantia in Spain in 133 B.C. after a long and obstinate siege, in which the inhabitants defended their city to the last extremity with that desperate bravery which seems to be characteristic of beleaguered Spaniards.[2]

I. 597. **To Germany did Drusus owe his title and his death.** —This Drusus was the son of Livia by her first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero. He was the brother of the Emperor Tiberius and father of the Emperor Claudius. Being appointed to conduct the war in Germany, he crossed the Rhine and penetrated far into the country, often defeating the enemy and driving them before him into the farthest solitudes. He was also the first Roman general to sail on the North Sea. He died in Germany (9 B.C.) either from sickness or, according to another account, through a fall from his horse. Tiberius hurried to his dying brother and brought back his body to Rome, where it was buried in the grave of Julius Caesar or, according to another account, in the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*). Among the posthumous honours decreed by the Senate to his memory were a marble arch, adorned with trophies, on the Appian Way, and the title of Germanicus for himself and his posterity. The army erected a funeral barrow in his honour, round which the soldiers were to run on a certain day every year. He was a very popular prince and was said to have made no secret of his intention of restoring the republic; hence rumour averred that he was poisoned by order of Augustus. But the report seems to have been baseless.[3] This Drusus

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 6. 26; Seneca, *De brevitate vitae*, 13. 5.

[2] Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 58. As to the Numantine war see Florus, i. 34 (ii. 18); Livy, *Per.* lvi, lvii, lix; Orosius, v. 7.

[3] Suetonius, *Claudius*, 1; Livy, *Per.* cxxxix, cxl; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 97; Valerius Maximus, v. 5. 3.

Germanicus was the father of the still more famous Germanicus, to whom Ovid dedicated the first book of the *Fasti*.

I. 599. **Did Caesar take his titles from the vanquished, then must he assume as many names as there are tribes in the whole world.**—This fulsome compliment might conceivably apply either to Julius Caesar or to Augustus; but Ovid's persistent flattery of Augustus and the whole drift of the present passage, which is to exalt the Emperor above the most famous heroes of Roman history, make it probable that in these lines he had Augustus rather than Julius Caesar in his mind. The implication is that the title Augustus is much nobler than those earned by the slaughter of vanquished foes.

I. 601. **Some have earned fame from single enemies, taking their names either from a necklace won or from a raven confederate in the fight.**—In 361 B.C. Titus Manlius won the surname of Torquatus from the necklace (*torques*) of which he despoiled a Gaul after slaying his foe in single combat.[1] In 349 B.C. Marcus Valerius won the surname of Raven (Corvus or Corvinus) from a raven (*corvus*) which perched on his helmet and aided him in his fight with a Gaul by pecking and scratching his enemy's face and eyes. The Emperor Augustus set up a statue of this Corvinus in his forum, and on the head of the statue was carved or cut the likeness of a raven to commemorate his exploit.[2]

I. 603. **Pompey, thy name of Great is the measure of thy deeds.**—When Pompey returned to Rome in 81 B.C., after suppressing the remnant of the Marian faction in Sicily and Africa, he was hailed by Sulla with the title of "the Great", which adhered to him ever afterwards, though he himself is said to have been the last to use it. However, after he had been given the command against Sertorius in Spain he began to subscribe himself "Pompey the Great". Some, however, said that the title was first bestowed on Pompey by the acclamation of his army in Africa.[3] The conqueror of Pompey was of course Julius Caesar. With the expression "Thy name of Great is the measure of thy deeds" we may compare a similar compliment which in a

[1] Livy, vii. 10; Aulus Gellius, i. 13.
[2] Livy, vii. 26; Aulus Gellius, ix. 11.
[3] Plutarch, *Pompey*, 13.

letter from his place of exile Ovid pays to a friend named Maximus ("Greatest").[1]

I 606. **for their services their family was called the Greatest.**—In 304 B.C. the Censor Quintus Fabius received the title of Maximus ("Greatest") for passing a measure which confined the lower orders of the city population to four urban tribes in order to prevent them from swamping their betters by their votes at the elections.[2]

I. 608. **Augustus alone bears a name that ranks with Jove supreme.**—The adjective *augustus* ("august"), which was first applied as a title to the Emperor Augustus, is explained by Ovid to be connected with the word for augury (*augurium*) and to denote properly temples or other places which have been duly consecrated by observation of the auguries. Substantially the same derivation and explanation of the word are given by Festus and Suetonius.[3] Ennius had clearly the same ideas in his mind when he said that "famous Rome was founded under an august augury".[4]

I. 614. **may an oaken crown protect your doors.**—Augustus himself has recorded in his roll of glory (the *Monumentum Ancyranum*) that by a decree of the Senate the doorposts of his house were decked with laurel branches, and that a civic crown (of oak leaves) was fastened over the door.[5] Later on in the poem Ovid refers to the crowns of laurel and oak at the door of the Emperor's palace on the Palatine ;[6] and in sending a volume of poems to Rome from his place of exile in Tomi the banished poet professes to follow it up the hill to the house of Augustus, and there to be startled by the sight of the oaken crown and the laurel wreath at the door. The oaken crown he interpreted at first as a token that the house was the house of Jupiter, since the oak was sacred to the god ; but a few lines later on he refers to the inscription which explained that the crown was

[1] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 2. 1, "*Maxime, qui tanti mensuram nominis imples*".
[2] Livy, ix. 46. 14 *sq.*; Valerius Maximus, ii. 2. 9.
[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Augustus", p. 2 ed. Lindsay; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 7. 2. Compare Dio Cassius, liii. 16. 8.
[4] "*Augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est*", Ennius, quoted by Suetonius, *Augustus*, 7. 2.
[5] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, vi. 16-18, p. 158 ed. Hardy, pp. 42-44 ed. Diehl[4]. See note on ***Fasti***, i. 589.
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 953 *sq.*

bestowed "for the saving of citizens".[1] This was the regular reason for bestowing an oaken crown: it was a reward for saving the lives of citizens,[2] as indeed Augustus was at pains to explain in the Greek version of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* for the benefit of his many subjects who did not read Latin and were ignorant of Roman usages.[3] It was natural that he should do so since, in the language of Pliny "he received the civic crown from the (whole) human race",[4] and the whole human race could not reasonably be expected to understand the significance which the Romans attached to the oaken wreath. The sycophant Martial proposed to add the poet's crown of ivy to the oaken and the laurel crowns which adorned the palace of the tyrant and poetaster Domitian.[5] This much coveted crown was originally made of the leaves of the holm-oak (*ilex*), because the tree is evergreen;[6] but afterwards it was made by preference from the leaves either of the Italian oak (*aesculus*), because that tree was sacred to Jupiter, or from the leaves of the common oak (*quercus*).[7] Both the crown of oak and the crown of laurel are represented on coins of Augustus: one of the coins, issued by L. Caninius Gallus, exhibits the door of the house with the oaken crown over it and the inscription *ob c(ives) s(ervatos)*, "on account of citizens saved".[8]

It is to be observed that in wishing, "May an oaken crown protect your doors!" Ovid applies the plural pronoun (*vestras*) to the doors. He is therefore addressing Augustus and Tiberius jointly, as we may infer from the next line, in which "the heir" is Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus on the throne. Now at the beginning of his reign Tiberius

[1] Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 1. 31-48. Compare Valerius Maximus, ii. 8. 7; Dio Cassius, liii. 16. 4.

[2] Seneca, *De clementia*, i. 26. 5, "*Ob cives servatos*"; Valerius Maximus, ii. 8. 7; Festus, *s.v.* "Civicam coronam", p. 37 ed. Lindsay; Aulus Gellius, v. 6. 11-15; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 92, *Coriolanus*, 3.

[3] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, p. 159 ed. Hardy, p. 45 ed. Diehl[4], *ὅ τε δρύινος στέφανος ὁ διδόμενος ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν πολειτῶν ὑπεράνω τοῦ πυλῶνος τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας ἀνετέθη*. Curiously enough Mr. Hardy thinks it curious that "the Greek version goes out of its way to explain this".

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 8.

[5] Martial, viii. 82. 7 *sq.*

[6] Festus, *s.v.* "Civicam coronam", p. 37 ed. Lindsay.

[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 11. Compare Aulus Gellius, v. 6. 12, "*Ea (civica corona) fit e fronde quernea, quoniam cibus victusque antiquissimus quercus capi solitus; fuit etiam ex ilice*".

[8] Th. Mommsen, *Res gestae divi Augusti*[2], p. 149.

pretended to decline as excessive many of the honours which the obsequious Senate hastened to thrust upon him ; among the rest he refused to allow the civic crown of oak to be hung up at his door.[1] It may well be that in these lines the courtly Ovid hints at the feigned reluctance of the new Emperor to accept the crown, and expresses a polite hope that his modest hesitation may yield to the wishes of his loyal subjects. If that is so, the lines must have been penned after the accession of Tiberius in A.D. 14, and therefore belong to that revision of the poem which Ovid undertook in the last years of his life. Apparently the refusal of Tiberius to allow the civic crown to be hung over his door was only temporary ; for after his death we hear that the crown still adorned the Imperial palace in the reign of Claudius.[2]

No doubt the custom of hanging a crown of oak or laurel over the door of the palace was instituted simply as a mark of honour for the Emperor ; but originally such customs were probably practised from magical motives for the purpose of preventing evil spirits or sorcerers from entering the house and injuring the inmates. In ancient Attica, when a male child was born, a wreath of olive used to be hung in front of the house-door ;[3] and from an allusion of Juvenal we gather that a like custom was observed at Rome.[4] Again, at marriage it was customary in Greece to wreathe the doors with olive and laurel branches.[5] Now though in later times the wreaths placed on the door of a house on such occasions may have been considered merely as signs of rejoicing and as means of announcing the happy event to friends and neighbours, it is probable that at first they were intended to protect the mother and child, the bride and bridegroom, from those maleficent arts of sorcerers and those insidious assaults of demons, to which persons in these circumstances are commonly thought to be peculiarly exposed.[6] To this day it is believed in many parts of Europe that if bunches of certain plants, such as

[1] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 26.

[2] Suetonius, *Claudius*, 17. 3.

[3] Hesychius, *s.v.* στέφανον ἐκφέρειν ; Ephippus, quoted by Athenaeus, ix. 10, p. 370 c.

[4] Juvenal, ix. 85 *sq.*, "*Foribus suspende coronas : iam pater es*".

[5] Plutarch, *Amatorius*, 10, p. 755 A ; J. Köchling, *De coronarum apud antiquos vi atque usu* (Giessen, 1914), pp. 64 *sq.*

[6] Compare E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1911), pp. 21 *sqq.*, 26 *sqq.*

St. John's wort and mugwort, be gathered on Midsummer Eve or Midsummer Day (St. John's Day) and hung over the doors of houses and cattle-sheds, they will prevent witches and evil spirits from entering; sometimes they are supposed to protect the houses from lightning, hail, disease, and accident.[1] It is reasonable to surmise that similar notions lay at the base of the ancient custom of hanging crowns of leaves on the doors of houses at certain critical times of life. We may even conjecture that in many cases the magical use of wreaths and crowns preceded their use as ornaments; and that holy personages, such as priests and kings, wore them primarily as amulets to guard their sacred heads against the invisible, but dreaded, powers of evil.[2]

With regard to the crown of oak leaves in particular we seem to have a clear indication of such a magical use in the precept of Virgil that the reaper should not put his sickle to the corn till he had wreathed his brow with a garland of oak and had danced and sung a song in honour of Ceres, the goddess of the corn;[3] for the act of cutting the corn is manifestly an injury done to the spirit or goddess of the corn, and naturally exposes the reaper to her wrath, against which common prudence bids him take due precautions by flattering her and wearing defensive armour in the shape of an oaken wreath. The danger thus supposed to be incurred by reaping the first corn is probably the reason why some people entrust the perilous task to certain persons who, for some reason or other, are thought to be either less exposed to the danger or better able to parry it Thus the Angami Nagas of Assam appoint to the duty a poor old woman (more rarely a poor old man) who has little or no land of her own, and who is paid for cutting the first rice by a contribution of rice levied on every house in the clan.[4] Among the Sema Nagas of Assam the office of First Reaper may be held either by a man or a woman. It is sometimes hereditary in families, the next of kin, if he is a male, being obliged to succeed in room of a

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. pp. 46, 49, 53 *sq.*, 54, 55, 58, 60.

[2] As to the magical virtue of wreaths and crowns see J. Köchling, *De coronarum apud antiquos vi atque usu*, pp. 3, 13 *sqq.*, 24 *sqq.*, 33 *sqq.*, 75 *sqq.*

[3] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 347-350.

[4] J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas* (London, 1921), pp. 189, 201.

deceased First Reaper. The office is unpopular because the incumbent is believed to die if he makes a mistake in the ritual. Further, he has to observe certain burdensome prohibitions or taboos while the harvest is being got in. He may not eat the flesh of an animal killed or wounded by a wild beast, nor that of certain pheasants and partridges, nor the grubs or honey of bees and wasps; and he may not smell beans nor the flesh of bamboo rats and dogs.[1] Among the Ao Nagas of Assam it is the senior priest of the village who cuts the first rice after a pig has been sacrificed; during the next six days he has to observe certain taboos.[2] Among the Lhota Nagas of Assam it is the priest's wife who should cut the first rice; but if he is a widower he may cut it himself.[3] In one part of Yorkshire it is still customary for the clergyman to cut the first corn.[4] Among some of the Berbers of Morocco it is the master of the field who reaps the first sheaf; for this ceremony he bears the title of king. When he has cut the first corn, the reapers cut the rest. When only a single sheaf is left standing, the king approaches as if to cut it, but he is seized and bound by the reapers, who carry him off to the mosque, where he has to arrange with the priest (*taleb*) for his ransom. He is not set at liberty till he has promised to slaughter several heads of cattle.[5] As the French writer who reports it has perceived, this curious custom is probably a relic of the time when the First Reaper, whether the king or his substitute, was put to death either as an embodiment of the corn-spirit or as a punishment for the sacrilege he had committed in cutting the corn.[6] In classical antiquity a reminiscence of a similar custom was preserved in the legend and song of the Phrygian Lityerses.[7]

In this connexion it is to be remembered that at Rome the vintage was inaugurated by the Flamen Dialis, who

[1] J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 217.
[2] J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas* (London, 1926), p. 122.
[3] J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas* (London, 1922), p. 53.
[4] *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. p. 51.
[5] E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses berbères* (Paris, 1920), pp. 318 *sq.*, 371 *sq.*
[6] E. Laoust, *op. cit.* pp. 372 *sq.*
[7] W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1884), pp. 1 *sqq.*; *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. pp. 216 *sqq.*

after sacrificing a lamb to Jupiter gathered the first grapes in the interval between the slaughter of the victim and the offering of the inwards.[1] Now when we consider the violence done to the Spirit of the Vine by stripping off the grapes and crushing them in the winepress, we can readily understand why the duty of inaugurating the vintage should be committed to so very holy a person as the Flamen Dialis, who in virtue of his sanctity and spiritual power might reasonably be thought able to appease and, if need be, to withstand the wounded and indeed slain Vine-spirit, thereby allowing the rest of the people to gather and press the grapes in peace without molestation on the part of the angry deity or his ghost. It is an ingenious theory of Dr. Robert Eisler that Greek tragedy originated in a feigned mourning for the violent death of the Vine-spirit (Dionysus) at the vintage, the god being supposed to be incarnate in the goat which was sacrificed on that occasion. The theory has much to commend it and would perfectly explain why these mournful lays were called tragedies, that is, "goat-songs".[2]

With regard to the crown of laurel which, together with the crown of oak-leaves, was hung on the door of Augustus's house on the Palatine, we have definite proof that in antiquity laurel crowns were, at least in certain circumstances, regarded as amulets rather than ornaments. For the soldiers who followed the car of a general at his triumph wore laurel crowns, and we are told that the purpose of the crowns was to purge them from the stain of human slaughter before they entered the city.[3] Now it is a world-wide notion that man-slayers are haunted by the ghosts of the men whom they have slain; hence among savage and barbarous peoples warriors who have taken the life of foes are commonly subjected to certain rites of purification, which are nothing but precautions intended to guard them against the vengeful

[1] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 16, where with C. O. Müller we must read "*Inter quoius exta caesa et porrecta flamen primus vinum legit*" instead of the corrupt text printed, as usual, by the latest German editors.

[2] R. Eisler, *Orphisch-Dionysische Mysterien-gedanken in der christlichen Antike* (Leipzig, Berlin, 1925), pp. 269-279.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Laureati", p. 104 ed. Lindsay, "*Laureati milites sequebantur currum triumphantis, ut quasi purgati a caede humana intrarent Urbem. Itaque eandem laurum omnibus suffitionibus adhiberi solitum erat*".

spirits of their victims.[1] For example, among the Ba-Yaka, a people of the Congo Free State, "a man who has been killed in battle is supposed to send his soul to avenge his death on the person of the man who killed him; the latter, however, can escape the vengeance of the dead by wearing the red tail-feathers of the parrot in his hair, and painting his forehead red".[2] Among the Nilotic Kavirondo of East Africa, when a warrior has killed a man in battle, he is isolated from his village and lives in a separate hut for four days, during which he is fed like a child by an old woman, because he is forbidden to touch food with his hands. Afterwards a white goat is killed, and strips of its skin are put round his wrists and his head, and he bathes on two successive days in the river. "The people say that the ceremonies are necessary in order to release the ghost of the dead man, which is bound to the warrior who slew him and is only released on the fulfilment of the ceremonies. Should a warrior refuse to fulfil the ceremonies, the ghost will ask, 'Why don't you fulfil the ceremonies and let me go?' Should the man still refuse to comply, the ghost will take him by the throat and strangle him."[3] Some Indians who had killed Esquimaux of the Copper River wore leather headbands with porcupine quills stuck in them, and for a long time after the slaughter continued to paint their faces red between the nose and chin before they would partake of food.[4] Among the Chinook Indians of Oregon and Washington a man who had killed another used to have his face painted black and to wear rings of cedar-bark round his head, ankles, knees, and wrists. After a period of rigid purification or taboo lasting five days he hung his head-ring of cedar-bark on a tree, and the tree was then supposed to dry up.[5] In these cases the red parrot-feathers and head-rings of leather, goat-skin, or cedar-bark worn by the homicides

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 165 *sqq.*; *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 92 *sqq.*; *Psyche's Task*[2], pp. 115 *sqq.*

[2] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 50 *sq.*

[3] J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantû* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 289.

[4] S. Hearne, *Journey from the Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795), pp. 204-206.

[5] Franz Boas, *Chinook Texts* (Washington, 1894), p. 258.

on their heads are the equivalents of the laurel crowns worn by Roman soldiers at a triumph; and the custom that on these occasions the Roman general himself wore a laurel crown [1] and had his body reddened with vermilion,[2] suggests at least a comparison with the custom of savage warriors and homicides who painted their faces or bodies red, black, or white,[3] perhaps as a means of disguising themselves from the angry ghosts of the men they had slain. The belief that the tree on which the Chinook homicide suspended his head-ring dried up, shows how closely such head-rings were associated with the ghost of the slain; for no doubt the ghost was supposed to blight the tree by his atmosphere of death. Among the very primitive Andaman Islanders, if a man kills another in a fight between two villages or in a private quarrel, he leaves his village and goes to live by himself in the jungle, where he must remain for several weeks or even months During this time he may not feed himself or touch any food with his hands, but must be fed by his wife or a friend. He must keep his neck and upper lip covered with red paint, and must wear plumes of shredded wood in his belt and his necklace. If he breaks any of these rules, it is supposed that the spirit of the man he killed will make him fall ill. At the end of a few weeks he undergoes a ceremony of purification. His hands are first rubbed with white clay and then with red paint. After that he may wash his hands and feed himself with his hands, but he wears the plumes of shredded wood for a year or so.[4] Among these savages red paint is believed to keep spirits at a distance and so to protect human beings against them.[5] That is doubtless the reason why a homicide among them paints his neck and upper lip red, and why at his purification his hands are rubbed with red paint. For the Andamanese, like the ancient Greeks, appear to have thought that it was especially the hands of the manslayer that needed to be purified.[6] Similarly

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 127, 130, 137; Aulus Gellius, v. 6. 7.
[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 111.
[3] As to these various paintings see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 95 *sqq.*
[4] A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 133, 319.
[5] A. R. Brown, *op. cit.* p. 139.
[6] Herodotus, i. 35. As to purification for homicide see further note on *Fasti*, ii. 35 (below, pp. 285 *sqq.*).

the plumes of shredded wood worn by the Andamanese homicide were no doubt supposed to keep the vengeful ghost of the slain man away from his slayer; and we may surmise that the laurel wreaths worn by Roman soldiers at a triumph were originally designed to serve the same purpose.

I. 617. **When the third sun shall look back on the past Ides.**—This is a poetical way of saying "three days after the Ides", that is, on the fifteenth of January. According to the Roman practice of inclusive reckoning, the fifteenth was the third day after the Ides (the thirteenth), though we should reckon it the second day. Here as elsewhere Ovid uses Titan as a name for the sun.[1] In this usage of the name Virgil preceded[2] and Statius followed him.[3] The Sun was called Titan because he was reputed to be a son of Hyperion, one of the Titans, by Thia, a Titaness.[4]

I. 618. **the sacred rites will be repeated in honour of the Parrhasian goddess.**—"The Parrhasian goddess" is Carmentis, whose rites were celebrated on the eleventh as well as on the fifteenth of January.[5] She is called Parrhasian because she was supposed to have come to Rome from Arcadia, of which Parrhasia was a district.[6]

I. 619. **For of old Ausonian matrons drove in carriages.**—During the siege of Veii, which was taken by the Romans in 396 B.C., Camillus vowed to dedicate a tenth of the spoil to Apollo at Delphi in case he should succeed in capturing the city. When the vow came to be paid, the gold in the treasury was found to be insufficient for the purpose, so the matrons met in assembly and offered all their golden ornaments to make up the deficiency. Their offer was gratefully accepted, and from the gold thus collected a golden bowl was made and sent to Apollo at Delphi. In recognition of their patriotic action the Senate granted matrons the right of driving to the offices of religion and to games in covered four-wheeled carriages painted blue (*pilenta*) and on all occasions in two-wheeled carriages

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 10, ii. 118, vi. 438, x. 79, 174, xi. 257, *Heroides*, viii. 105, xv. 135. [2] Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 119.
[3] Statius, *Theb.* i. 501, v. 297, xii. 229, *Achill.* i. 242.
[4] Hesiod, *Theog.* 133 *sqq.*, 371 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, i. 2. 2. See note on *Fasti*, i. 385.
[5] See above, *Fasti*, i. 462, with the note. [6] See note on *Fasti*, i. 478.

(*carpenta*).[1] Afterwards, in the height of the Second Punic war, the privilege was withdrawn by the Oppian law, which, however, was abrogated some twenty years later in 195 B.C.[2] The story that the women refused to cohabit with their husbands till the privilege in question was restored to them is repeated by Plutarch,[3] but is not mentioned by Livy. Ovid's derivation of *carpenta* from Carmentis or Carmenta is on a par with Sydney Smith's derivation of *grotesque* from Mrs. Grote.

I. 629. **It is not lawful to bring leather into her shrine.** —From Varro we learn that the same prohibition was observed in other shrines and in other rites for the reason assigned by Ovid, namely, to avoid the pollution of death, which would be introduced by the skins of slaughtered beasts.[4] As Carmentis was a goddess of childbirth, her women worshippers would fear to give birth to dead children if they brought anything that savoured of death into her shrine, as has been rightly observed by Paley in his note on this passage For a similar reason, perhaps, no shoes might be taken into the sanctuary of Alectrona at Ialysus in Rhodes.[5] At the mysteries of Andania in Messenia the Sacred Women might not wear shoes except such as were made of felt or of the skins of animals slain in sacrifice.[6] The Flaminica Dialis, the wife of the Flamen Dialis, might not wear shoes or slippers made of the skin of an animal that had died a natural death ; her slippers and shoes must be made of skin from an animal that had been either butchered or slain in sacrifice ; for all creatures that died a natural death were deemed unlucky.[7] In certain late Syrian

[1] Livy, v. 25 ; Festus, *s.v.* " Pilentis ", p. 282 ed. Lindsay, compare *id.*, *s.v.* " Pilentum ", p. 225 ed. Lindsay. As to the vow of Camillus see Livy, v. 21. 1 *sq.* As to the *pilentum*, a covered carriage on four wheels, see Isidore, *Origines*, xx. 12. 4, who says that of old these carriages were painted blue but in his own time red.

[2] Livy, xxxiv. 1-8.

[3] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 56.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 84, " *In aliquot sacris ac sacellis scriptum habemus : ' ne quod scorteum adhibeatur ', ideo ne morticinium quid adsit* ".

[5] G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 338 (vol. i. p. 561).

[6] G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 736 line 23 (vol. i. p. 403).

[7] Festus, *s.v.* " Mortuae ", pp. 152, 153 ed. Lindsay ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 518.

rites a boy was initiated by a sacrifice in which his feet were shod in slippers made of the skin of the sacrifice.[1] These latter examples suggest that at the shrine of Carmentis the prohibition may have applied not to all leather, but only to such leather as had been made from the skins of animals that had died natural deaths.

I. 633. **Porrima and Postverta are placated.**—We have seen that Porrima and Postverta are probably two different forms of the goddess of birth concerned with the two different modes in which children issue from their mother's womb.[2]

I. 637. **Fair goddess, thee the next morning set in thy snow-white fane, where high Moneta lifts her steps sublime.** —The fair goddess is Concord (*Concordia*), whose famous and magnificent temple stood on high ground at the western end of the Forum, beside the long staircase that led up to the Capitol and so to the temple of Juno Moneta, which stood on the citadel, the highest point of the Capitoline hill.[3] Remains of the temple, consisting mainly of foundations and pavement, are still to be seen beside the modern staircase that leads up from the north-western corner of the Forum to the Capitol. As the site of the temple is some seventeen or eighteen feet above the level of the Forum, any one standing in front of it could well have overlooked the throng below, in accordance with the expression of Ovid (line 639).[4] Beside or in front of it was the so-called Senaculum, where the senators are supposed to have assembled before the doors of the Senate-house were opened ;[5] but the nature of the place and the purpose which it served are doubtful[6] On account of the elevation

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, Third Edition (London, 1927), p. 438.

[2] See note on *Fasti*, i. 462, above, p. 179.

[3] As to the temple of Juno Moneta see *Fasti*, vi. 183 *sqq.*, with the note.

[4] O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], p. 78.

[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 156, "*Senaculum supra graecostasim, ubi aedis Concordiae et basilica Opimia ; senaculum vocatum, ubi senatus aut ubi seniores consisterent*" ; Festus, *s.v.* "Senacula", p. 470 ed. Lindsay, "*Unum* (*senaculum*) *ubi nunc est aedis Concordiae inter Capitolium et Forum, in quo solebant magistratus dumtaxat cum senioribus deliberare*" ; Valerius Maximus. ii. 2. 6, "*Antea senatus adsiduam stationem eo loci peragebat, qui hodieque senaculum appellatur, nec expectabat ut edicto contraheretur, sed inde citatus protinus in curiam veniebat*".

[6] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 341-343.

of the spot it has been surmised that orators may have addressed the assembled people from it before the stately platform known as the Rostra was erected in the Forum.[1] There is in fact evidence that in the early days of Rome speakers addressed the people from the Volcanal or area of Vulcan, as it was called,[2] which was a place above the Comitium[3] and near the temple of Concord, with which it is coupled in a passage of Livy.[4] The Volcanal must have included an open space, as indeed we might infer from the expression "the area of Vulcan",[5] and in it grew a nettle tree (*lotus*), which was said to be as old as the city, having been planted by Romulus himself. The roots of the tree extended as far as Caesar's forum (*Forum Iulium*),[6] which lay a little to the north.

The ancient temple of Concord, as Ovid tells us, was vowed by the great dictator, Marcus Furius Camillus, in 367 B.C. to celebrate the reconciliation of the two orders of the State, the Patricians and the Plebeians, by the passing of the laws known as the Licinian Rogations, which, among other provisions, admitted the plebeians to the consulship. The day after the vow was made, the people in public assembly, rejoicing at the civil victory which they had won, voted to build the temple.[7] In 121 B.C., after the violent death of Caius Gracchus and the forcible suppression of the popular party of which he had been the leader, the Senate, with grim irony, decreed the building of a temple of Concord in the Forum. This they appear to have done at the instigation of the consul L. Opimius, a fiery aristocrat and a bitter enemy of Caius Gracchus, whom he hounded to death. Smarting under their defeat, the democratic party looked on the erection of the temple as insult added to injury, and

[1] O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], p. 78.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 50. 2, vi. 67. 2, vii. 17. 2, xi. 39. 1.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Statua", p. 370 ed. Lindsay.

[4] Livy, xl. 19. 1, "*In area Volcani et Concordiae sanguinem pluvit*"; Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 6 (year 573/181 B.C.), p. 152 ed. Rossbach.

[5] Livy, xxxix. 46. 5; Aulus Gellius, iv. 5.

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 236.

[7] Plutarch, *Camillus*, 42. As to the reconciliation of the orders and the passing of the Licinian Rogations see Livy, vi. 42. 9-14, who, however, does not mention the foundation of the temple of Concord.

beneath the dedicatory inscription somebody carved by night a counterblast to the effect that the temple of Concord was a work of Discord.[1] However, the consul, as if to commemorate his triumph and show his contempt for his foes, caused to be built, beside the temple, a basilica which bore his name, the basilica Opimia.[2] It is commonly, and in all probability rightly, supposed that this " temple of Concord in the Forum ", erected in derision of the democrats, was merely a restoration of the original temple built in 367 B.C. to commemorate a real reconciliation of the rival political parties.[3]

Afterwards the temple was entirely rebuilt by Tiberius, then still a private man, from the spoils taken by him during his campaigns in Germany ; in the dedicatory inscription the name of Tiberius was conjoined with that of his dead brother Drusus.[4] From a note in the Praenestine calendar we learn that the temple was dedicated on January 16 of the year A.D. 10, and that the goddess of the temple was now named Concordia Augusta, no doubt in compliment to Augustus, the reigning Emperor.[5] Thus Ovid is right both as to the day of the dedication and as to the source from which the means were drawn for the erection of the temple, to wit, the spoils of Germany. The " leader revered " whom the poet addresses (line 646) is Tiberius. The present passage must accordingly have been written by Ovid in exile and perhaps after the accession of Tiberius to the throne in A.D. 14. From an inscription, which cannot be dated, we learn that at some later time the temple had fallen into ruins and

[1] Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 3. 36 ; Plutarch, *Caius Gracchus*, 17. Compare Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iii. 25, " *Cur enim, si rebus gestis congruere voluerunt, non ibi potius aedem Discordiae fabricaverunt?* "

[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 156. This basilica is doubtless " the very celebrated monument " of L. Opimius in the Forum mentioned by Cicero (*Pro Sestio*, 67. 140).

[3] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 337 *sq.* ; O. Gilbert, *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, iii. 63 ; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome* (London and Edinburgh, 1892), i. 332 ; R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 288 ; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], p. 78 ; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*[6] (Paris, 1923), p. 123 ; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 174.

[4] Dio Cassius, lv. 8. 1 *sq.*, lvi. 25. 1 ; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 20.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 231, 308.

was restored in more splendid style by the Roman Senate and People.[1]

From the existing remains of the temple, combined with the evidence of the Marble Plan and of Imperial coins, on which the temple is represented, we can form a fairly accurate conception of the plan and dimensions of the edifice as it was rebuilt by Tiberius in A.D. 10. The plan of the temple was very unusual, indeed unique among Roman temples, being determined by the narrowness of the terrace on which it stood with its back abutting on the wall of the Tabularium. The temple itself was nearly twice as broad as it was long, measuring about 148 feet in breadth by only about 79 feet in length. On the east side a large portico, about 79 feet wide by 46 feet deep, projected towards the Forum, forming a large covered platform capable of holding a considerable crowd of people. From this portico a wide and lofty flight of steps sloped down towards the back of the Graecostasis and the Rostra. Within the temple a row of white marble columns ran round the walls, resting on a low shelf which projected from the main wall. These internal columns had bases of white marble, sculptured with the utmost richness and beauty of workmanship ; several of them are preserved in the Capitoline Museum and are among the finest architectural fragments in Rome, dating as they do from the age of Augustus when artistic refinement had reached the highest point in matters of detail. All these details are clearly the work of a Greek architect.

Some of the marble lining in the interior of the temple is still in place and well preserved, especially at one point where it has been protected by a large pedestal for a statue. There is a well-moulded plinth of yellow Numidian marble ; above it are large slabs of the beautiful purple-stained *pavonazetto* from Phrygia, and below the moulding are *cipollino* and other marbles. The floor is paved with large neatly-jointed slabs of *Porta Santa* marble, *pavonazetto* and *cipollino*, of which many fine pieces exist. All the marble linings in this temple and in others of the Augustan period are much thicker than the thin veneers that were used in buildings of the later Empire.

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3781.

The threshold of the central door leading into the temple is composed of two huge monoliths of *Porta Santa* marble, 21 feet 6 inches long. In the centre are two deep socket-holes for bronze bolts, and near them is the sunk matrix in the marble in which a small herald's staff (*caduceus*) of bronze was found set lengthwise. Why it was thus inserted at the threshold of the temple remains uncertain, though, as we shall see presently, a statue of Mercury, of whom it was the symbol, appears to have stood on or near it.

The main cornice of the exterior of the temple was very large and beautiful, both in design and workmanship. A portion of it, pieced together out of fragments, is preserved in the Tabularium. It is a fine specimen of Greek art, but is more ornate than was usual in Greek buildings of the best period. The large acanthus leaves, which cover the main cymatium, are carved with great delicacy and spirit, and the whole is a perfect model of an elaborate Corinthian cornice, probably the finest of this great size that exists anywhere.

The platform (*podium*) on which the temple rested, like the platform of the temple of Castor and Pollux and other Roman temples, was filled in solid with concrete made of tufa, which was poured in between the massive walls built of blocks of tufa, which are carefully clamped together. Only in the core of concrete two spaces were left vacant, which may have served as storerooms to house some of the treasures with which the temple is known to have been filled. An investigation of the concrete foundations, conducted in the early part of the twentieth century, brought to light evidence of four successive periods in the history of the temple, and appeared to prove that the peculiar shape of the edifice was characteristic of all of them. The earliest concrete seems to date from the third century B.C. and, together with some in the temple of Castor and Pollux, is probably the oldest known example of its use. Its existence appears to indicate a restoration of the temple, otherwise unknown to us, earlier than that of Opimius in 121 B.C.

When the temple was built, it must have concealed a large part of the massive wall of the Tabularium, the ancient Record Office, against which it abuts. On the face of the

wall of the Tabularium there are traces proving that the older temple of Concord, which was in existence when the Tabularium was built in 78 B.C., was considerably smaller than the temple rebuilt by Tiberius, to which most of the existing remains belong. For part, but only part, of the wall that must have been concealed by Tiberius's temple is left somewhat rough on the face, not neatly dressed like the rest of the wall; and this rough part is no doubt just the portion which was hidden by the older temple, the builders of the Tabularium naturally not thinking it worth their while to dress to a smooth surface the piece of wall that was to remain invisible. The end of the rough surface can easily be traced just under the last window on the right, in the lower story of the Tabularium. There were, moreover, no windows in that part of the Tabularium which was concealed by the older temple of Concord, as they would, of course, have been useless.[1]

The general design of the temple of Concord, as it was rebuilt by Tiberius, is well shown on a *First Brass* of Tiberius, dated *Trib. Pot. xxxix.* (that is, A.D. 36), of which specimens exist in the British Museum and in the French Cabinet de Médailles. The design was repeated on the coins of later emperors with some variations of detail. It is much more carefully and minutely executed than is usual with representations of buildings on Roman coins. The coin presents a front view of the great portico, with the temple projecting like a wing on either side, and in each wing is a large window, perhaps introduced by the architect to give light to the numerous works of art within. This use of windows is an important point of difference between Greek and Roman temples. Apparently no example of a window is known in any Greek temple. On the coins the columns of the portico and of the temple are of the Corinthian order. Through the open door we see the principal statue of the interior,

[1] As to the existing remains of the temple of Concord see especially J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 333-337, from which the above account is mostly taken. See also H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 332-339; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter[2], pp. 93-96 (with a view of the cornice on p. 95); S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 173-175; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*[6], pp. 362-363; L. Homo, *La Rome antique* (Paris, N.D.), pp. 69-71.

a figure of Concord sitting on the massive pedestal which still exists on the floor of the temple. On the roof, over the pediment, a number of standing statues are represented, including at the apex a group of three with arms interlaced, a symbol of Concord. On each slope of the pediment stands a winged figure of Victory. Similar figures of Victory appear to have adorned the older temple of Concord, for it is on record that in the year 211 B.C. a statue of Victory on the roof of the temple of Concord was struck by lightning and fell down, striking in its fall the terra-cotta figures of Victory in the eaves.[1] The coins also show the great flight of steps leading up to the portico. At the head of the staircase two colossal statues are represented, one on either side The one on the spectator's left is Mercury holding his herald's staff (*caduceus*) in his hand. This so far accounts for the bronze herald's staff that was found embedded in the floor of the temple.[2] The statue of Mercury may perhaps have been the one by the sculptor Piston, which is known to have stood in the temple of Concord.[3]

The temple seems to have been a sort of museum of Greek painting and sculpture, engraved gems, gold and silver plate, and other precious things. Many of these artistic treasures are mentioned by Pliny. Among them was a picture by Zeuxis representing Marsyas bound to the fatal tree and awaiting the knife of the executioner.[4] There were also the statues of Apollo and Juno (Hera) by the sculptor Baton,[5] also a group by the sculptor Euphranor representing Latona supporting the new-born Apollo and Diana.[6] Four elephants carved in hard Ethiopian obsidian were dedicated in the temple as a curiosity by Augustus.[7] But the greatest curiosity of all was a sardonyx signet ring, that was said to be the very ring which Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, flung into the sea to propitiate Nemesis, but which was brought back to him by a fisherman in the belly of a

[1] Livy, xxvi. 23. 4.

[2] As to the coins see T. L. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, pp. 15 *sqq.*; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 337; H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, i. (London, 1923) p. 101, with Plate vii. No. 113.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 89.

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 66.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 73.

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 77.

[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 196.

fish. However, Pliny seems to have doubted, probably with good reason, the authenticity of the ring.[1]

In the temple were found several marble bases inscribed with dedications to Concord by high officials for the safety of Tiberius; according to the inscriptions, statues of gold and silver stood upon them. These bases are now in the Capitoline Museum.[2]

The Senate often met in the temple of Concord.[3] It was there that Cicero thundered against Catiline and Antony,[4] and it was there that the Senate condemned the fallen minister Sejanus to death. The condemned man was executed in the dungeon of the Mamertine prison, which was separated from the temple of Concord only by the long staircase leading up to the Capitol. The dead body was cast out on the steps of the staircase, where it was subjected to the insults and outrages of the mob, to be flung at last into the Tiber.[5] It was the regular practice thus to throw the bodies of executed criminals out on the steps and then to drag them by a hook to the river; and from the sad sights which it so often witnessed the stair was called the Stair of Sighs (*Scalae Gemoniae*), like the Bridge of Sighs at Venice.[6] A few years before Sejanus thus perished, a certain Titius Sabinus had met a similar fate. His faithful dog accompanied him to prison and attended his dead body, howling lamentably, when it lay on the fatal steps. And when some one in the crowd threw it a piece of bread, the dog put it to the lips of its dead master, and followed the corpse to the river, where it plunged into the water and swimming out to the body attempted to support it on the

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvii. 4. As to the story of Polycrates and his ring see Herodotus, iii. 41 *sq.* According to Herodotus, the stone of the ring was an emerald, not a sardonyx. For other art treasures in the temple of Concord see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 80, 89, 90, xxxv. 131, 144.

[2] Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter[2], p. 95. See H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 153, 3783, 3784; G. Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, No. 77.

[3] Cicero, *De domo sua*, 5. 11, *Pro Sestio*, 11. 26, *Philip.* ii. 8. 19, iii. 12. 30, v. 6. 18, v. 7. 18, 20; Sallust, *Catiline*, 46 and 49.

[4] Sallust, *Catiline*, 46; Cicero, *Philip.* ii. 8. 19

[5] Dio Cassius, lviii. 11. 4-5.

[6] Valerius Maximus, vi. 3. 3, vi. 9. 13; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 8. 6, 33. 31, *Epit.* 8. 4; Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 14, v. 9, vi. 25, *Hist.* iii. 74, iii. 85; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 53, 61, 75, *Vitellius*, 17.

surface, a great multitude of people watching it from the bank.[1] Under the Empire, from about the middle of the first century A.D. onward, the college of priests called the Arval Brethren often met in the temple or portico (*pronaos*) of Concord.[2]

The temple of Concord, as we have seen, was built with its back abutting on the massive wall of the Tabularium, the great edifice which fills in almost the entire front of the central depression of the Capitoline hill, between the two summits which were crowned by the temples of Jupiter and Juno Moneta respectively. Viewed from the Forum it forms an impressive and dignified close to the valley at its western extremity. Yet strange to say, this great building, the most extensive and in some respects the most interesting relic of Republican Rome, is nowhere mentioned in the existing remains of ancient literature. Fortunately the inscription recording its foundation was discovered, and from it we learn both the date and the purpose of its construction. The inscription records that the substruction and the Tabularium were built by Q. Lutatius Catulus in his consulship (78 B.C.) in accordance with a decree of the Senate, which approved the work.[3] With this date the style of the masonry entirely agrees. The whole external walls are of peperino, built of blocks very accurately worked, each measuring exactly four Roman feet in length by two in width and two in thickness, laid in alternate courses of headers and stretchers, with a very thin lining of pure lime mortar, the whole forming a beautiful example of Republican masonry of the style known as *emplecton* or "interlocked". The inner walls are constructed of similar blocks, but the material is tufa or concrete instead of peperino. The building stands on the slope of the Capitoline hill, the tufa rock having been cut away to receive it. The front, facing to the Forum,

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 145; Dio Cassius, lviii. 1. 3.

[2] G. Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arvalium* (Berlin, 1874) pp. 4 *sq.*; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 5027, 5028, 5036, 5046.

[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 35; G. Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, No. 700. The inscription was copied by Poggio in the fifteenth century but is now lost. It is confirmed by a similar inscription found in the Tabularium in 1845, though this latter does not, like the former, expressly mention the substruction and the Tabularium (*substructionem et Tabularium*). See H. Dessau, *op. cit.* No. 35*a*; G. Wilmanns, *l.c.*

reaches nearly to the foot of the hill, while its back, at a much higher level, looks on to the ancient Asylum, that is, the valley between the two summits of the hill, which is now occupied by the Piazza del Campidoglio. Michael Angelo destroyed the entire upper and western part of the Tabularium in order to build the present Palazzo del Senatore, which stands directly upon the ancient structure. The tower at the north end was erected by Pope Boniface VIII. about A.D. 1300, when the building was converted into a fortress. From the top of the tower there is a fine view over the city and the Campagna away to the Alban Hills and the Apennines, looming blue in the distance. In the Tabularium, above the substruction on the side of the Forum, there were three stories. On the first and second stories there are two long corridors, one above the other. The upper one runs the whole length of the building and was originally open at both ends; the arched doorway at the southern end, opening on the Capitoline Slope (*Clivus Capitolinus*), is still in use. The front of this corridor, facing the Forum, was an open arcade with engaged Doric columns of peperino. Of the arches only one is now open and visible on the outside; the rest have been walled up. A row of rooms opened into this corridor. When its northern end was open, the corridor probably formed a public thoroughfare enabling persons to pass on foot from the Steps of Moneta (as Ovid calls the staircase leading up to the Capitol) on the one side to the Capitoline Slope (*Clivus Capitolinus*) on the other. At the back of the Tabularium, facing the Asylum and at a higher level than the upper corridor, is a large hall which occupies the whole length of the edifice. It is roofed with concrete vaulting, supported on rows of piers, which, however, appear to be of later date than 78 B.C., when the Tabularium was originally built. From near the southern angle of this great hall a steep staircase of sixty-seven well-preserved steps leads down to a doorway in the front of the Tabularium. This doorway, now blocked up, has a flat arch of travertine and over it a semicircular arch of peperino. It must have been blocked up when Domitian built the temple of Vespasian against the wall of the Tabularium. Through this doorway and up these steps some of the riotous soldiers

of Vitellius may have rushed when they stormed the Capitol and set it on fire.[1]

The temple of Vespasian, which was built against the wall of the Tabularium, was in the Corinthian style with a portico in the form called hexastyle, that is, with six columns in front. Three of the columns at the north-eastern corner of the portico are still standing with their entablature, forming a conspicuous feature in the view of the Capitol as seen from the Forum. They are of white marble; the frieze and cornice are finely sculptured. A piece of the entablature has been preserved and restored in the Tabularium, where it can best be studied. In beauty of workmanship it is equal to that of the temple of Concord, but it is less pure in style, being somewhat overloaded with ornament. On the frieze are sculptured ox-skulls and sacrificial instruments, including the axe, the knife, the ewer, the bowl for libations, the holy-water sprinkler, and the flamen's pointed cap. On the architrave, which rests on the still standing columns, may be read the last letters of the dedicatory inscription which recorded the restoration of the temple in the third century A.D. by Severus and Caracalla.[2] The rest of the inscription has perished, but a copy of it was taken in the eighth century by the anonymous author of the Einsiedeln Itinerary.[3] This inscription furnishes the only clue to the identification of the temple, which is first mentioned as the temple of Vespasian and Titus in the two lists of the sights of Rome known as the *Curiosum Urbis Regionum XIV.* and the *Notitia Regionum Urbis XIV.*, both of which were drawn up in the first half of the fourth century A.D.[4] Hence it has been inferred that the temple was dedi-

[1] Tacitus, *Histor.* iii. 71. As to the Tabularium see H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 135-149; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 372-377; R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 295-297 (with a view of the substruction and blocked-up doorway); O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], p. 131; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 306-308.

[2] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 255.

[3] As to this Itinerary, the manuscript of which is preserved in the monastery of Einsiedeln in Switzerland, see H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, ii. 329 *sqq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 7 *sq.*

[4] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, ii. 552. As to the dates of the *Curiosum* and the *Notitia* see H. Jordan, *op. cit.* ii. 1 *sqq.*

cated to Vespasian and Titus jointly, though the dedicatory inscription of Severus and Caracalla mentions Vespasian alone. The founder is supposed to have been Domitian, the son of Vespasian and the brother of Titus; but of this and of the date of the foundation there is no historical record. In addition to the three columns and pieces of the entablature there remain the core of the substructure and pieces of the marble pavement, together with three fragments of the wall built of massive blocks of travertine, very finely jointed, without mortar and clamped with iron. Within the temple there is a large marble-lined platform or pedestal, which may have supported statues of Vespasian and Titus. In spite of its cramped position, hemmed in between the temple of Concord and the Capitoline Slope, the temple must have been an elegant one. The existing remains clearly belong to the original structure and not to the restoration of it in the third century.[1]

Besides the famous temple of Concord mentioned by Ovid there were other temples or shrines of the goddess in Rome. One of them stood in the citadel (*arx*), that is, on the highest summit of the Capitoline hill. It was vowed by the Praetor Lucius Manlius during a mutiny of the troops in Gaul in 219 B.C.; the contract for the dedication of the temple was given out in 217 B.C.,[2] and the dedication took place in the following year after the battle of Cannae (216 B.C.).[3] From the Praenestine calendar we know that the day on which the temple was dedicated was the fifth of February.[4] No certain remains of the edifice have been discovered and its exact site is unknown, though in 1876 on the slope of the hill, between the Church of S. Maria in Aracaeli and the Mamertine prison (the Tullianum), there were excavated some considerable pieces of ashlar masonry, including five

[1] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, p. 411; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 338-340; R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 290-292 (with views of the temple and the frieze); O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], p. 79; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter[2], pp. 91-93 (with a restoration of the temple and a view of the cornice); H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*[6], pp. 158 *sq.*, 361 *sq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 176.

[2] Livy, xxii. 33. 7 *sq.*

[3] Livy, xxiii. 21. 7.

[4] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 233, 339, "*Concordiae in arce*".

courses of squared blocks of reddish tufa, which may possibly have formed part of the foundations and stylobate of the temple.[1]

In 304 B.C. the curule aedile Cnaeus Flavius, a man of low birth, vowed to dedicate a temple to Concord in the Area of Vulcan if he should succeed in reconciling the jarring orders of the State. The vow gave great offence to the nobility, who held that none but a consul or general in supreme command (*imperator*) had the right to dedicate a temple. However, Flavius persisted and was supported by the people, who compelled the Pontifex Maximus to dictate the formula of dedication, which Flavius repeated after him. As the treasury refused to grant funds for the building, Flavius defrayed the cost from fines levied on usurers, with which he constructed a bronze shrine (*aedicula*) in the Graecostasis, which then was situated above the Comitium. In the shrine he put a bronze tablet with an inscription setting forth that the edifice had been erected two hundred and four years after the dedication of the Capitoline temple.[2] The Graecostasis, where Flavius dedicated his shrine of Concord, was a platform raised above the level of the Comitium. On it ambassadors from foreign nations waited till the Senate was ready to receive them.[3] Its position is to some extent determined by the statement of Pliny that in the old days, before the First Punic war, an officer of the consul used to proclaim the hour of noon whenever from the Senate-house (*Curia*) he saw the sun between the Rostra and the Graecostasis, but this naturally he could only do when the sun was not overcast by clouds.[4] The proximity of the Graecostasis to the Senate-house is further proved by a passage of Cicero, who in a letter to his brother Quintus describes how the deliberations of the Senate on the crimes of Clodius were interrupted by the clamour of the criminal's partisans stationed on the Graecostasis and the steps of the Senate-house.[5] The platform was unroofed, for in the list of prodigies which from time to time alarmed the stout hearts of the

[1] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, p. 114.
[2] Livy, ix. 46. 1-7.
[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 155.
[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 212.
[5] Cicero, *Epist. ad Quintum fratrem*, ii. 1.

Romans we read of showers of blood and milk which fell on the Graecostasis.[1] A sacrifice was offered on the Graecostasis on the twenty-fourth of August.[2] The name of the Graecostasis is inscribed on a fragment of the Marble Plan of the City.[3]

The Marble Plan of the City occupied the large northern wall of an edifice now sometimes called the Temple of the Sacred City (*templum Sacrae Urbis*), which stood north of the Sacred Way and a little to the east of the forum of Augustus. The edifice is believed to have been erected by Vespasian and restored by Septimius Severus. It seems to have been used as a Record Office, and in particular to have contained the results of a census and survey of the city executed in the years A.D. 73–75. The wall to which the Marble Plan was affixed is still standing, as the back wall of the Church of SS. Cosma and Damiano, and at its foot many fragments of the Plan have been found in modern times. These fragments, so far as they can be identified, have been pieced together by Huelsen and Lanciani, and are now let into the north-western wall of the garden of the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitol. The Plan is believed to have been executed in the reigns of Septimius Severus and Caracalla between A.D. 203 and 211; but it is thought to have been a copy of an earlier one made under Vespasian, which in its turn may have been a copy of an original by Agrippa. Fragmentary as the Marble Plan is, it has nevertheless been very useful in helping to identify some of the existing ruins of ancient Rome.[4]

I. 641. **Furius, the vanquisher of the Etruscan folk.**—The Dictator Marcus Furius Camillus, who dedicated the ancient temple of Concord, had previously captured the powerful

[1] Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 24, 28, 31, pp. 158, 160, 162 ed. Rossbach.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 219, 327.

[3] As to the Graecostasis see J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 262 *sq.*; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*[6], pp. 136 *sq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 230.

[4] R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 95-99; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 3-6; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1, pp. 45 *sq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 2-5; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] (Leipzig, 1912–1913), i. 534 *sq.*, No. 941; K. Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome*[15] (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 280 *sq.*, 301.

Etruscan city of Veii after a siege which had lasted, like that of Troy, for ten years (396 B.C.).[1]

I. 645. **Germany presented her dishevelled locks at thy command, leader revered.**—As we have seen, the poet is here addressing Tiberius, who dedicated the temple of Concord out of the spoils taken by him during his campaigns in Germany.[2] Elsewhere, with reference to the later German victories of Tiberius, by which he avenged the dreadful defeat of Varus in A.D. 9, Ovid speaks of "Germany sitting sadly with dishevelled locks at the feet of the unconquered leader" (Tiberius).[3] In other passages of the present poem Ovid speaks of dishevelled locks as a sign of grief.[4]

I. 649. **That goddess thy mother did stablish both by her life and by an altar.**—Ovid refers to Livia Drusilla, the mother of the Emperor Tiberius by her first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero. She afterwards married the Emperor Augustus, with whom she lived in great harmony to the end of his life; indeed, he died in the act of kissing her and bidding her farewell.[5] To this wedded concord the poet alludes in the present passage. Her union with the Emperor he describes in courtly style by saying that she "alone was found worthy to share the bed of mighty Jupiter". The altar of Concord which Livia set up, in memory of her happy married life, no doubt stood in the temple or shrine which she dedicated to the goddess, and of which Ovid makes mention later on.[6]

I. 651. **When that is over, thou wilt quit Capricorn, O Phoebus.**—Ovid means that on the day after the dedication of the temple of Concord the sun passed from the sign of Capricorn into the sign of Aquarius; hence he dated the passage on January 17. Pliny assigns the same date for the passage of the sun from the one sign to the other.[7]

[1] Livy, v. 21-22.

[2] See above, p. 240; and for the campaigns of Tiberius in Germany see Velleius Paterculus, ii. 97.

[3] Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 2. 43-44. As to the campaigns by which Tiberius retrieved the defeat of Varus see Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 18-19; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 120-121.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 813, v. 453.

[5] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 62 and 99, *Tiberius*, 4.

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 637 *sq.*, with the note.

[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 235.

I. 652. **the sign of the youth who carries water (Aquarius).**—The ancients were not agreed as to who the constellation of Aquarius really was, though nobody doubted that he was a man who had been transported to the sky. Most people thought that he was the young man Ganymede; for having been carried up to heaven to act as cupbearer to the gods, nothing could be more natural than that he should go about with a jug of water wherewith to temper the fiery wine or ambrosia of the deities.[1] Others opined that he was Deucalion; for since the rising of Aquarius is usually accompanied by heavy rain, it seems to follow by a necessary concatenation of causes that the heavenly Water-carrier could be no other than the man in whose time the world was all but drowned in a flood of water.[2] However, Eubulus had no difficulty in demonstrating the falsity of both these opinions; for he proved that Aquarius was in fact Cecrops, the ancient king of Athens, his argument being that in the reign of Cecrops wine was as yet unknown and water was used instead of it in sacrifice; from which the equation Aquarius = Cecrops follows with mathematical certainty.[3]

I. 653. **When the seventh sun . . . shall have set in the sea, the Lyre will shine no longer.**—Thus according to Ovid the constellation of the Lyre set at evening on January 23. This he seems to have forgotten in a later part of his poem, where he dates the evening setting of the Lyre on February 2.[4] Pliny dates the setting of the Lyre at evening on February 4.[5] Columella is still more inconsistent, for he dates the evening setting of the constellation variously on January 22, January 30, and between February 1 and 3.[6] None of these dates were exact. For in Ovid's time the apparent setting of the Lyre at evening took place on January 28, and the true setting on February 9.[7]

[1] Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 26; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 29; Scholiast on Germanicus, *Aratea*, 287 (p. 405 ed. Eyssenhardt, appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

[2] Scholiast on Germanicus, *Aratea*, 287; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 29.

[3] Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 29.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 75-78.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 235.

[6] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 4, 5 and 14.

[7] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 145.

I. 655. **the fire that glitters in the middle of the Lion's breast will be sunk below the horizon at nightfall.**—Thus according to Ovid the heart of the constellation of the Lion set at evening on January 24. In this statement he is partly right and partly wrong, for the true morning setting of the bright star in the heart of the Lion did take place on the day he mentions (January 24), but at morning, not at evening; the apparent morning setting of the star took place on February 6. The evening setting of the star followed about five months later, on July 6.[1] Pliny dates the morning setting of the star on January 25, which is only one day wrong.[2] According to Columella, the setting of the star took place on January 27.[3]

I. 657. **I searched the record of the Calendar, but nowhere did I find the Day of Sowing.**—As Ovid immediately explains, the Festival of Sowing (*feriae sementivae*) was not assigned to any fixed day in the calendar, but could fall earlier or later according to the state of the season and the weather, the day, or rather days, being appointed from year to year by the pontiffs. Such moveable festivals were called *conceptivae* or "appointed", because they were annually appointed (*concipiuntur*) by the magistrates or priests; among them were the Compitalia and the Paganalia.[4] Hence these festivals are not mentioned in the ancient calendars which have come down to us. So far as the Festival of Sowing is concerned, the moveable character of the celebration is clearly explained by the late Greek writer Joannes Lydus, who adds some particulars as to the festival which are not known from other sources. He says: "The Festival of Sowing, called by the Romans *sementivae*, that is, 'concerned with sowing', did not fall on a fixed day, because not every time was suitable for beginning the sowing; for either it fell early on account of the rains or it was late by reason of their retardation. The festival was

[1] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 156.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 235.

[3] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 5.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 26; Festus, *s.v.* "Conceptivae", p. 55 ed. Lindsay, compare *id.*, *s.v.* "Sementivae", p. 455 ed. Lindsay; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 6.

held on two days, which, however, were not successive but separated by an interval of seven days. On the first day they sacrificed to Demeter in her character of Earth who receives the fruits; then after seven days they sacrificed to the Maiden (Kore), the warden of the fruits, since every seed sprouts on the seventh day."[1] The goddesses whom the Greek writer here calls by their Greek names clearly correspond to the two mentioned by Ovid in the present passage (lines 671, 673), Demeter standing for Earth (Tellus) and the Maiden (Kore) for Ceres. From Ovid (lines 671-672) we learn that the offerings at the festival consisted of spelt and the flesh of a teeming sow. A pregnant sow was the victim regularly sacrificed to the Earth goddess.[2] Similarly the Greeks sacrificed pregnant sows to Demeter for the crops.[3] No doubt the pregnancy of the victim offered to the Earth at sowing was thought, on the principle of sympathetic or imitative magic, to fertilize and multiply the seeds committed to its bosom. On a similar principle some people employ a pregnant woman to sow seed or plant trees, believing that she will communicate her own fertility to the seeds or the shoots. Thus the Nicobar Islanders think it lucky to get a pregnant woman and her husband to plant seed in a garden.[4] In the western part of Nias, an island off the western coast of Sumatra, it is deemed very desirable that fruit-trees should be planted by a pregnant woman; for "the natives believe that a fertilizing force emanates from her, and that consequently the trees will bear more fruit".[5] It is said that masks or small figures (*oscilla*) were hung on trees at the festival of sowing;[6] no doubt they were supposed in some way to assist the operation of sowing, but how they were thought to do so is uncertain. The custom was said to be

[1] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iii. 9, p. 42 ed. Wuensch.

[2] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 20; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 22.

[3] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 1024, line 16, ὑπὲρ καρποῦ Δήμητρι ὖν ἐνκύμονα πρωτοτόκον.

[4] *Census of India*, 1901, vol. iii. p. 206; compare W. Svoboda, "Die Bewohner des Nikobaren-Archipels", *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, v. (1892) pp. 193 *sq.*

[5] J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan, *Die Heilkunde der Niasser* (The Hague, 1913), p. 171.

[6] Probus, on Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 385; compare Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 380-389; Festus, *s.v.* "Oscillantes", p. 212 ed. Lindsay.

derived from Attica, where at a certain festival called *Aiora* persons swung on boards suspended by ropes from the branches of trees: tradition connected the custom with the worship of Dionysus (Bacchus).[1] In his treatise on agriculture, written in the form of a dialogue, Varro appropriately lays the scene of the discussion in the temple of Earth (*Tellus*), whither he had gone with some friends, at the invitation of the sacristan, to pass the holiday of the Sowing Festival after the manner of their fathers and grandfathers before them.[2] He tells us that the time for sowing was for ninety-one days from the autumnal equinox, and that only in case of necessity should the farmer sow after midwinter.[3] However, the exact time of sowing naturally varied with the crop and the nature of the soil.[4] The Roman farmer sowed in spring as well as in autumn; February and March were the months in which above all others he then sowed and planted [5]

I. 662. **Ye steers, take your stand with garlands on your heads at the full crib.**—In almost the same words Tibullus has described a rustic festival at which "the steers must stand at the full cribs with garlands on their heads." [6] The custom of crowning cattle on certain occasions was perhaps originally a charm to protect them against witches or spirits.[7] Later on in the poem Ovid mentions the custom of crowning horses and asses at festivals.[8] Hunting dogs were crowned at Diana's festival, the thirteenth of August; [9] and according to Arrian the Celts similarly crowned hunting dogs on the birthday of Artemis.[10] The

[1] As to the *Aiora* see O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge* (Berlin, 1847), pp. 324 *sq.*; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, i. 1, pp. 171 *sq.*, *s.v.* "Aiora". As to the *oscilla* see W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*[3], ii. 304-306, with the illustrations. I have discussed these and other festivals of swinging in *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, pp. 277-285.

[2] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, i. 2. 1.

[3] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, i. 34.

[4] Cato, *De agricultura*, 34; Columella, *De re rustica*, ii. 8; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 201-206; Virgil, *Georg.* i. 204 *sqq.*

[5] Palladius, *De re rustica*, Books iii. and iv. *passim*.

[6] Tibullus, ii. 1. 7-8, "*Nunc ad praesepia debent | plena coronato stare boves capite*".

[7] See above, p. 161.

[8] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 52, vi. 311.

[9] Statius, *Sylv.* iii. 1. 57 *sq.*

[10] Arrian, *Cynegetica*, 34.

custom of crowning the dogs may have been intended to protect them from the dangerous spirits of the animals they had killed in the course of the year.[1]

I. 669. **Let the parish keep festival; purify the parish ye husbandmen.**—The rural districts were divided into areas or townships called *pagi*, which we may perhaps translate "parish". Each parish had its Master, who possessed a certain amount of authority over the inhabitants; and each parish annually celebrated an agricultural festival called Paganalia. Apparently, too, each parish had a hillock, knoll, or mound where the people took refuge when the country was raided by an enemy. The institution of the parishes (*pagi*) was ascribed to Numa.[2] The present passage suggests that in Ovid's opinion the Paganalia followed immediately after the Festival of Sowing. It may have been so, but the relation of the two festivals to each other is uncertain; modern scholars are not agreed on the subject.[3] The poet may have confused the two, but it is not necessary to assume that he did so. The Festival of Sowing may very well have included a ceremonial purification of the parish as a necessary preliminary to committing the seed to the earth. The rustic festival described by Tibullus comprised a purification of the crops, the fields, and the rural folk. It was a time of repose and quiet. The ploughman was to rest from his labour and hang up his ploughshare. The cattle were to be unyoked and fed. No woman might spin. None but those who had observed continence on the preceding night were allowed to approach the altars. The gods were entreated to drive all evil things from the boundaries, to prosper the

[1] Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 125 *sqq*.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 76, iv. 15. Compare Festus, *s.vv.* "Pagani" and "Pagi", p. 247 ed. Lindsay, who absurdly derives the name *pagus* from the Doric παγή, "a spring". The festival Paganalia is mentioned by Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 6. Varro calls these festivals *paganicae*, and notes that they were undertaken for the sake of agriculture (*agriculturae causa*). See Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 26.

[3] See R. Merkel in his edition of the *Fasti* (1841), p. clv (who thought that the two festivals were the same except that the Festival of Sowing was held in the town and the Paganalia in the country); J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] 198 *sq.*; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], ii. 6; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 294-296; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 193, 439.

crops, and to protect the lambs from the wolves.[1] The prayer, as reported by Tibullus, closely resembles one which is still annually put up by the Ibibio, a negro tribe of Southern Nigeria: "Gods of our fathers, we make clean the farms, we make clean the folk of the farm. Drive evil things outside our boundaries. Let not our crops fail at harvest. Let not leopards harm our herds."[2]

The time of sowing, like the time of reaping, is, for the primitive farmer, a season of spiritual danger in consequence of the disturbance caused to the spirits of nature by the operation of breaking up the ground; and many are the precautions taken to guard the sower against the resentment of the spirits Hence the many religious or magical rites observed by farmers in many parts of the world at this critical season.[3] For example, the Kayans of Borneo hold a festival before sowing, at which a priestess sows the first rice in a consecrated field belonging to the chief, and during the festival certain taboos are observed. Thus on the first day the people must refrain from bathing, and after that there follows a period of rest for eight nights, during which the villagers may neither work nor hold intercourse with their neighbours. On the tenth day the prohibition to bathe is again enforced; and during the next ten days the sowing of the great common ricefield proceeds in earnest.[4] With this interval of enforced rest during eight days, we may compare the interval of seven days in the middle of the Roman Festival of Sowing The aim of the Kayan festival, we are told, is to appease and propitiate the souls of the rice and the other spirits by sacrifices of all sorts.[5] One of the rites observed by the Kayans before sowing is a dance of masked men, which is intended to attract the souls of the rice and so to ensure a good crop. The dancers represent spirits; they wear grotesque masks and their bodies are thickly wrapt in green leaves.[6] Before the Duhoi of Borneo plant the rice,

[1] Tibullus, ii. 1. 1-20. As to the purification (*lustratio*) of the fields see L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 419 *sqq.*

[2] P. Amaury Talbot, *Life in Southern Nigeria* (London, 1923), p. 267.

[3] Compare *The Golden Bough*[3], vol. xii. General Index, p. 471, *s.v.* "Sowing".

[4] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo* (Leyden, 1904–1907), i. 164-167.

[5] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *op. cit.* i. 163.

[6] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *op. cit.* i. 322-330.

they sacrifice a pig or a fowl to the spirits and smear the blood on the seed,[1] doubtless in order to fertilize it. The Greeks may similarly have applied to the seed the blood of the pigs which they sacrificed to Demeter.[2] Among some of the Ao Nagas of Assam the sowing is inaugurated by the village priest or priests, who sow the first rice and sacrifice a pig or a fowl at the same time.[3] Some Berbers of Morocco entrust the duty of sowing the seed to a holy man, others to the girl of the village who has the longest hair, because they believe that the wheat will grow as long as her tresses.[4] Others sacrifice a goat or a sheep in the field, pour the blood into a hole, throw a little earth over the blood, and then drop the first seeds on it.[5]

I. 676. **replaced the acorns of the oak by food more profitable.**—The ancients thought that acorns were the primitive food of mankind.[6] The belief may point to a tradition that their remote ancestors had inhabited great forests of oak, perhaps in the north of Europe. However, there was a tradition that at a still earlier period men subsisted on leaves, grass, and roots, and that the substitution of acorns for this innutritious diet was a reform introduced by Pelasgus, the first king of Arcadia.[7] Great quantities of acorns have been found in the prehistoric villages of Northern Italy and Switzerland, sometimes stored in earthenware jars, which seems to prove that they were used as human food.[8]

I. 685. **You too, ye ants, O spare the sown grain.**—Virgil alludes to the habit which ants are said to have of storing up grain for the winter.[9] The habit has been doubted in modern times, but the testimony of the ancients on this

[1] C. Lumholtz, *Through Central Borneo* (London, 1921), ii. 339.

[2] See above, pp. 151 *sq.*

[3] J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas* (London, 1926), pp. 113, 114.

[4] E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses berbères* (Paris, 1920), pp. 312, 313.

[5] E. Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 315. As to the ritual of the first ploughing in Morocco see further E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), ii. 208 *sqq.*

[6] Lucretius, iv. 939, 1416; Virgil, *Georg.* i. 7 *sq.*, 147-149; Tibullus, ii. 1. 38; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 401 *sq.*, *Metamorph.* i. 106; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 191; Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 5.

[7] Pausanias, viii. 1. 5-6.

[8] W. Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 16 *sq.*; O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, pp. 582 *sq.*, *s.v.* "Obstbau".

[9] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 186.

subject is said to be amply confirmed by observation in Southern Europe, India, and America.[1]

I. 691. **May the fields be free from darnel, that spoils the eyes, and may no barren wild oats spring from the tilled ground.**—In thus coupling darnel and wild oats Ovid was probably thinking of some lines of Virgil in which the same weeds are mentioned among the banes of the crops.[2] Some of the ancients entertained the curious notion that darnel was produced by the degeneration of wheat, barley, and flax; for which they seem to have had no better ground than that darnel is often found growing among the crops, especially among wheat.[3] To eat of darnel was supposed to make the eater blear-eyed, as we learn from a passage of Plautus, where one of the characters taunts another with imagining that he has seen what was not to be seen, and professes to explain the mistake by saying that the other must have been living on darnel instead of on wheat.[4] However, darnel was used in medicine.[5]

With regard to "barren wild oats" (*steriles avenae*), "it is improbable that the Romans cultivated oats proper, which are a crop of cooler climates. *Avenae* by itself stands probably for a crop of worthless grasses, like our 'couch'; ordinarily *avena*, in the singular, is any slender grass stem."[6] Pliny thought that oats were a corruption of barley, and noted with surprise, and apparently with disgust, that the peoples of Germany actually sowed oats and subsisted on oatmeal porridge.[7]

I. 694. **spelt, which twice shall bear the fire.**—Spelt was toasted in the oven before it was baked.[8] Hence it was twice submitted to the action of fire.

[1] Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury), *Ants, Bees and Wasps*[3] (London, 1882), pp. 59-61; *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, New Edition, vol. i. (London and Edinburgh, 1925) p. 302, *s.v.* "Ant".

[2] Virgil, *Ecl.* v. 37, *Georg.* i. 154.

[3] Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, ii. 4. 1, viii. 7. 1, viii. 8. 3.

[4] Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, 315-323 (Act II. Scene 3, lines 44-52). Compare the comment of Fulgentius, *Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum*, in *Mythographi Latini*, ed. A. van Staveren (Leyden and Amsterdam, 1742), p. 773, "*Dicunt enim quod lolium comedentibus oculi obscurentur*".

[5] Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, ii. 122; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxii. 160.

[6] Sir W. T. Thiselton-Dyer, in *Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by Sir J. E. Sandys[3], p. 72.

[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 149.

[8] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 521 *sq.*, vi. 313.

I. 699. **hoes . . . mattocks . . . a heavy rake.**—Elsewhere Ovid has described how the raging Bacchanals snatched up these implements of husbandry and with them slew the minstrel Orpheus.[1]

I. 699. **mattocks were turned into javelins, and a helmet was made out of a heavy rake.**—Ovid was thinking of the sad time of the Civil Wars, the memory of which was still fresh in the minds of his contemporaries. Writing a good many years earlier, while the world was still harassed by wars and rumours of wars, Virgil complained that reaping-hooks were forged into swords.[2]

I. 702. **Under your foot long time War has been laid in chains.**—Ovid is thinking of the peace which Augustus won for the world by the great victory of Actium in 31 B.C., and in symbol of which he closed the doors of the temple or archway of Janus, where in time of peace the War-god, according to a popular conception, was kept in custody.[3]

I. 705. **On the sixth day before the coming Calends a temple was dedicated to Leda's divine sons.**—The divine sons of Leda were Castor and Pollux. At the decisive battle of Lake Regillus, fought on the fifteenth of July 497 B.C., in which the exiled Tarquins were defeated and the freedom of Rome established for centuries, it is said that two horsemen, taller and handsomer than mortal men, were seen charging with spears in rest at the head of the Roman army and driving the enemy in headlong rout before them. The day was far spent before the battle was won, but late the same evening the same two horsemen were seen in the Forum at Rome, in warlike array, with the marks of battle still upon them, and their horses dripping with sweat. They watered their horses and washed them at the spring and pool of Juturna beside the temple of Vesta, while the people crowded round them and eagerly asked, what news from the army. The strange horsemen announced the battle and the victory; then they vanished away, and though much search was made for them, nobody saw them again. Next morning came a dispatch from the Roman general with tidings of the victory and of the two horsemen that had

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 30-43.
[2] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 508.
[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 124 with the note.

been seen in the forefront of the battle. Then the Romans knew that the two mysterious horsemen were Castor and Pollux in person.[1] In the heat of the battle the Roman general, the dictator Aulus Postumius, vowed a temple to the divine twins,[2] and the temple was dedicated in the Forum, according to Livy, by the dictator's son on the fifteenth of July 484 B.C.[3]

At first sight the statement of Livy that the temple was dedicated on July 15 conflicts with the statement of Ovid in the present passage that the temple was dedicated on January 27; but the apparent contradiction vanishes when we notice that Ovid is clearly referring, not to the original dedication of the old temple by the dictator Postumius in 484 B.C., but to the recent dedication of the new temple out of the spoils of Germany in A.D. 6, when Tiberius, the future emperor, caused his own name and the name of his dead brother Drusus to be inscribed on the front of the temple.[4] These brothers, Tiberius and Drusus, through their connexion with the Julian house, claimed to be descended from the goddess Venus, and it is they whom Ovid describes as "brothers of the race of the gods" and founders of the temple of the twin brothers, Castor and Pollux. Thus we need not, with Mommsen, suppose that January 27 was the date of the original dedication of the temple, and that in dating the dedication on July 15 Livy confused the date of the dedication with the date of the battle, which was fought on that day.[5] It is true that a note in the Praenestine calendar, as restored by Mommsen, assigns January 27 as the date of

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vi. 13; Plutarch, *Coriolanus*, 3. 4; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 2. 6; Valerius Maximus, i. 8. 1; Florus, i. 11. 4. Dionysius and Plutarch agree in dating the battle on July 15. There is less unanimity among modern writers as to the year in which the battle was fought.

[2] Livy, ii. 20. 12; Florus, i. 5. 4.

[3] Livy, ii. 42. 5; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 5. 13; Florus, i. 5. 4.

[4] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 20; Dio Cassius, lv. 27. 4.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.^{2} p. 308. Mommsen's view as to the dedication of the temple has been commonly accepted. See H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, p. 370; R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 271; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 296; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*^{6}, p. 117; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter^2, p. 161; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*^{2}, p. 268. On the other hand, Mommsen's view has been rejected by Aust (*De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 43).

the dedication; but, though the restoration is probable, there is some ground to think that the note is a later addition,[1] and apparently we must suppose that it refers to the dedication by Tiberius. Thus we conclude that the statements of both Livy and Ovid were right, but that they referred to different dedications. The dedication on January 27 was also celebrated by games held at Ostia on that day in honour of Castor and Pollux, or rather of the Castors, as the two brothers were often called for short.[2]

A strong argument in favour of regarding July 15 as the date of the original dedication of the temple of Castor and Pollux is furnished by the custom of solemnly reviewing and parading the Roman cavalry on that day;[3] for since Castor and Pollux were the type and patrons of cavalry-men, what could be more appropriate than a parade of cavalry on the anniversary of the day on which their temple had been dedicated?

Even before the rebuilding of the temple by Tiberius in A.D. 6 the sacred edifice was restored by Lucius Caecilius Metellus after his triumph in 117 B.C., with the help of the spoils which he gained by his victories in Dalmatia.[4] The rascally Verres contrived to embezzle a large sum of money by pretending to restore the restored temple; though all he did was to take down, at great expense, four columns, set them up again, and give them a fresh coat of stucco.[5]

The temple was variously known as the temple of Castor

[1] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 232, 308. The note, as restored by Mommsen, runs thus: *Aedis <Castoris et Po>llucis dedica<ta est>*. On this Huelsen observes (p. 232): "*Fuit aut* AEDIS *aut* AEDES. *Cum haec scripta sint litteris minutis spatio multo vacante, fieri potest ut addita sint post tempus, quamquam litterae non differunt.*" Aust has pointed out that in the Praenestine calendar under January 16 (*C.I.L.* i.² p. 231) the note *Concordiae Au<gustae aedes dedica>ta est P. Dolabella C. Silano cos.* has similarly been added by a later hand. See Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 43, whose view as to the dates of the dedications I follow.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 257, calendar of Polemius Silvius under January 27, "*Ludi Castorum Ostiis, quae prima facta colonia est*". Compare *C.I.L.*² p. 308.

[3] Livy, ix. 46. 15. Compare Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 43, who has pointed out the inference to be drawn from the custom. As to the cavalry parade on July 15 see note on *Fasti*, vi. 191 (Vol. IV. pp. 148 *sq.*).

[4] Cicero, *Pro Scauro*, 23. 46, with the note of Asconius (p. 24 ed. Kiessling and Schoel); *id.*, *In Verrem*, Act. II. lib. i. 59. 154; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, p. 371.

[5] Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. II. lib. i. 49. 129 *sqq.*

and Pollux,[1] the temple of Castor,[2] and the temple of the Castors.[3] But in official language and everyday speech it seems to have been called simply the temple of Castor. Hence when Marcus Bibulus was colleague of Julius Caesar in the aedileship, and shared with him the lavish expenses, without receiving any of the glory, of the office, he wittily remarked that his fate was like that of Pollux; for just as the temple was dedicated to the twin brothers Castor and Pollux but was known by the name of Castor alone, so the munificence which he had displayed jointly with Caesar was put down to the credit of Caesar alone.[4]

Considerable remains of the temple of Castor and Pollux are still to be seen exactly in the spot where, from the testimony of ancient writers, we should expect to find them, namely, in the south-eastern corner of the Forum, between the pool of Juturna and the temple of Vesta. The remains include a large part of the foundations and three fine Corinthian columns, with their entablature, on the eastern side of the temple. These columns, constructed of the finest white Pentelic marble, with their rich entablature, are very graceful in design and of perfect workmanship. They form a striking feature among the ruins of the Forum and are considered to be the most beautiful architectural fragment of ancient Rome. They belong to the restoration by Tiberius in the time of Augustus, the Golden Age of Roman architecture.

The temple is believed to have had eight columns in front and eleven columns on each of the long sides. It stood on a lofty platform raised about 22 feet above the level of the Forum. From the portico, which faced north towards the Sacred Way, a broad flight of eleven steps, extending

[1] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 232, 308, note in the Praenestine calendar (see above, p. 263, note [1]); Suetonius, *Caligula*, 22. 2.

[2] Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 15. 34, *In Pisonem*, 5. 11, *De domo sua*, 21. 54, *Pro Quinctio*, 4. 17, *In Verrem*, Act. II. lib. i. 49. 129, 50. 130 and 131, 51. 133, 59. 154, *Philipp.* iii. 11. 27; Livy, ii. 20. 12, ii. 42. 5; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 10. 1; Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 8. 2; fragment of the Marble Plan (R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 271); H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 19 ("*sub aede Kastorus*" *sic*), 7696, 8636.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 121, xxxiv. 23; Julius Capitolinus, *Maximini duo*, 16. 1; Trebellius Pollio, *Valeriani duo*, 5. 4. The plural "Castores" occurs also in inscriptions without reference to the temple. See H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3388, 3389, 3399, 4320.

[4] Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 10. 1; Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 8. 2.

almost across the whole front of the temple, descended to a platform, which, though lower than the stylobate, was still raised about 12 feet above the ground. Provided with a railing, this platform must have been a safe and high place from which, as from a pulpit, orators could address the people gathered in the Forum below. Access to it was obtained by two small staircases at the two ends, one staircase on the western and the other on the eastern side of the temple.

The foundations of the temple, as may be seen by the existing remains, were constructed in the most massive and solid style, with a lavish expenditure of both labour and material. Walls 8 feet thick, built of enormous blocks of the hardest tufa clamped to each other, ran under all the walls of the temple and formed a sort of box with sides 22 feet high. The whole of the interior was filled in solid with a dense mass of concrete, which set into one block like a single huge stone. From these tufa walls other massive spur walls projected at right angles, and on the ends of these the columns of the peristyle were set. Externally these great foundations were faced with large and thick slabs of Pentelic marble; and this marble facing was ornamented with a richly moulded cornice and wide flat pilasters, each with a moulded base, one pilaster being placed below each column of the peristyle. In the spaces between the spur walls (which were invisible on the outside) were small chambers opening outward between the pilasters and probably closed by metal doors. These chambers are supposed to have been strong-rooms for the custody of imperial or private treasures.

Such in outline appears to have been the temple of Castor and Pollux as it was rebuilt and dedicated by Tiberius in A.D. 6. But investigations conducted by Mr. A. W. van Buren in the autumn of 1905 resulted in the discovery of some remains of no less than three earlier temples, which were probably the original temple of 484 B.C., the restored temple of 117 B.C., and another temple built at some intermediate, but unknown, date between 484 B.C. and 117 B.C. Of the original temple some foundation walls, built of squared blocks of grey-green tufa (*cappellaccio*) in two to five or more courses, are extant at several points; the most considerable remains are to be seen near the north-western

angle of the substructure. To the temple of 117 B.C. are attributed the foundations of three front columns built of a hard light-brown volcanic stone with a facing of travertine slabs. To the same temple Mr. van Buren would ascribe the fragments of a mosaic pavement which exist at two points in the floor of the temple. They are composed of cubes of *palombino* (an Asiatic marble) arranged in a simple pattern of black and white. As this mosaic pavement is at a level considerably lower than the marble bases of Tiberius's columns, it clearly belongs to an earlier temple, as J. H. Middleton had already observed. There appears to be no sufficient ground to think that, as some have conjectured, the temple was afterwards restored under Domitian or Hadrian.[1]

On account of its convenient situation in the heart of the city, perhaps also for the sake of the security which its commanding position afforded against sudden attacks of the mob, the temple of Castor and Pollux often served for meetings of the Senate.[2] But in the turbulent days when the Republic was hastening to its fall, the sacred edifice and its neighbourhood too often witnessed scenes of violence and bloodshed. It was in the temple of Castor and Pollux that the consul Opimius posted himself when he was taking his measures for the armed suppression of the democratic faction, under Caius Gracchus, and it was thither probably that the bleeding heads of the leaders were brought him, and there that he rewarded the slayers with the weight of the heads in gold.[3] It was there that, seated at his ease on the platform in front of the temple, Sulla ordered and witnessed the execution of a candidate for the consulship in the crowded

[1] As to the temple of Castor and Pollux see H. Jordan, *Die Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 369 *sqq.*; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 276-283; R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 271-274 (with a view of the substructure, fig. 104); O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 86-88; A. W. van Buren, "The temples of Castor and of Concord in the Roman Forum", *The Classical Review*, xx. (1906) pp. 77-82; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter[2], pp. 161-164; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*[6], pp. 116-120, 210-213; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 180-183 (with a photograph of the existing remains and a view of the temple as restored).

[2] Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. II. lib. i. 49. 129; Julius Capitolinus, *Maximini duo*, 16. 1; Trebellius Pollio, *Valeriani duo*, 5. 4; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 19.

[3] Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 3. 25-26.

Forum below.[1] It was in a riot in front of the temple that the young son of Pompey was slain, while Pompey himself and Sulla had to flee for their lives.[2] On one occasion, when the unpopular praetor Asellio was offering a sacrifice to Castor and Pollux in the Forum, somebody in the crowd of onlookers threw a stone at him. The praetor dropped the libation bowl and ran for the neighbouring temple of Vesta. But the crowd pursued and intercepted him ; so he turned aside and took refuge in a tavern, and there his pursuers entered and cut his throat.[3] On another occasion the ruffian Clodius attempted to convert the temple of Castor into a fortress by storing arms in it and tearing up the steps of the staircase that gave access to it, while the Forum below was filled with armed men, and stones were flying and blood flowing.[4] When the tribune Metellus was about to propose a law which would in practice have conferred a military dictatorship on Pompey, he took the precaution of packing the Forum with his armed retainers and gladiators prepared to support him by force of arms. But Cato resolved to resist the proposal. On arriving at the Forum he saw the tribune and Julius Caesar, his supporter, seated side by side on the platform in front of the temple of Castor, while armed men surrounded the temple and gladiators guarded the steps leading up to it Undeterred by these threatening symptoms the undaunted Cato ascended the steps, the guards reluctantly making way for him, and took his seat on the platform between the tribune and Caesar. When the tribune attempted to read the law, Cato snatched the paper from him, while another held the tribune's mouth. The armed hirelings now ran with shouts to the support of their master, and everybody else took to flight. Cato alone stood his ground and faced the tumultuous throng, pelted with stones and sticks, till a friend took him in his arms and forced him to retire for shelter into the temple.[5] It was speaking from the platform of the temple of Castor to the people assembled below that Octavian (the future Emperor Augustus) declared war on Mark

[1] Plutarch, *Sulla*, 33. 4.
[2] Plutarch, *Sulla*, 8. 3.
[2] Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 6. 54.
[4] Cicero, *De domo sua*, 21. 54, *Pro Sestio*, 15. 34, *In Pisonem*, 5. 11.
[5] Plutarch, *Cato the Younger*, 27-28.

Antony, while his soldiers, with daggers concealed under their cloaks, guarded the approach to the temple.[1]

When these troubled times were over, and the Roman world had won peace at the price of freedom, the mad Emperor Caligula connected the temple of Castor with his palace on the Palatine by extending the palace in this direction and opening a door in the back of the temple between the images of Castor and Pollux, thus converting the sanctuary into a vestibule of his house and the divine brothers, as he remarked with grim humour, into his door-keepers. Moreover, he used to take his stand between the two images and there receive the adoration of the servile crowd in the character of Jupiter Latiaris. He appointed his wife his priestess and the wealthiest men in Rome his priests, exacting from each an enormous fee for the honour thus conferred upon them. Nay, he appointed himself to be priest of himself and associated his horse with him as his colleague in the priesthood. When it thundered, he made mock thunder in reply by means of a machine: when it lightened, he made mock lightning; and when a thunderbolt fell, he hurled a stone, repeating a verse of Homer to show that he was a match for Jupiter.[2] But when the imperial lunatic had been assassinated by the burly guardsman whom he had grossly insulted,[3] his successor on the throne, the Emperor Claudius, restored the temple to its rightful owners, Castor and Pollux.[4]

The older temple of Castor and Pollux was adorned with statues and paintings, including the portrait of a beautiful courtesan named Flora.[5] Private people deposited their money for safety at the temple.[6] The temple was also used as an office for the testing of weights and measures, and no doubt the standard weights and measures were preserved in it for reference. Many bronze weights exist with inscriptions such as "*Exac. ad X. Castor.*"; "*Exa. ad V. Casto.*"; "*Exa. ad III. Casto.*"; "*Ex. ad II Cast.*"; "*Ex. ad I. Cast.*",

[1] Appian, *Civil Wars*, iii. 6. 41.
[2] Dio Cassius, lix. 28. 5-6.
[3] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 56 and 58; Dio Cassius, lix. 29.
[4] Dio Cassius, lx. 6. 8.
[5] Plutarch, *Pompey*, 2. 4.
[6] Cicero, *Pro Quinctio*, 4. 17; Juvenal, xiv. 260.

meaning "Tested for ten, five, three, or two pounds, or for one pound at the temple of Castor".[1]

The pool of Juturna beside the ruined temple of Castor, where the divine twins watered their sweating horses after the battle of Lake Regillus, has already been described.[2] Down to the time of Cicero a rock was pointed out on the shore of the lake which was thought to bear the print of the hoof of Castor's horse left on it from the day when his rider had charged at the head of the Roman chivalry.[3] But the appearance of Castor and Pollux on that famous day was not the only occasion when they were said to have shown themselves in bodily form to the eyes of their worshippers. On the day in 168 B.C. when the Roman general Aemilius Paulus defeated and captured Perseus, king of Macedonia, in the great battle of Pydna, it happened that a certain Publius Vatinius was returning in the evening twilight from Reate to Rome. In the gloaming there met him two young men on white horses who told him that King Perseus had been taken that very day. On reaching Rome he reported the thing to the Senate, but the senators treated him as a liar and threw him into prison. But when the dispatches arrived from the general, and it was known that the victory had been won on the same day on which the mysterious horsemen had announced it to Vatinius, everybody saw that Vatinius was no liar and that the two horsemen were no other than Castor and Pollux. So they fetched Vatinius out of prison and rewarded him with an estate for his tidings.[4] It is even said that on this, as on the former, occasion the divine twins were seen washing the dust and blood from their horses at the pool of Juturna. The sight of the blood showed that they had been in battle, and the panting of the horses proved that they had come from Macedonia. Some also affirmed that the door of their temple beside the pool opened of itself, without any human hand, as if to receive the far-travelled and weary divinities.[5] Again, on the very same day on which Marius won his decisive victory over the Cimbrians in northern

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 8636.
[2] See above, note on *Fasti*, i. 463, pp. 183 *sqq.*
[3] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 5. 11.
[4] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 2. 6, iii. 5. 11.
[5] Florus, i. 28. 14-15; Valerius Maximus, i. 8. 1.

Italy, the heavenly twins were seen at Rome in the likeness of two young men, who handed laurel-wreathed dispatches to the praetor in front of the temple of Castor and Pollux.[1]

I. 709. **The course of my song hath led me to the altar of Peace. The day will be the second from the end of the month.**—When Augustus returned to Rome in 13 B.C. from Spain and Gaul, which he had left in peace and prosperity, the Senate decreed that an altar of Augustan Peace should be erected in his honour in the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*), and that the magistrates, the priests, and the Vestal Virgins should offer sacrifice at the altar every year. This honour, which the Emperor seems highly to have prized, is recorded by him in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.[2] According to an entry in the Amiternine calendar, the altar of Peace was set up (*constituta est*) in the Field of Mars on the fourth of July of the year 13 B.C., that is, of the same year in which the altar was voted by the Senate.[3] But probably this fourth of July was only the date on which Augustus returned to Rome and the Senate welcomed him by voting the altar; for from a note in the Praenestine calendar we learn that the altar of Peace was not dedicated till the thirtieth of January in the year 9 B.C.[4] This agrees with the testimony of Ovid in the present passage, who assigns the dedication to January 30; and it is further confirmed by an inscription which informs us that the Arval Brethren sacrificed at the Altar of Peace in the Field of Mars on the thirtieth of January of the year A.D. 38.[5] Dio Cassius has described the return of Augustus from Spain and Gaul in 13 B.C., and he tells us that among the other measures voted by the Senate to commemorate the happy event was the erection of an altar in the Senate-house;[6] but curiously enough he makes no mention of the altar of Peace, and the Emperor's biographer, Suetonius is equally silent on the subject. The altar of Peace is represented on coins of

[1] Florus, i. 38. 19-20.
[2] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, ii. 37-41, p. 69 ed. Hardy, p. 16 ed. Diehl[4].
[3] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 244, 320.
[4] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 232, 320.
[5] G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, p. 75.
[6] Dio Cassius, liv. 25.

Nero.[1] On a coin of Domitian the altar is represented raised on four steps with a priest holding a libation-bowl on either side of it.[2] Horace wrote an ode in anticipation of Augustus's return, expressing in rapturous but probably sincere tones the joy with which the people looked forward to that auspicious event.[3]

Considerable remains of the altar of Peace have been found under the Palazzo Fiano Ottoboni, at the corner of the Corso and the Via in Lucina, which was no doubt the original site of the altar. The fragments are now scattered among the museums of Rome, Florence, and Paris : the most considerable of them are in the Museo delle Terme at Rome and the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. The Museo delle Terme contains an attempted partial reconstruction of this masterpiece of Roman art. From the remains it is possible to form a fairly complete idea of the monument as a whole The altar was not very large. It was enclosed by a wall about 12 feet high, built of massive blocks of Carrara marble, the whole forming a rectangle about 38 feet long by 34 feet wide This enclosure wall was pierced by two entrances on its eastern and western sides. Finely sculptured pilasters flanked the entrances, and stood at the corners of the quadrangle. Beautifully executed sculptures adorned the enclosure wall both on the inner and on the outer side. On the inner side ran a richly moulded frieze of garlands hung from ox-skulls above a maeander pattern, beneath which was a panelling of fluted marble. The outer side of the wall was decorated with a frieze of flowers and palmettes, and above this on the northern and southern sides were reliefs representing a solemn procession in honour of the goddess of Peace. In the procession magistrates and priests, noble Roman men, women, and children are seen moving in stately order to or from the sacrifices, which are carved on the eastern and western sides of the building. Among these dignified figures it is thought that the family of Augustus, including the Emperor himself and his wife Livia, can be distinguished. The Emperor is identified with the commanding figure of a man

[1] H. Cohen, *Description historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*, i. (Paris, 1880) p. 280, Nos. 27-31.

[2] H. Cohen, *op. cit.* i. p. 500, No. 338.

[3] Horace, *Odes*, iv. 2.

who heads the procession on the south wall: he wears the costume of the Pontifex Maximus and is surrounded by many lictors. On the east wall, to the left of the door, is represented a matronly figure seated between two attendant divinities: she holds two infants in her arms; at her feet are an ox recumbent and a sheep browsing. The attendant divinity to the right is seated on a sea-monster; the attendant divinity to the left is seated on a swan. The matronly figure in the centre is usually interpreted as the Earth-goddess (*Tellus*); but Mr. A. W. van Buren would explain her as a personification of Italy, comparing her figure with Virgil's famous praise of Italy in the *Georgics*.[1] This slab is now in Florence. On the right of the door was probably a seated figure of the goddess Roma in presence of other deities. On the west wall to the left of the door was sculptured the shepherd Faustulus discovering the twins Romulus and Remus in the act of being suckled by the she-wolf under the Ruminal fig-tree: Mars, the putative father of the twins, was probably represented looking on: fragments of him are in the Museo delle Terme, and his head is at Vienna. On the other side of the door is a scene which is preserved almost entire, though the right half of it was not discovered till 1903. It represents the preparation for a sacrifice at a rocky altar. The deities to whom the sacrifice is to be offered are seen seated side by side in a shrine raised above the ground: they are probably the Penates. The crowned and bearded man in a Greek robe is believed to be Aeneas offering a pregnant sow to the divinities: he has drawn his robe over his head in accordance with the rule of Roman ritual. Another scene represents the sacrifice of a bull: a man is kneeling and holding down the head of the beast to receive the fatal stroke. In these beautiful reliefs the art of the Augustan age touched its highest level. The figures are Roman, but the grace and doubtless the workmanship are Greek. The truth to nature of the garlands on the inner walls is particularly wonderful.[2]

[1] Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 136-176.

[2] R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 468 *sq.*; E. Petersen, *Vom alten Rom*[4] (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 186-191; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 612-614; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 361 *sq.*; *Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by Sir J. E. Sandys[3], pp. 562-

I. 711. **Come, Peace, thy dainty tresses wreathed with Actian laurels.**—As Augustus closed the long civil wars and established a world-wide peace by the great victory of Actium, in which he finally defeated Mark Antony (31 B.C.), the poet appropriately imagines the goddess of peace to be crowned with Actian laurels. With the following address to Peace we may compare some lines of Tibullus, in which that gentle poet chants the blessings of peace and prays that he may grow old in peaceful years.[1]

I. 720. **let a white victim fall with cloven brow.**—White victims were sacrificed to the heavenly powers, particularly to the Sky-god and his wife, Jupiter and Juno,[2] and with them the goddess Peace was naturally numbered. Of old none but snow-white bulls might be sacrificed to Jupiter on the Alban Mount, but in later times the rule was relaxed.[3] On the other hand, black or dusky victims (*hostiae furvae*) were sacrificed to the infernal deities and the dead.[4] A similar distinction between black and white victims was observed in Greek ritual. In general white victims were sacrificed to the gods and black victims to the dead. To the dead and to heroes, who were the spirits of the illustrious and glorified dead, the victims offered were black bulls or black rams. Thus a black bull was sacrificed annually to the Greeks who fell at the battle of Plataea; the sacrifice was performed year by year with great pomp down at least to the time of Plutarch.[5] At Olympia a black ram was sacrificed every year to Pelops.[6] In Daunia persons who desired to consult the dead soothsayer Calchas sacrificed black rams

563; Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* (London, 1911), vol. i. pp. 39-58, with Plates viii.-xvi.; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] (Leipzig, 1912–1913), vol. i. p. 100, No. 152, vol. ii. pp. 221-223, No. 1523; A. W. van Buren, "The Ara Pacis Augustae", *Journal of Roman Studies*, iii. (1913) pp. 134-141.

[1] Tibullus, i. 10. 43-50.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 56, *Amores*, iii. 13. 13, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 9. 49 *sq.*; Virgil, *Aen.* ix. 627 *sq.*; Livy, xxvii. 37. 11; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 19.

[3] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, ii. 68.

[4] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 19 and 20; Horace, *Sat.* i. 8. 26-29; Tibullus, iii. 5. 33; Lucretius, iii. 51-53; Varro, quoted by Censorinus, *De die natali*, xvii. 8; Virgil, *Aen.* v. 96 *sq.*, vi. 153, 243 *sqq.*, *Georg.* iv. 546; Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 9. 11; Valerius Maximus, ii. 4. 5; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 139, lines 19-21 (*Cenotaphia Pisana*).

[5] Plutarch, *Aristides*, 21.

[6] Pausanias, v. 13. 2.

to him and slept on the skins of the victims in order to receive the expected revelation in a dream,[1] just as inquirers did at the oracle of Amphiaraus in Attica.[2]

The distinction between white victims sacrificed to the gods and black victims sacrificed to the dead comes out very clearly in the account which Philostratus has given of the ancient worship of Achilles at Troy. According to him, the oracle at Dodona commanded the Thessalians to go and sacrifice every year to Achilles at Troy; they were to sacrifice a white bull to him as a god, and a black bull to him as a dead man. With these injunctions the Thessalians for a time complied. The ship which sailed from Thessaly with the white bull and the black bull on board put to sea with black sails. It carried fire for the sacrifice and water from the river Spercheus, and wreaths twined of amaranth, immortal amaranth, in order that, if the ship should be detained by calms or head winds, the garlands might not be withered and faded when they were laid upon the grave. Thus the ship arrived at Troy and came to anchor by night. Then landing they crowned the barrow with the wreaths of amaranth, and ran round it, and digging pits at its foot they sacrificed the black bull over them to Achilles as a dead man. Having done so they went down to the beach and there sacrificed the white bull to Achilles as a god; and at dawn of day they sailed away with the remnants of the white bull on board, that they might not partake of the sacrificial meal in an enemy's land.[3]

Elsewhere we read of people who sacrifice black victims to the dead. It is said that among the nomadic Arabs of Mesopotamia each family thinks itself bound to sacrifice a sheep which is wholly black in memory of their dead in the first month of every year.[4] The Wagogo of Tanganyika Territory (East Africa) sacrifice a black ram or a black bull to the dead.[5] After the burial of a king of Panda, in

[1] Strabo, vi. 3. 9, p. 284.
[2] Pausanias, i. 34. 5.
[3] Philostratus, *Heroica*, pp. 325-326 (vol. ii. pp. 208-209 ed. Kayser).
[4] Father Abougit, S.J., "Les Arabes nomades de la Mésopotamie", *Les Missions Catholiques*, vii. (Lyons and Paris, 1875) p. 483.
[5] H. Claus, *Die Wagogo* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1911), p. 49.

Northern Nigeria, a black goat, a black dog, a black cock, and a black bull were sacrificed, in that order, by the fetish priest at the graveside.[1]

Another reason for which not a few people sacrifice black victims is to procure rain, the sable hue of the animals being thought to resemble dark clouds and so, on the principle of sympathetic or imitative magic, to hasten the fall of the wished-for showers. Thus the Bagesu of Mount Elgon, in Kenya, sacrifice a black ox on a mountain for rain.[2] For the same purpose the Basoga of Uganda sacrifice three black animals, a cow, a goat, and a fowl.[3] In order to procure rain the Wagogo of Tanganyika Territory sacrifice black fowls, black sheep, and black cattle at the graves of dead ancestors, and the rain-maker wears black clothes during the rainy season.[4] The Lango, a Nilotic tribe of the Uganda Protectorate, consecrate black or brown kids or lambs to serve as victims in sacrifices for rain, and keep the animals till they are wanted at the next festival or whenever rain is needed.[5] The Garos of Assam offer a black goat on the top of a very high mountain in time of drought:[6] and in some of the high mountains of Japan a priest leads a black dog to the bed of a mountain torrent, where the animal is shot dead.[7] In the Indian Archipelago the Timorese sacrifice a black pig to the Earth-goddess for rain, and a white or red one to the Sun-god for sunshine.[8] Similarly the Angoni, a tribe of Zulu descent to the north of the Zambesi, sacrifice a black

[1] J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, "Ethnological Notes on the Kwottos of Toto (Panda) District, Keffi Division, Benue Province, Northern Nigeria", *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxvii. No. cviii. (July, 1928) p. 383.

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 183 *sq.*

[3] J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 254.

[4] H. Cole, "Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 325; compare H. Claus, *Die Wagogo* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1911), p. 42 (*Baessler Archiv*, Beiheft ii).

[5] J. H. Driberg, *The Lango* (London, 1923), p. 253.

[6] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872), p. 88.

[7] W. Weston, *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Japanese Alps* (London, 1896), pp. 162 *sq.*; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) p. 30.

[8] J. S. G. Gramberg, "Eene maand in de binnenlanden van Timor", *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxxvi. p. 209; H. Zondervan, "Timor en de Timoreezen", *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, v. (1888) Afdeeling, meer uitgebreide artikelen, pp. 402 *sq.*

ox for rain and a white one for fine weather.[1] So, too, the Kikuyu of Kenya (East Africa) sacrifice a black ram for rain at a sacred fig-tree, but if they wish the rain to cease they sacrifice a white ram.[2]

These latter customs suggest that the Greek and Roman practice of sacrificing white victims to the gods of the upper world may in part have been based on the desire to get fine weather, the colour of the animals being assimilated, on the principle of imitative magic, to the brightness of the sky which the sacrifice was intended to produce.

[1] C. Wiese, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Zulu im Norden des Zambesi, namentlich der Angoni", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxii. (1900) p. 198.

[2] C. W. Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), p. 60. Sometimes in rain-making ceremonies black animals are not sacrificed but merely led about, in some places till they make water, which is accepted as an omen of rain. See E. Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers, 1908), p. 583; E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses berbères* (Paris, 1920), pp. 244-246; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), ii. 264 *sq.* Among the Ait Mjild the black cow which is led about for this purpose is dressed up as a woman (E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 265). On this subject see further *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. i. pp. 290 *sqq.*

BOOK II

The Month of February

II. 3. **My elegiacs, now for the first time do ye sail with ampler canvas spread.**—It has been argued with much probability by H. Peter that the following passage (lines 3-18) is the original dedication of the whole of the *Fasti* to Augustus, and that it stood formerly at the beginning of the first book, but that when, after the death of Augustus, the poet revised the work and dedicated it to Germanicus, on whom he now pinned his hope of recall from banishment, he, or more probably his editor after his death, preserved the original dedication but transferred it from the beginning of the first to the beginning of the second book, where it could stand appropriately enough, since Ovid appears not to have carried the revision of the poem beyond the end of the first book.[1]

II. 5. **Myself I found you pliant ministers of love, when in the morn of youth I toyed with verse.**—Ovid is referring to his earlier works, the *Amores*, the *Heroides*, and the *Art of Love*, all composed in elegiac verse.

II. 15. **Still do I rehearse with hearty zeal thy titles, Caesar.**—Ovid is here addressing Augustus, to whom the whole poem was originally dedicated. Under the title of Caesar the poet addresses or refers to Augustus in many other passages of the *Fasti*.[2]

II. 19. **Our Roman fathers gave the name of *februa* to instruments of purification.**—The word *februum* or *februm* signified anything used in purifying, and the correspond-

[1] See H. Peter's fourth edition of the *Fasti* (1907), pp. 12 *sq.*, and the third edition (1889), Zweite Abteilung, pp. 24 *sq.*

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 138, 141, 637, iii. 710, iv. 20, v. 588, vi. 455, 646, 763, 809.

ing verb *februare* meant "to purify".[1] According to Varro, *februum*, or *februm*, as the word appears in his text, was a Sabine term. The derivation of the name February from the verb *februare*, "to purify", was generally accepted by the ancients, because in that month the people were purified (*quod tum februatur populus*).[2] The temples and sacred vessels were also purified at this season, and in private life everybody was very particular about submitting to the cleansing ceremony.[3] The most famous of these ceremonial purifications in the month of February was that observed at the festival of the Lupercalia, when the women were purified (*februabantur*) by the Luperci with a goat-skin, which was called the cloak or wrapper (*amiculum*) of Juno; the goddess herself was known for the occasion as Juno Februata.[4] Ovid alludes to the quaint ceremony a few lines lower down and has discussed it at length later on in this book.[5] Since in the old Roman calendar February was the last month of the year, it was a very appropriate time for purifying the people before they entered on a new year. Similarly among peoples of the lower culture the ceremonies of public purification, which take the form of a general expulsion of devils, seem generally to fall at the end of the year in order that the people may make a clean start in the new year, having rid themselves, as they imagine, of all the baneful influences that had troubled them in the past.[6]

II. 21. **The pontiffs ask the King and the Flamen for woollen cloths.** — This ceremony seems to be otherwise unknown. The King is the Sacrificial King, the priestly representative of the ancient Roman kings. He proclaimed the monthly festivals on the Nones (the fifth) of February,

[1] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 13 and 34; *id.*, *De vita Populi Romani*, lib. i., quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Februare", vol. i. p. 164 ed. Lindsay; Festus, *s.v.* "Februarius", pp. 75 *sq.* ed. Lindsay; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxiii. 14; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 3; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vii. 7; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 68, *Romulus*, 21, *Numa*, 19; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 25, pp. 83 *sq.* ed. Wuensch.

[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 34.

[3] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 25, p. 84 ed. Wuensch.

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Februarius", pp. 75 *sq.* ed. Lindsay.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 32 *sq.*, 267 *sqq.*

[6] *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 224 *sq.*

and that day was called a *dies februatus*.[1] The Flamen is doubtless the Flamen Dialis, as we may always assume when the title is used without qualification.

II. 23. **When houses are swept out, the toasted spelt and salt which the officer gets as means of cleansing are called by the same name.**—When a death had taken place in a Roman house, and the corpse had been carried out to burial, the house was swept out with a broom of a particular sort. This purification was called the Sweeping-out (*exverriae*) and the person who performed it was called the Sweeper-out (*everriator*). It is not quite clear whether the Sweeper-out was the heir in person or somebody employed by him for the service. Ovid's mention of an officer (*lictor*) who purified the house suggests that this official may have been the Sweeper-out, who first swept out the house with a broom and then purified it with spelt and salt. But the language of Festus, or rather of his abbreviator Paulus Diaconus, who is our only authority for the custom, certainly favours the view that it was the heir himself who swept out the house after a death.[2] And what he swept out was probably the ghost of the deceased, who otherwise might have haunted and disturbed him in the peaceful possession of the property to which he had succeeded, and of which the ghost was naturally chagrined at being deprived.

This interpretation is confirmed by parallel customs which are still observed, or were observed down to recent times, in various parts of Germany. Thus in Thuringia three heaps of salt are placed on the floor of a house in which a person has died; the room is then swept out, and the sweepings and the broom are carried to the churchyard or to the field; sometimes the mattress is burned in the field. The reason assigned for all these customs is to prevent the ghost from returning.[3] In Voigtland the custom is similar,

[1] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 13.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Everriator", p. 68 ed. Lindsay, "*Everriator vocatur, qui iure accepta hereditate iusta facere defuncto debet; qui si non fecerit, seu quid in ea re turbaverit, suo capite luat. Id nomen ductum a verrendo. Nam exverriae sunt purgatio quaedam domus, ex qua mortuus ad sepulturam ferendus est, quae fit per everriatorem certo genere scoparum adhibito, ab extra verrendo dictarum.*"

[3] A. Witzschel, *Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Thüringen* (Vienna, 1878), p. 262.

and the reason assigned for it is the same.[1] In Silesia, when a corpse is carried out of a room, the floor is swept behind it, "in order not to compel the dead to come back".[2] In the Erz Gebirge mountains of Saxony, "in order that the dead man, that is, his soul, may not find the way home or come back", the floor is swept out thrice with a broom, as far as the door of the house, and in some places the broom is then hung up on a beam in the byre or stable.[3]

In these cases the intention of sweeping the floor is clearly to turn the ghost out of the house. If there could be any doubt about this interpretation, it would be removed by the following instances. Among the Esquimaux on the lower Yukon river in Alaska, "the housemates of the deceased must remain in their accustomed places in the house during the four days following the death, while the shade (the ghost) is believed to be still about. During this time all of them must keep fur hoods drawn over their heads to prevent the influence of the shade from entering their heads and killing them. At once, after the body is taken out of the house, his sleeping place must be swept clean and filled full of bags and other things, so as not to leave any room for the shade to return and reoccupy it. At the same time the two persons who slept with him upon each side must not, upon any account, leave their places. If they were to do so the shade might return and, by occupying a vacant place, bring sickness or death to its original owner or to the inmates of the house. For this reason none of the dead person's housemates are permitted to go outside during the four days following the death. . . . During the four days that the shade is thought to remain with the body none of the relatives are permitted to use any sharp edge or pointed instrument for fear of injuring the shade and causing it to become angry

[1] J. A. E. Köhler, *Volksbrauch, Aberglauben, Sagen und andre alte Ueberlieferungen im Voigtlande* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 254.

[2] P. Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien* (Leipzig, 1903–1906), i. 305.

[3] C. John, *Aberglaube, Sitte und Brauch im sächsischen Erzgebirge* (Annaberg, 1909), p. 126. Compare K. Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg* (Vienna, 1879–1880), ii. 95; A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*[2] (Berlin, 1869), p. 435, § 737; P. Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch* (Leipzig, 1910–1914), i. 144; E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, und Tod* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1911), pp. 30-33 (who correctly explains and illustrates the Roman custom).

and bring misfortune upon them." [1] Again, on the third, sixth, ninth, and fortieth days after a funeral the old Prussians and Lithuanians used to prepare a meal, to which, standing at the door, they invited the soul of the deceased At these meals they sat silent at the table and used no knives, and the women who served up the food were also without knives. If any morsels fell from the table they were left lying there for the poor lonely souls that had no living kinsfolk or friends to bid them to a feast. "When the meal is over, the priest arises and sweeps the house with a broom, and casts out the souls of the dead with the dust, as if they were fleas, and prays in these words that they would retire from the house: *eli Pily ducisse: nu wen, nu wen:* that is, 'Ye have eaten and drunk, dear souls, go forth, go forth'." [2] From these examples it is obvious that the souls of the dead are regarded as material things which can occupy space, be cut with knives, and be swept out of the house like fleas with the dust. The reason why on these occasions the old Prussians and Lithuanians did not use knives is explained by the parallel custom of the Esquimaux, who abstain from the use of all sharp implements from a fear of hurting the ghost.

In the Chinese province of Kan-su, as soon after a death as possible, an exorcist is fetched to perform a ceremony called "driving out the strong breath of the deceased". He sweeps the corpse in all directions with a broom made of yellow paper for the purpose of getting hold of the breath of the dead. Having secured it, he sweeps the house from top to bottom. Then holding aloft the broom he runs to the pagoda where the soul of the dead man or woman is to be judged. As he runs, he cries that he is "driving out the strong breath of the deceased", and all the people who hear the cry repeat it and flee away, believing that if they

[1] E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait", *Eighteenth Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology, 1896–1897*, Part I. (Washington, 1899) p. 315.

[2] Jo. Meletius (Maeletius, Menecius), "De religione et sacrificiis veterum Borussorum", in *De Russorum Muscovitarum et Tartarorum religione, sacrificiis, nuptiarum, funerum ritu* (Spirae libera civitate, 1582), p. 263; reprinted in *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*, vol. ii. (Riga and Leipzig, 1848) pp. 391 *sq.* See further my paper "On certain Burial Customs as illustrative of the primitive Theory of the Soul", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv. (1886) pp. 66 *sq.*

were to encounter this breath, it would be the death of them.[1] Here "the strong breath of the deceased" is clearly to all intents and purposes the ghost, who is mopped up by the exorcist and carried in his mop or broom to his destination in the pagoda.

Among the Ibibio of Southern Nigeria, when a ghost persistently intrudes on a house, an exorcist is sent for to turn him out. With a burning brand in one hand and a broom in the other he goes into every room and every corner of the house, crying, "Go forth!" while at the same time he beats the air with the broom and the burning brand.[2]

The officer who at Rome swept out the house after a death is called by Ovid a lictor He was probably the lictor of the Flamen Dialis, for we know that the Flamen Dialis had a lictor who assisted him in the discharge of his sacred duties.[3] The priest was himself much too high and mighty a person to go about sweeping ghosts out of houses with a broom, but he could have no scruple about delegating the unpleasant duty to his humble subordinate. It is true that in one passage Horace speaks of an undertaker's men as "black lictors",[4] which might lead us to suppose that it was the undertaker's man who swept out the ghost after he had carried out the corpse to the grave or the pyre; but probably Horace only used the expression "black lictors" in a poetical sense for the men who followed this doleful profession, and whose proper name was perhaps *libitinarii*, "votaries of Libitina", the goddess of funerals.[5]

This interpretation of the Roman custom observed after a death is confirmed by a parallel Roman custom which was performed to protect women from the attacks of the god Silvanus, who used to try to enter the lying-in chamber by night and harass the poor mother in her weak state. To keep the unwelcome intruder out, three men marched round the house, armed respectively with an axe, a javelin, and a

[1] J. Dols, "La Vie chinoise dans la province de Kan-sou", *Anthropos*, x.-xi. (1915–1916) p. 736.

[2] P. Amaury Talbot, *Life in Southern Nigeria* (London, 1923), p. 131.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Flaminius lictor", p. 82 ed. Lindsay; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 113.

[4] Horace, *Epist.* i. 7. 6.

[5] Seneca, *De beneficiis*, vi. 38. 4, "*Designatores et libitinarios*".

broom; the first smote the threshold with his axe, the second stabbed it with his javelin, and the third swept it with his broom. In these circumstances it was physically impossible for the deity to pass the doorway, and the newly delivered woman was consequently safe.[1]

The spelt and salt which the lictor used in purifying the house are also in favour of the view that the occasion of the purification was a death; for these were precisely the offerings made to the souls of the dead.[2] But they were also offered to the Penates,[3] and to the uncanny powers that made their presence felt by night.[4] Salt was a regular ingredient in the purificatory offerings of Greek ritual,[5] and we have seen that it is still used in Germany to purify a room after a death.[6]

II. 24. **The same name is given to the bough, which, cut from a pure tree, wreaths with its leaves the holy brows of priests.**—There is some doubt as to the particular sort of tree which Ovid here tells us was used to make wreaths for priests. From the mention of a twig of pine two lines below we might naturally infer that the tree was a pine, but the reading in that passage is somewhat doubtful. Wreaths of trees of various sorts, including particularly the laurel, the olive, and the myrtle, were worn by priests and other persons engaged in sacred rites,[7] but among the trees used for this purpose I do not remember to have met with the pine, though crowns made of pine-twigs were at certain times, not always, the reward of victors in the Isthmian games.[8] It has sometimes been thought that the tree was a laurel, because the doors of the flamens and of the Sacrificial King were decorated with laurel branches;[9] but it does not follow that their heads were so adorned. A twig of olive was attached to the pointed cap which the Flamen Dialis wore.[10] The Flaminica,

[1] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vi. 9.
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 535-538.
[3] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 23. 19-20.
[4] Tibullus, iii. 4. 9 *sq.*
[5] Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vii. 4, p. 843 ed. Potter; Theocritus, xxiv. 97.
[6] Above, p. 279.
[7] J. Köchling, *De coronarum apud antiquos vi atque usu* (Giessen, 1914), pp. 39 *sq.*
[8] Pausanias, viii. 48. 2; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, iii. 1240; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 36. See my note on Pausanius, ii. 1. 3 (vol. iii. p. 4).
[9] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 137-139.
[10] Festus, *s.v.* "Albogalerus", p. 9 ed. Lindsay.

the wife of the Flamen Dialis, had a twig of a lucky tree (*arbor felix*) attached to the blue or purple kerchief (*rica*) which she wore on her head at sacrifices ;[1] according to the accurate Servius, the twig was cut from a pomegranate tree and bent into the form of a bow or circle, the two ends being tied together with white wool.[2] It is possible that in the present passage of Ovid "a pure tree" is used in the general sense of a lucky one (*felix*) without reference to any particular species. According to Cato, lucky trees were those which bore fruit, unlucky trees were those which did not.[3] However, the pontiffs, who ought to know, drew a different distinction between lucky and unlucky trees according to the colour of the fruit they bore ; trees that bore white fruit were lucky, trees that bore black fruit were unlucky and devoted to the infernal gods. Thus a fig-tree was lucky or unlucky according as its figs were white or black. Hence blackberry bushes were used to burn any portentous and ill-omened objects or persons.[4] Thus when in the year 136 B.C. a maid-servant gave birth to a boy with four feet, four hands, four eyes, and four ears, the soothsayers directed that he should be burned, and burned he was and his ashes thrown into the sea.[5] Again, in the very next year an owl was heard to hoot on the Capitol and afterwards all about the city. A price was put on the head of the ill-omened bird, and a bird-catcher succeeded in catching it. The owl was burned and its ashes scattered on the Tiber.[6] We are not informed, but may safely conjecture, that wood of an unlucky tree was used to burn the unlucky boy and the unlucky owl. And when a man was hanged, it was naturally from the bough of an unlucky tree, or from a gallows made of its wood, that, with his head muffled up, he was swung off.[7]

If we were to adopt Heinsius's conjecture *spinea* for *pinea*

[1] Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 28. As to the *rica* see Festus, *s.v.* "Rica", pp. 368, 369 ed. Lindsay.

[2] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 137.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Felices", p. 81 ed. Lindsay. Compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 108.

[4] Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 20 (ii. 16). 2-3.

[5] Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 25, p. 158 ed. Rossbach.

[6] Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 26, p. 159 ed. Rossbach.

[7] Cicero, *Pro Rabirio*, 4. 13, "*Caput obnubito, arbori infelici suspendito*".

in line 28, and suppose that the twig of thorn (*spinea virga*) there referred to is identical with the bough mentioned in the present line, we should be driven to conclude that Roman priests wore crowns of thorns, which is very unlikely; for though thorns are potent to repel witches and other uncanny beings, as Ovid was well aware,[1] they are apt to wound the brows that wear them.

II. 30. **in the time of our unshorn forefathers.**—The ancient Romans wore their beards; the Romans of Ovid's time shaved them. Hence Roman poets of the Augustan age applied the epithet unshorn to the men of old to indicate their antiquity.[2] The fashion of clean-shaving was in full vogue still earlier in the time of Cicero and Julius Caesar, as we can see by the busts of these great men. Cicero speaks of "the bearded men" of ancient days.[3] It is said that barbers were first introduced into Italy from Sicily in 300 B.C., and that the first man to shave daily was Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal.[4]

II. 31. **the Luperci purify the ground with strips of hide.**—This quaint ceremony is discussed by Ovid later on in the present book.[5] According to Servius, the ancients applied the term *februum* to the goat's skin which the Luperci employed in their rites,[6] and Ovid seems to imply the same thing in this passage.

II. 33. **after that peace-offerings have been made at the graves.**—These offerings to the dead were among the most important rites observed in the month of February. Ovid describes them later on.[7]

II. 35. **Our sires believed that every sin and every cause of ill could be wiped out by rites of purgation. Greece set the example.**—In the following passage, as the examples cited by him prove, Ovid had chiefly in mind Greek rites of purification for homicide. Many instances of such rites occur in legends of the heroic age, but the custom seems

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 129, with the note, 165.
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 264 (applied to Numa); Horace, *Odes*, ii. 15. 11 (of Cato); Tibullus, ii. 1. 34.
[3] Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 8. 19, "*Unum aliquem te ex barbatis illis, exemplum imperii veteris, imaginem antiquitatis*".
[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 211.
[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 267 *sqq.*
[6] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 343.
[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 533 *sqq.*

for the most part to have died out in historical times. Elsewhere I have adduced evidence to show that these ceremonies are based on a conception of the ghost of the slain man as a powerful and angry spirit who seeks to take revenge on his slayer, but who can be kept off by rites which have the effect of interposing a sort of physical barrier between the slayer and the ghost.[1] The intention of the ceremonies was not at all to purify the homicide morally, but merely to preserve his life or his sanity, both of which were threatened by the attacks of his formidable, though invisible, enemy. The homicide was regularly banished from his own country, which he had polluted, and the ceremony of purification was performed for him by a foreigner in the foreign land in which he had sought refuge. Within historical times Adrastus, a member of the royal house of Phrygia, accidentally killed his brother, and being exiled by his father he fled to Croesus, who purified him. In recording the incident Herodotus tells us that the Lydian rites of purification resembled the Greek.[2] In Greek ritual the essential part of the ceremony was to hold a sucking pig over the homicide and to cut its throat, so that the blood dripped upon his hands ;[3] for it was the hands rather than the heart of the slayer which were deemed unclean,[4] and it was they which were purified by the blood of the pig. This form of purification is clearly depicted on Greek vases, from which we learn that the person who performed the ceremony held the little pig in his right hand and a branch of laurel in his left.[5] The laurel was regularly employed in ceremonies of purification ;[6] with a branch of it the officiant sprinkled water on the person who was to be purified.[7] In regard to all such rites, as I have observed elsewhere,[8] we may assume that the purification was originally

[1] *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 78 *sqq.* ; *Psyche's Task* [2], pp. 113 *sqq.* ; *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 165 *sqq.*

[2] Herodotus, i. 35.

[3] Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 280 *sqq.*, 448 *sqq.* ; Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 703-717, with the notes of the scholiast.

[4] Herodotus, i. 35, οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας (of the homicide Adrastus).

[5] See my note on Pausanias, ii. 31. 8 (vol. iii. pp. 276-279, where the evidence is collected) ; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 1116 *sq.*

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 138.

[7] Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* v. 8. 49, p. 674 ed. Potter.

[8] *Psyche's Task* [2], p. 117.

conceived as physical rather than as moral, as a sort of detergent which washed, swept, or scraped the ghostly or demoniacal pollution from the person of the ghost-haunted or demon-possessed man. In short, the purification was a form of exorcism. This interpretation is confirmed by a ceremony observed in Car Nicobar for the cure of a man who is supposed to be possessed by devils. He is rubbed all over with pig's blood and beaten with leaves; thus the devils are thought to be washed and swept off like flies from the body of the sufferer. The beating is administered by the exorcizer, who at every stroke calls out, "Here is a devil". The packets of leaves containing the devils are afterwards thrown into the sea.[1] Similarly the Greeks threw into the sea or a river the things, no doubt including the laurel boughs, that had been used in purification.[2]

But Greek homicides did not always wait to be protected against the ghosts of their victims by a ceremony of purification carried out in due form after a longer or shorter interval. For in the meantime the ghost might be exceedingly troublesome and dangerous. To guard against this contingency they sometimes took prompt measures to disable him from doing a mischief. For this purpose they cut off the extremities of the dead man's body and hung them about his armpits, "in order, so they say, that he may be too weak to avenge his murder"; further they licked up some of his spilt blood and spat thrice into his mouth.[3] The advantages of this procedure were twofold. By cutting off the hands and feet of his victim the murderer clearly prevented the ghost from striking him or running after him; for how could the ghost do so with nothing but stumps of arms and legs? And by licking some of the blood he formed a covenant of blood-

[1] V. Solomon, "Extracts from Diaries kept in Car Nicobar", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 227.

[2] Homer, *Il.* i. 313 *sq.*; Pausanias, viii. 41. 2; P. Stengel, *Die griechische Kultusaltertümer*[3], p. 163.

[3] Suidas, *s.v.* μασχαλισθῆναι; Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 477-479, with the note of the scholiast on line 477. The reason assigned for the custom is reported by Suidas. According to the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*l.c.*), the murderer hung the extremities of his victim about his own (?) neck; but the statement of Suidas that he hung them about the armpit (περὶ τὴν μασχάλην) of his victim is strongly confirmed by the name (μασχαλισθῆναι) of this barbarous procedure.

brotherhood with his victim, who was thus morally debarred from retaliating, even if he had been physically in a position to do so Thus the homicide could feel quite safe, and would hardly need to resort to the saving efficacy of pig's blood.

Numerous cases of purification for homicide are mentioned by Apollodorus in his convenient summary of the heroic legends of Greece.[1]

II. 39. **Peleus cleansed Actorides.**—Actorides is Patroclus, the friend and squire of Achilles. In his boyhood Patroclus killed a boy at a game of dice in his home at Opus, whereupon his father Menoetius took him to Peleus in Thessaly, who purified him from the homicide and brought him up in his house. Menoetius was a son of Actor ; hence Patroclus was called Actorides, that is, a scion of Actor.[2]

II. 39. **Acastus cleansed Peleus himself from the blood of Phocus.**—The story of the murder of Phocus was variously told by the ancients ; but generally it was said to have been committed by the brothers Peleus and Telamon either jointly or by one of them single-handed. According to some authors, the murderer was Telamon alone ; but the more generally received tradition, followed by Ovid here and in the *Metamorphoses*, laid the guilt at the door of Peleus.[3] Another version of the story had it that, after the murder, Peleus fled to the court of Eurytion, son of Actor in Phthia, and was purified by the king ; but afterwards, having accidentally killed Eurytion at the hunt of the Calydonian boar, he was again obliged to flee and this time took refuge with Acastus at Iolcus, who purified him for this involuntary homicide.[4] The purification of Peleus by Eury-

[1] See the Index to my edition of Apollodorus, vol. ii. p. 529, *s.v.* "Purification".

[2] Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 83-90 ; Apollodorus, iii. 13. 8 ; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 3. 73 *sq.* As to Actor, father of Menoetius, see Homer, *Il.* xi. 785 ; Apollodorus, i. 9. 16.

[3] Apollonius Rhodius, i. 90-94 ; Apollodorus, iii. 12. 6, iii. 13. 1-2 ; Diodorus Siculus, ii. 72. 6 *sq.* (who represents the death as accidental) ; Pausanias, ii. 29. 9 *sq.* ; Scholia on Pindar, *Nem.* v. 14 (25) ; Scholia on Euripides, *Andromache*, 687 ; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 14 ; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 38 ; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 25 ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175 (vol. i. pp. 444, 447 ed. Müller) ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 266-409 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14, p. 41 ed. Bunte ; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 113, vii. 344, xi. 281. Compare my note on Apollodorus, iii. 12. 6 (vol. ii. pp. 57-59), where I have noted the various versions of the story more fully.

[4] Apollodorus, iii. 13. 1-2 ; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1063 ; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 38.

tion (or Eurytus) for the murder of Phocus appears to have had the support of the old Attic mythographer Pherecydes,[1] and this version is accepted by Apollodorus, though not by Ovid.

II. 41. **Wafted through the void by bridled dragons, the Phasian witch received a welcome which she little deserved at the hands of the fond Aegeus.**—The Phasian witch is Medea, a native of Colchis, in which flowed the river Phasis. Aeetes, the father of Medea, dwelt at the mouth of the river.[2] When her husband Jason took a second wife, Glauce, at Corinth, the jealous Medea murdered the two sons she had by him and fled on a car drawn by winged dragons, which her grandfather the Sun had bestowed on her; thus she flew through the air to Athens, where Aegeus, the king, received and married her.[3] We are not told that Aegeus purified her for the murder, but Ovid clearly implies that he did so. However, according to another tradition, when Medea fled from Corinth for the murder of her rival Glauce, she left her sons for safety in the temple of Hera of the Height, but the Corinthians slew them on the altar or stoned them to death. To expiate this sacrilege the Corinthians long continued to offer annual sacrifices in honour of the murdered children; and seven boys and seven girls of the noblest families, clad in black and with their hair shorn, had to spend a year in the sanctuary of Hera of the Height, where the murder had been perpetrated. According to a scholiast on Euripides, these customs were observed down to his own time, but according to Pausanias they fell into disuse after Corinth was captured and destroyed by the Romans in 146 B.C.[4]

II. 43. **The son of Amphiaraus said to Naupactian Achelous "O rid me of my sin", and the other did rid him of his sin.**—Alcmaeon, son of Amphiaraus, murdered his mother Eriphyle, because she had betrayed his father to death for the sake of the golden necklace which Aphrodite had bestowed on Harmonia, wife of Cadmus, as a wedding gift. Pursued

[1] Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175 (vol. i. pp. 444 *sq.* ed. Müller).
[2] Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 399-403, 1260 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, i. 9. 23.
[3] Apollodorus, i. 9. 28; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 391-403; Hyginus, *Fab.* 25 *sq.*
[4] Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 264; Pausanias, ii. 3. 6-7; Apollodorus, i. 9. 28.

by the Furies of his murdered mother, who drove him mad, he wandered about till he came to the springs of the river Achelous. There the river-god purified him and gave him his daughter Calirrhoe to wife. So he took up his abode in the new land which the river had formed by its silt at the mouth.[1] According to a less mythical version of the story, Alcmaeon consulted the oracle at Delphi to learn how he could be rid of his madness, and the priestess told him that the only land whither the avenging spirit of his mother would not dog him was the newest land, which the sea had uncovered since the pollution of his mother's blood had been incurred. So he discovered the alluvial land formed by the Achelous and dwelt there.[2] Before he reached this haven of rest, he had blighted the ground under his feet;[3] for it seems to have been believed that foul and unnatural murder has the effect of making the earth barren.[4] The sad story of Alcmaeon was the theme of tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides.[5] In speaking of Naupactian Achelous our author is guilty of a geographical error; for Naupactus, a city of Ozolian Locris, was separated from the Achelous by more than the whole breadth of Aetolia.

II. 45. **Fond fools alack! to fancy murder's gruesome stain by river water could be washed away.**—In all parts of the world water has been employed as a common, perhaps the commonest, instrument of ceremonial purification. By a natural confusion of ideas physical cleansing is supposed to involve a riddance of what we might regard as moral guilt, but what to men at an earlier stage of culture wears the aspect of a spiritual danger created by ghosts or demons, who can be washed off or kept at bay by water. Thus, for example, in many parts of the world it is customary for persons who have been in contact with the dead at burial or otherwise to wash themselves or bathe immediately

[1] Apollodorus, iii. 6. 2, iii. 7. 5; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 5-7; Hyginus, *Fab.* 73. Of these writers only Apollodorus mentions the purification of Alcmaeon by Achelous.

[2] Pausanias, viii. 24. 7-8; Thucydides, ii. 102. 5-6.

[3] Apollodorus, iii. 7. 5.

[4] Compare Apollodorus, iii. 12. 6; Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 22 *sqq.*, 96 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 67; *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 82 *sqq.*

[5] *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Nauck², pp. 153 *sq.*, 379 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 68 *sqq.*

afterwards, apparently as a means of shaking off the ghost who may be following them or clinging to their persons. Even when mourners do not wash or bathe after a death, they often interpose water as a barrier between them and the ghost; thus in many parts of Germany, in modern Greece, and in Cyprus people still pour out water behind a corpse when it is carried from the house, in the belief that the ghost will not be able to cross it. In short, water has been employed both as a spiritual detergent and as a spiritual barrier.[1] The ancient Greeks, as Ovid here implies, made full use of water in ceremonies of purification. Sometimes the water of particular springs was employed for the purpose. Thus the matricide Orestes was purified with the water of a spring called Hippocrene at Troezen.[2] Near the Argive Heraeum there was a running stream of which the water was used in purifications by the women who ministered in the sanctuary.[3] But sea-water was also employed in purifications. Euripides puts in the mouth of Iphigenia the saying that "the sea washes away all ills of men".[4] Persons who were being purified for homicide washed their garments in twice seven waves.[5] In Cos the priest purified himself with sea-water.[6] In Ceos on the day after a funeral the house was sprinkled with sea-water.[7] We read of women of Tanagra who went down to the sea to be purified before the orgies of Dionysus,[8] and there is some ground for thinking that at Eleusis the initiated bathed in the sea or in the salt pools called Rhiti.[9]

II. 48. **the month of Janus was of old the first, even**

[1] J. G. Frazer, "On certain Burial Customs as illustrative of the primitive theory of the Soul", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv. (1886) pp. 77 *sqq*. The evidence there collected might be multiplied almost indefinitely. For the barrier of water see further E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, und Tod* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1911), pp. 85 *sqq*.

[2] Pausanias, ii. 31. 9.

[3] Pausanias, ii. 17. 1.

[4] Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1191–1193.

[5] Suidas, *s.v.* ἀπὸ δὶς ἑπτὰ κυμάτων.

[6] W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos* (Oxford, 1891), No. 38.

[7] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 1218; P. Cauer, *Delectus Inscriptionum Graecarum*[2], No. 530. However, the reading is uncertain. Koehler would supply θαλ[λοῖσ]ι instead of θαλ[άσση]ι.

[8] Pausanias, ix. 20. 4.

[9] Aug. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 214 *sq*.

as now it is.—In this passage (lines 47-54) Ovid affirms that originally the month of Janus, that is, January, was the first and February the last month of the year, but that the Decemvirs brought together the two months which had till then been separated by a long interval, namely, of ten months. He apparently implies that the Decemvirs inverted the order of the two months, so that ever since February had followed January instead of preceding it. This strange statement is not supported or explained by any ancient authors and has puzzled modern chronologers. It is true that in the old Roman year February was the last month, but then the first month was not January but March, as Ovid himself had clearly affirmed in an earlier passage of his work.[1] Apparently we must conclude with Ideler that in the present passage, oblivious of what he had written before, Ovid fell into the mistake of thinking that the month of Janus (January) must always have been at the beginning of the year because Janus was the god of beginnings.[2]

II. 50. **Thy rites, too, O Terminus, formed the close of all the sacred year.**—The festival of Terminus (the Terminalia) fell on February 23 : Ovid discusses it later on in this book.[3] The intercalary month was regularly inserted after the Terminalia.[4]

II. 53. **Afterwards the Decemvirs are believed to have joined together times which had been parted by a long interval.**—As I have already indicated, Ovid seems to have supposed that in the old Roman year January was the first month and February the last, so that they were separated by the "long interval" of the ten intermediate months ; but the Decemvirs, on his view, brought the months together by making February to follow January immediately within the same year instead of immediately preceding it in the past year. The passage was differently interpreted by the learned editor Merkel, who supposed, if I understand him aright, that the "times which had been parted by a long interval" were the last day of February and

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 39, with the note.

[2] L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 53.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 639 *sqq*.

[4] See above, note on *Fasti*, i. 43, pp. 37 *sqq*.

the first of March, which had been separated by a whole month when January followed February, but which were made consecutive when the Decemvirs inverted the order of the two months by placing January before February.[1]

An entirely different explanation of the present passage of Ovid has been suggested by the chronologer, Ph. E. Huschke. To render it intelligible it is necessary to make some preliminary observations. Apart from the present dubious statement of Ovid, all that we know definitely as to the measures adopted by the Decemvirs for the regulation of the calendar is contained in a brief notice of Macrobius.[2] Discussing the question when the Romans introduced the practice of intercalation, he tells us that Roman historians variously referred the introduction of the reform to Romulus, to Numa, and to Servius Tullius, but that Tuditanus in the third book of his treatise *On Magistrates* affirmed that the Decemvirs, who added two tables to the ten tables of the laws (in 450 B.C.), made a motion to the people concerning intercalation, and that Cassius described them as the authors or originators of the practice of intercalating. However Fulvius, he goes on, says that the practice was introduced by Manius Acilius in his consulship (191 B.C.); but he is refuted by Varro, who quotes a very ancient law engraved on a bronze column in the consulship of L. Pinarius and Furius (472 B.C.), for in that law mention is made of intercalation. So much for the evidence of Macrobius. According to Plutarch,[3] the first who attempted to harmonize the solar and the lunar years was Numa. Calculating the lunar year at 354 days and the solar at 365, and consequently reckoning the excess of the solar over the lunar year at eleven days, he equated the two years by doubling the eleven days and inserting the twenty-two days as an intercalary month every second year in the month of February. But Macrobius and the accurate Censorinus inform us that the intercalary month did not uniformly consist of twenty-two days but of twenty-two and twenty-three days alternately, and that it was inserted after

[1] R. Merkel, "De obscuris Ovidii Fastorum", p. lxxviii (prefixed to his edition of the *Fasti*, Berlin, 1841). His words are: "*Scilicet* tempora *vers. 54 sunt dies prid. Kl' Febr. et Kal. Mart.*, spatium *vers. 53 est menstruum*".

[2] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 20-21.

[3] Plutarch, *Numa*, 17.

the festival of the Terminalia, which fell on February 23, and before the Flight of the King (*Regifugium*), which fell on February 24.[1] Varro adds the further detail, that the five days of February, which followed the intercalary month of 22 or 23 days, were not reckoned to February but to the intercalary month, which consequently comprised 27 or 28 days alternately.[2]

Now for Huschke's explanation of the present passage of Ovid. A crucial question is, what are, in lines 53-54, the "times which had been parted by a long interval"? If we suppose, as seems to be commonly done, that they are the months of January and February, it is difficult to see how the Decemvirs could be said to have joined them together, since the two months always came together, formerly as the two last and afterwards as the two first months of the year. Huschke supposes that Numa, instead of intercalating a month of twenty-two or twenty-three days every second year, intercalated eleven or twelve days every year, and that the Decemvirs altered this arrangement by intercalating a month of twenty-two or twenty-three days every second year instead of intercalating eleven or twelve days every year. Thus he might be said to have joined together the two intercalary periods (*tempora*) which till then had been separated by an interval of a whole year (*spatio distantia longo*).[3] This ingenious interpretation certainly gives a clear and definite meaning to Ovid's statement as to the change introduced by the Decemvirs, but it is open to serious objections. For, in the first place, there seems to be no positive evidence that the Romans ever attempted to bring the lunar year into harmony with the solar year by intercalating eleven or twelve days every year ;[4] and, in the second place, neither here nor elsewhere does Ovid expressly refer to intercalation. It is unfortunate that we are so ill informed as to the legislation of the Decemvirs concerning intercalation. The eminent

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 15, 20, and 21 ; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 6.

[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 13. Compare L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 57-59.

[3] P. E. Huschke, *Das alte Römische Jahr und seine Tage* (Breslau, 1869), pp. 52-58.

[4] In a former passage (note on *Fasti*, i. 43, pp. 42 *sqq.*) I have adduced some reasons for thinking that in former times the Romans did practise this very system of intercalation, but the view is not supported by any historical testimony.

chronologer, L. Ideler, believed that the Roman year continued to be purely lunar down to the time of the Decemvirs, who were the first to reconcile it approximately to the solar year by intercalating a month of twenty-two or twenty-three days every second year.[1] On the other hand Cicero ascribed the institution, or at all events the skilful use, of intercalation to the wise King Numa,[2] who in the legislative history of ancient Rome occupied something of the same position that Moses occupied in the legislative history or tradition of ancient Israel.

II. 55. **At the beginning of the month Saviour (Sospita) Juno, the neighbour of the Phrygian Mother Goddess, is said to have been honoured with new shrines.**—Though in this and the following lines Ovid speaks of shrines and temples, we may safely assume that he is referring to a single temple, for he never hesitates to employ the plural "temples" (*templa*) in a singular sense wherever it suits the metre to do so.[3] Under the title of Saviour (*Sospes* or, in the older form, *Sispes* [4]) Juno was especially worshipped at Lanuvium in Latium. There her image was that of a woman clad in a goatskin, with the animal's head and horns drawn over her head to form a helmet; she wore shoes turned up at the toes, and was armed with spear and shield. In this quaint attire she is represented on coins of the Republican period and of the Emperors Antoninus Pius and Commodus, both of whom were born near Lanuvium. She is also similarly portrayed in statues and reliefs of the Imperial age.[5] The best known and most instructive type

[1] L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 66 *sq.*

[2] Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 12. 29.

[3] See for example *Fasti*, iii. 704 "*et tenet in magno templa dicata foro*", where *templa* refers to the temple of Julius Caesar in the Forum. For more examples see note on *Fasti*, v. 1 (Vol. IV. p. 2).

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Sispitem," p. 462 ed. Lindsay, "*Sispetem Iunonem, quam vulgo sospitem appellant, antiqui usurpabant, cum ea vox ex Graeco videatur sumpta, quod est σώζειν*". An inscription found at Lanuvium contains a dedication to Holy (*sanctus*) Hercules and Saviour (*Sispes*) Juno. See H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 9246. The form *Seispis* is also known from an inscription found at Lanuvium, which contains a dedication to Saviour (*Seispis*) Juno, Mother and Queen. See H. Dessau, *op. cit.* No. 3097.

[5] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, i. 29. 82; E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 434 *sq.*, ii. 223, 280, 283, 386, 402, 488; J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, iii. 160-164; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*

of the goddess in this form is a colossal marble statue in the Vatican, which may belong to the time of Antoninus Pius, who, as a native of Lanuvium, was especially devoted to the worship of Saviour Juno and celebrated her on his coins. In this remarkable statue the goatskin is not only drawn over the head of the goddess: she is clad in it as in a garment: the skin hangs down her back: its fore feet are knotted on her breast and the hind feet hang down on either side of her below the knees.[1] On a bronze plate, which formed part of the foot of a candelabra, Juno is similarly portrayed with the horned head of the goat drawn over her head, its fore feet hanging on her breast, and its hind feet dangling at her ankles. On another bronze plate, which belonged to the same candelabra, Hercules is in like manner portrayed with the lion's skin drawn over his head, its fore paws hanging over his breast, its hind paws dangling at his legs, and its tail trailing at his heels.[2] The same curious collocation of Juno in her goat-skin and Hercules in his lion-skin occurs on an archaic amphora from Cervetri, now in the British Museum, and it appears also on a gold ring, and on a small bronze ornament of Etruscan workmanship.[3] In the skin-clad goddess and the skin-clad hero the advocates of totemism might be disposed to discover relics of a goat-totem and a lion-totem. But indications of totemism among the ancient Greeks and Romans are too scanty and uncertain to allow us to lay much weight upon them.

In the sacred grove of Saviour Juno at Lanuvium there was a cave or deep hole in which lived a serpent. Every year on certain days girls brought offerings of barley cakes to the creature. When they entered the grove, they were

der Römer[2], pp. 188 *sq.*; Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs. van Buren), "Juno Sospita of Lanuvium", *Journal of Roman Studies*, iii. (1913) pp. 61-72.

[1] Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, ii. Plate v. fig. 63*a*; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 763 *sq.*, with fig. 818; J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, iii. 161-163; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3], i. p. 200, No. 301; W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 606.

[2] Müller-Wiesler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, Part I. Plate lix. fig. 299*b*, 299*c*, with text, p. 62; J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, iii. 163 *sq.*; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 763 *sq.*

[3] R. Peter, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. coll. 2261 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Hercules"; Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs. van Buren), "Juno Sospita of Lanuvium", *Journal of Roman Studies*, iii. (1913) pp. 64 *sq.*

blindfolded; nevertheless, guided by divine inspiration, they walked straight to the serpent's den and offered him the cakes. If he accepted them, it was a sign that they were pure virgins, and the farmers prognosticated abundant crops that year. But if the girls were not virgins, the virtuous serpent left their offerings untouched, and ants came and carried the cakes out of the grove, thus cleansing the holy place from the defilement it had contracted. On their return from the sacred grove true virgins were received with joy by their parents, but false virgins were punished according to the law.[1] On coins of the Procilian family the image of Saviour Juno, with her characteristic headpiece, spear, and shield, is represented with a snake standing erect in front of her.[2] No doubt the snake is her sacred and oracular serpent; it appears also beside the goddess on Roman gems.[3] Since good crops were believed to be a consequence of the chastity of the girls,[4] we may safely infer that their unchastity was supposed to spoil the harvest. This accords with a widespread belief that sexual immorality, whether in the form of adultery, fornication, or incest, blights the crops and renders the earth barren. Pig's blood is deemed a powerful remedy to restore the fertility of the soil; but the guilty pair are often punished with death. Such views and practices are particularly common in the Malay Archipelago, but they also occur in some parts of Africa.[5] We do not know what the punishment was which overtook the unfaithful virgins at Lanuvium;[6] at some time or other they may, like the unfaithful Vestals at Rome, have been buried alive. In both cases the intention was perhaps to surrender to Mother Earth the criminals who had blasted the ground by their sin.

In 197 B.C. the consul C. Cornelius, in a battle with the Insubrian Gauls, vowed to build a temple for Saviour Juno

[1] Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xi. 16; Propertius, v. (iv.) 8. 3-14.

[2] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. 386.

[3] *Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by Sir J. E. Sandys[3], p. 584.

[4] Propertius, v. (iv.) 8. 13-14, "*Si fuerint castae, redeunt in colla parentum,* | *clamantque agricolae,* '*Fertilis annus erit*'".

[5] I have collected evidence in *Psyche's Task*[2], pp. 44 *sqq.*

[6] All that Aelian says is that the unfaithful virgin was punished according to the law (ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ νόμου κολάζεται τιμωρίαις, *De Natura Animalium*, xi. 16).

if he should succeed in putting the enemy to flight.[1] Victory crowned his arms, and three years later (in 194 B.C.) he paid his vow by dedicating a temple to Juno in the Vegetable Market (*forum holitorium*).[2] But the Vegetable Market, where vegetables were sold in plenty,[3] was the most northerly of the Roman markets, lying outside that part of the wall of Servius which ran from the Capitol to the Tiber. It was divided by the wall of Servius from the Cattle Market (*forum boarium*), which lay to the south of it. Access from one to the other was afforded by the River Gate (*Porta Flumentana*) and the Carmental Gate. The Vegetable Market appears to have covered the ground from the present Piazza Montanara on the north to the Church of S. Nicola in Carcere on the south. Considerable remains of the travertine pavement of the ancient market-place have been found between these two points ; they extend for a length of about a hundred yards. Towards the southern end of the market-place, and on the western side of it, stood three temples, built close together and parallel to each other, all three facing to the east. Parts of the three are indicated on a fragment of the ancient Marble Plan of the city, and remains of all three are built into the Church of S. Nicola in Carcere. The central and largest temple was of the Ionic order, measuring about 100 feet long by 33 feet wide. It had six columns in front and was surrounded by a colonnade. Four of the columns and a part of the wall are standing, all built of travertine. The northern of the three temples was also of the Ionic order, with six columns on the front and surrounded by a colonnade except at the back. Seven of its columns are standing. The southern and smallest of the three temples had also six columns in front and was completely surrounded by a colonnade: five of its columns are still standing. It and the northern temple are built partly of travertine and partly of peperino. There are no traces of marble except

[1] Livy, xxxii. 30. 10, "*Consul principio pugnae vovit aedem Sospitae Iunoni*".

[2] Livy, xxxiv. 53. 3, where for *Iunonis Matutae* we should probably read *Iunonis Sospitae* or *Sispitae*, whether *Matutae* is a fault of the scribe or of the historian himself. The form *Iuno Sispeta* is attested by coins of Antoninus Pius and Commodus. See J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, iii. 161.

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 146.

in late restorations. Hence all three temples probably belong to the Republican period.[1]

With regard to the identification of the three temples, which in the absence of inscriptions can be only conjectural, the central and largest temple is believed to be that of Hope (*Spes*), which was dedicated by Aulus Atilius Calatinus during the First Punic War (about the middle of the third century B.C.).[2] We know from Livy that the temple of Hope stood in the Vegetable Market; at the opening of the Second Punic War, when Hannibal was on the march for Italy, the temple was struck by lightning, which the Romans took for an evil omen.[3] The temple was burnt down in 213 B.C., but was restored in the following year.[4] It was again burnt in 31 B.C.,[5] and again restored by Germanicus in A.D. 17.[6]

The most northerly of the three temples is thought to have been the temple of Janus, which was built by the famous admiral C. Duilius, the Roman Nelson, in the First Punic War. It was restored by Augustus and dedicated afresh by Tiberius in A.D. 17.[7] The day of the original dedication was August 17, the festival of the Portunalia.[8]

The most southerly and smallest of the three temples is believed to be the temple of Saviour Juno mentioned by Ovid in the present passage. It is true that according to Ovid the temple stood beside that of the Phrygian Mother Goddess, which was not in the Vegetable Market but on the Palatine;[9] but there is no evidence that there were two temples of Saviour Juno at Rome. Hence it has been inferred that Ovid was mistaken, and it has been suggested that he con-

[1] J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 197-199; R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 513 *sqq.*; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 192-194; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 507-514; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 389-392; L. Homo, *La Rome antique*, pp. 211-215. See also note on *Fasti*, i. 257 (above, pp. 125-127).

[2] Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 11. 28; *id.*, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 23. 61 (where apparently we should read *Spes* for the *Fides* of the MSS.); Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 49.

[3] Livy, xxi. 62. 4.

[4] Livy, xxv. 7. 6.

[5] Dio Cassius, l. 10. 3.

[6] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 49.

[7] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 49. See note on *Fasti*, i. 257.

[8] *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 325; Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 15.

[9] Livy, xxix. 37. 2, xxxvi. 36. 3-4. See note on *Fasti*, iv. 347 (Vol. III. pp. 249 *sqq.*).

founded the Phrygian Mother Goddess with Mother Matuta, who had a temple inside the Carmental Gate and therefore near the Vegetable Market.[1] On the other hand it is to be observed that the temple of Saviour Juno to which Ovid refers had vanished before his day; he says expressly that it had tumbled down with the long lapse of time. But if the smallest of the three temples in the Vegetable Market is indeed, as modern scholars think, the temple of Saviour Juno, it can hardly have vanished in Ovid's time, since not inconsiderable remains of it, including five standing columns, of the Republican period exist to this day. Hence we must reckon with the possibility that Ovid had access to a tradition, otherwise lost to us, of a temple of Saviour Juno on the Palatine side by side with that of the Phrygian Mother Goddess.

In the year 90 B.C. a certain lady named Caecilia Metella dreamed that the temple of Saviour Juno was foully polluted, and that a bitch had actually made a lair for herself and her litter under the very image of the goddess. She reported her dream to the Senate, and by the orders of that august body the consul L. Julius Caesar restored the sacred edifice to its pristine splendour.[2] It is probable, though not certain, that the temple so restored was the one in the Vegetable Market at Rome; had it been the one at Lanuvium, our authorities would naturally have mentioned it. Thus when Julius Obsequens, in his collection of prodigies, records that the sensitive statue of Saviour Juno wept, and that drops of blood were seen in her temple, he takes care to mention that these portents took place at Lanuvium.[3]

II. 60. **the far-seeing care of our sacred chief, under whom the shrines feel not the touch of eld.**—In these lines Ovid pays a compliment to Augustus, who prided himself on the care with which he repaired and restored the temples that through lapse of time had fallen into decay and ruins. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* the Emperor himself

[1] Livy, xxiv. 47. 15, xxv. 7. 6. The explanation of Ovid's supposed mistake was suggested by Wissowa and accepted by Huelsen. See G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 188 n.[9]; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 46 n. [31a].

[2] Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 2. 4, i. 44. 99; Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 55, pp. 171 *sq.* ed. Rossbach.

[3] Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 6 and 46, pp. 152, 167 ed. Rossbach.

enumerates the shrines and sanctuaries which he had built or restored.[1] Hence Livy calls Augustus "the founder and restorer of all temples",[2] a phrase which Ovid almost verbally repeats in line 63. To the same effect Suetonius observes that Augustus "restored the temples that had fallen into ruins through age or had been consumed by fire".[3]

II. 67. **Then, too, the grove of Helernus is thronged with worshippers.**—From a later reference which Ovid makes to this grove beside the Tiber we gather that Helernus was an ancient deity to whom the pontiffs offered sacrifices;[4] otherwise nothing is known for certain about him. Wissowa conjectures that he was a god of the underworld, and this conjecture would be confirmed if we accept a probable emendation of a gloss in Festus, from which it appears that a black ox was sacrificed to him.[5]

II. 69. **At Numa's sanctuary.**—By this the poet means the temple of Vesta, which he believed to have been formerly included in the house of King Numa.[6] The view that the hearth of Vesta, with its eternal fire, was originally the hearth of the king's house, is probably correct.[7]

II. 69. **at the Thunderer's fane upon the Capitol.**—Once, when Augustus was marching by night in Spain against the Cantabrian mountaineers, a flash of lightning grazed the litter in which he rode and killed the slave who was carrying a torch in front of him. In gratitude for this narrow escape the Emperor dedicated a temple to Thundering Jupiter on the Capitol.[8] The foundation of the temple is recorded by Augustus himself in the *Monumentum Ancy-*

[1] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 1-8, p. 91 ed. Hardy, pp. 22-26 ed. Diehl[4].
[2] Livy, iv. 20. 7, "*Templorum omnium conditorem ac restitutorem*".
[3] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 30. 2.
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 104 *sq.*
[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Furvum", p. 83 ed. Lindsay, "*Furvum bovem, id est nigrum, immolabant Eterno*", where we should probably read *Elerno* with Merkel rather than *Aterno* with Müller and Lindsay. See Merkel's edition of the *Fasti* (Berlin, 1841), pp. cxlviii *sq.*; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 236; W. F. Otto, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. lxiv. (1909) p. 464.
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 264 *sq.*, *Tristia*, iii. 1. 29 *sq.* Compare Solinus, i. 21, who says that Numa dwelt at first on the Quirinal, but afterwards in the king's house (*regia*) beside the temple of Vesta.
[7] See below, note on *Fasti*, vi. 257, Vol. IV. pp. 181 *sqq.*
[8] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29. 3.

ranum;[1] it was dedicated on the first of September 22 B.C.[2] It is said that while the dedicatory service was proceeding, the thunder pealed, as if to signify the Sky-god's approval of the foundation.[3] After the dedication the Emperor often visited it; once in a dream Capitoline Jupiter appeared to him and complained that his worshippers were drawn away by the attractions of the new temple. To pacify the irate deity Augustus pleaded that Thundering Jupiter was installed there only as a doorkeeper to Capitoline Jupiter, and to carry out the idea he caused a bell to be fastened to the gable of the temple, like the bells at house-doors, so that when a worshipper came to pay his respects to the deity he had only to ring the bell and inquire whether the god was at home.[4] The anecdote is instructive, for it shows how easy it is to multiply deities by the simple process of multiplying the epithets applied to them; for though Thundering Jupiter was merely Capitoline Jupiter viewed in one of his aspects, he clearly showed signs of developing into a distinct and even rival deity, and thus naturally excited the jealousy of the good old original Sky-god, who feared to be superseded by the upstart. The temple of Thundering Jupiter is represented on coins of Augustus; it has six columns in front with the image of the god standing in the middle.[5]

II. 71. **Often, muffled in clouds, the South Wind brings up heavy rains.**—Columella noted that on the first of February the South Wind sometimes blew and hail fell.[6] Similarly he noted rain and South Wind on January sixteenth and twenty-eighth.[7] The South Wind (*Auster*) was indeed notoriously a rainy wind.[8] However, in the present passage the reading is doubtful. See the Critical Note.

[1] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 5, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 24 ed. Diehl[4].
[2] Dio Cassius, liv. 4. 2; *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 328.
[3] Dio Cassius, liv. 4. 2.
[4] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 91. 2; Dio Cassius, liv. 4. 2-4. According to Dio Cassius, the idea of attaching a bell to the temple was not so much to make the Thunderer a hall-porter as a sentinel or watchman, because sentinels and watchmen carried bells on their rounds.
[5] H. Cohen, *Description historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain*, i. (Paris, 1880) p. 88, Nos. 178-180.
[6] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 14.
[7] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 4 and 5.
[8] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 418 and 462; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 66, ii. 853.

II. 75. **some one that night, looking up at the stars, shall say, "Where is to-day the Lyre, which yesterday shone bright?"**—Thus Ovid here dates the evening setting of the constellation of the Lyre on February 2. In an earlier passage of his work he had dated it on January 23.[1] Both dates, as we have seen, are wrong.[2]

II. 77. **And while he seeks the Lyre, he will mark that the back of the Lion also has of a sudden plunged into the watery waste.**—Ovid appears to suppose that the constellations of the Lyre and the Lion set at evening on the same day, namely, on the second of February. Columella says that "the whole of the Lyre and the middle of the Lion" set on the third of February.[3] This statement refers to the evening setting of the Lyre and the morning setting of the Lion. Ovid and Columella may have drawn their information from the same source, which may have been Caesar's calendar, though Ovid dates the setting a day earlier than Columella. What star is meant by "the middle of the Lion" and "the back of the Lion" is uncertain. Ideler conjectured that in the original source, on which both Ovid and Columella drew, the star in question was designated simply as "the middle of the Lion", and that it was no other than the bright star in the heart of the Lion to which the poet has already referred.[4] In the poet's time the star set in the morning twilight on February 6, so that he was only four days out in his reckoning. "The back of the Lion" would thus be a poetical embellishment or blunder for "the heart of the Lion".[5]

II. 79. **The Dolphin, which of late thou didst see fretted with stars, will on the next night escape thy gaze.**—Thus Ovid dates the evening setting of the constellation of the Dolphin on the third of February. According to Columella, the Dolphin began to set on January 30.[6] The statements

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 653-654.

[2] See note on *Fasti* i. 653 (above, p. 253).

[3] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 14, "*III. Nonas Feb. Fidis tota et Leo medius occidit*".

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 655 *sq.*, with the note.

[5] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der historisch-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 156 *sq.*

[6] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 5.

of Ovid and Columella are approximately true, for the true setting of the constellation at evening took place on the second of February.[1] On this point Pliny was much less exact, for he dated the evening setting of the Dolphin on the eighth of January.[2]

II. 81. **because he was a lucky go-between in love's intrigues.**—When the sea-god Poseidon (Neptune) fell in love with the sea-goddess Amphitrite and wished to take her to wife, the shy goddess fled away to Atlas, and the sea-nymphs hid themselves. But the ardent lover, not to be baulked, sent out many wooers to seek and bring back the reluctant fair. Amongst these messengers of love was the dolphin ; and he, roaming about the Atlantic isles, discovered Amphitrite and persuaded her to return with him to Poseidon. For this service Poseidon accorded the highest honours of the sea to the dolphin ; he pronounced him sacred and set his image in the sky, where it shines as the constellation called the Dolphin.[3]

II. 82. **or because he carried the Lesbian lyre and the lyre's master.**—Another myth told to account for the constellation of the Dolphin was that a dolphin had taken on its back and brought safe to land the Lesbian musician (" the lyre's master ") Arion, when he was cast into the sea by the sailors, who would have robbed him of the wealth he had amassed by his mastery of the lyre. The story is told by Herodotus, from whom Ovid has borrowed it.[4] According to yet another account, the constellation of the Dolphin was set in the sky to commemorate the escape of Dionysus from the Tyrrhenian pirates, who had plotted against the god, but had been by him driven overboard and transformed into dolphins.[5] The dolphin is said to have landed Arion at Taenarum, and there a small bronze group represented the creature with the minstrel on its back ; it was seen by Pausanias in the second century of our era.[6] In the later days

[1] Ideler, *op. cit.* p. 148. [2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 235.

[3] Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 31 ; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 17 ; Scholiast on Germanicus, *Aratea*, 324, p. 424 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

[4] Herodotus, i. 23-24 ; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 17.

[5] Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 17. As to Dionysus and the pirates see *Homeric Hymns*, VII. *To Dionysus.*

[6] Herodotus, i. 24 ; Pausanias, iii. 25. 7.

of antiquity stories were told of dolphins which suffered boys to ride on them in the sea; the sober Pausanias even affirms that he himself saw this marvel at Poroselene, an island near Lesbos.[1] Similar tales of drowning persons brought to land by dolphins were told of Melicertes and Phalanthus.[2]

In Sainte-Marie de Madagascar, an island off the east coast of Madagascar, a story is told of a fisherman who once landed in an island where there were none but women. An old woman took him into her hut and kept him there. But the thing got wind, and the other women came and asked the old woman, "Did not a man take refuge with you?" "No," said the old woman. Next day the same thing happened; and the fisherman, hidden in a corner of the hut, heard all that was said; so he feared that some evil would befall him if he were discovered. One morning, as he walked on the shore of the sea, he perceived in a solitary place a huge fish: it was a dolphin. "Take me hence," said the fisherman to the fish; "I am not safe here". "Willingly", said the dolphin, "but go and fetch some provender for the voyage". The man took some rice from the hut of the old woman, returned to the beach, and set off with the dolphin. The dolphin landed him on the island called Nosy-Borahy (Saint-Marie de Madagascar). Probably the island was called after the fisherman, for they say that his name was Borahy. His descendants still inhabit the island. To thank the dolphin for the service it rendered their first ancestor they never hunt dolphins, never kill them, and never eat their flesh.[3]

II. 89. **at peace the chattering crow has sat with Pallas' bird.**—The bird of Pallas Athena was the owl, which accordingly figures constantly as her symbol on coins, vases, and other monuments of Athens.[4] Hence "an owl to Athens" was a proverb like our "coals to Newcastle", signifying the sending of something to a place where it already abounded. In explaining the proverb a scholiast on

[1] Pausanias, iii. 25. 7; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, ii. 6; Aulus Gellius, vi. (vii.) 8; Pliny, *Epist.* ix. 33.

[2] Pausanias, i. 44. 8, x. 13. 10.

[3] G. Ferrand, *Contes populaires malgaches* (Paris, 1893), pp. 145-146.

[4] Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 194.

Aristophanes remarks that "an owl to Athens" was like "corn to Egypt" or "saffron to Cilicia". He adds that the Athenians impressed the image of an owl both on their silver and on their copper coins, but he thought that the proverb referred rather to the bird itself than to its image on the coins.[1] On the other hand there was enmity between Athena and the crow, because the crow had brought her bad tidings, and she had forbidden the bird ever to alight on her great sanctuary, the Acropolis at Athens.[2] Hence it is said that crows did not perch on the Acropolis, and that between the rising of Arcturus and the arrival of the swallows the crow is rarely seen at any of the sanctuaries of Athena.[3] When the Athenians were fitting out their fleet for the fatal expedition against Syracuse, an innumerable flock of crows flew to Delphi and picked the gold from the image of Athena which the Athenians had dedicated as a trophy of their signal victory over the Persians at the Eurymedon;[4] and while the great Athenian armament was perishing under the walls of Syracuse, crows pecked at the shield of Athena's ancient image at Delphi.[5] Thus the crow and the owl were enemies of each other; the owl harried the crow's eggs by night, and the crow returned the compliment to the owl's eggs by day.[6] So crows and owls were perpetually at war.[7] The opposition between the birds is also implied in the ancient Greek proverb, "The voice of the owl is one thing, and the voice of the crow is another".[8] The idea of the enmity between the crow and the owl is not confined to Greece, but appears in the literature of India and Cambodia. In the *Panchatantra* we read how the king of the crows lived with his people the crows in a great shady fig-tree, and how the king of the owls lived with his people the owls in a cavern which was his castle. Every night the king of the

[1] Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 237; Diogenianus, *Cent.* ii. 13; Gregorius Cyprius, *Cent.* ii. 11 and *Cod. Mosq. Cent.* ii. 64; Apostolius, *Cent.* v. 46; Zenobius, *Cent.* iii. 6; Diogenianus, *Cent.* iii. 81.

[2] Antigonus Carystius, *Histor. Mirab.* 12.

[3] Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* v. 8; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 30.

[4] Pausanias, x. 15. 4-5.

[5] Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 8.

[6] Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* iii. 9; Antigonus Carystius, *Histor. Mirab.* 57 (62).

[7] Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* v. 48.

[8] Zenobius, i. 69; Diogenianus, ii. 16; Gregorius Cyprius, i. 39; Apostolius, ii. 32; *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Gaisford, p. 10, No. 97.

owls used to come prowling round the fig-tree, snatching away and killing every crow he could catch, till all were gone.[1] Thus we can better understand the entrancing effect of Arion's music if, as Ovid tells us, owls and crows could listen to it in rapt attention without flying at each other.

The epithet "chattering" which the poet here applies to the crow seems to allude to a story told about the raven. It is said that when Coronis, a damsel beloved by Apollo, proved false to her divine lover, tidings of her infidelity were officiously carried by the raven to Apollo, who in his anger turned the bird jet black, whereas up to that time the plumage of the raven had been as white as driven snow. Ovid has himself told the story of the raven's unseasonable loquacity and called the bird a chatterer.[2]

II. 91. **Cynthia oft hath stood entranced.**—Diana (Artemis) was often called Cynthia after Cynthus, a bare, rugged mountain, or rather low hill, in her native island of Delos.[3]

II. 95. **Thence wending homewards, he took ship.**—Arion had been travelling about in Sicily and Italy ("the Ausonian land"), where he earned large sums by his musical talent. At Tarentum he hired a ship manned by Corinthian sailors to convey him home to his native town, Methymna in Lesbos. It was on this voyage, and apparently when the ship was off Taenarum in Laconia, that the minstrel had his famous adventure.[4]

II. 109. **Such notes as the swan chants in mournful numbers.**—The ancients thought that the swan sang with peculiar sweetness at the point of death.[5]

II. 118. **and bade him have nine stars.**—The nine stars in the constellation of the Dolphin were thought to point to

[1] Th. Benfey, *Pantschatantra* (Leipzig, 1859), i. 334 *sqq.*, ii. 213. Compare Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India* (London, 1883), p. 329; A. Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien* (Leipzig and Jena, 1866–1871), iv. 337.

[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 531-632. Compare Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 40; Apollodorus, iii. 10. 3; Scholiast on Pindar, iii. 48 (Boeckh).

[3] Strabo, x. 5. 2, p. 485; compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 221, vi. 204; C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland* (Leipzig, 1862–1872), ii. 452. For Cynthia as a title of Diana see below, line 159; *Metamorph.* ii. 465, vii. 755, xv. 537; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 28. 12.

[4] Herodotus, i. 24.

[5] Cicero, *Tuscul. Disput.* i. 30. 73; Ovid, *Heroides*, vii. 1-2.

the musical taste of dolphins, since nine is the number of the Muses.[1]

II. 119. **that soul of thine, Maeonides, which glorified Achilles.**—By Maeonides our author means Homer, who glorified Achilles in the *Iliad*. Homer was called Maeonides either because he was a native of Lydia, of which an ancient name was Maeonia,[2] or because, according to a common tradition, the name of his father was Maeon.[3] The historian Ephorus reported that Homer was a fellow townsman of his, having been born at Cyme in Aeolis, and that his father was a certain Maeon, also of Cyme, who seduced his niece Critheis and got her with child, and that going to wash clothes at the river Meles the damsel gave birth to Homer ; hence the poet was called Melesigenes, a name which he afterwards exchanged for Homer.[4] Elsewhere Ovid speaks of Homer as Maeonides,[5] and so does Statius.[6] Horace applies the epithet Maeonian both to Homer himself and to his poetry.[7] In a well-known passage the blind Milton compares himself to " blind Thamyris and blind Maeonides ".[8]

II. 122. **This is the greatest honour that is heaped upon the calendar.**—This is explained by what follows. It was on the Nones (the fifth) of February that the title of Father of his Country was bestowed on Augustus, and the courtly poet speaks as if this was the most honourable event in Roman history.

II. 127. **Holy Father of thy Country, this title hath been conferred on thee by the people, by the Senate, and by us, the knights.**—This event is recorded by Augustus himself in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. He says : " When I held the Consulship for the thirteenth time (in 2 B.C.), the Senate, the Order of the Knights, and the whole Roman people named me Father of my Country, and decreed that the title should be inscribed in the vestibule of my house

[1] Eratosthenes, *Cataster*. 31 ; Scholiast on Germanicus, *Aratea*, 324, p. 412 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

[2] Strabo, xii. 8. 3, p. 572 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist*. v. 110.

[3] Suidas, *s.v.* "Ομηρος, p. 771 ed. Bekker ; *Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores*, ed. A. Westermann (Brunsvigae, 1845), pp. 21, 24, 25, 27, 31.

[4] Plutarch, *De vita et poesi Homeri*, i. 2-3.

[5] Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 1. 47, ii. 377.

[6] Statius, *Sylv*. v. 3. 150.

[7] Horace, *Odes*, i. 6. 2, iv. 9. 5 *sq*.

[8] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iii. 35.

and in the Senate-house and in the forum of Augustus under the four-horse chariot which was set up in my honour by decree of the Senate".[1] From the present passage of Ovid, confirmed by an explicit note in the Praenestine calendar,[2] we learn that the day on which the decree was passed was the fifth of February. According to Suetonius, even before the Senate formally conferrred the title on Augustus, it had been spontaneously and unanimously offered to him by the whole people. They sent a deputation for that purpose to the Emperor at Antium; and when he refused it, they persisted in calling him by the title at the theatre and public shows. In the Senate the motion was moved by Valerius Messala. He prayed that the divine blessing might rest on Augustus and his house as the best means of ensuring the perpetual happiness and prosperity of the commonwealth; and he concluded his brief address by saying that the Senate, in full accord with the Roman people, saluted the Emperor as the Father of his Country. Augustus replied with tears streaming down his cheeks. "My wishes have been fulfilled, Fathers of the Senate", he said, "and what more can I ask of the immortal gods than that they grant me to carry this your unanimous approbation with me to the end of my life?" Suetonius, who has recorded the passing of the decree, tells us that he has reported the very words both of the mover of the motion and of the Emperor's reply. Such an assurance is rare, perhaps unique, in ancient history.[3]

II. 133. **Romulus, thou must yield pride of place.**—In the following passage (lines 133-144) Ovid institutes an elaborate parallel between Romulus and Augustus for the purpose of flattering the Emperor by proving how much greater and better he was than the first king and founder of Rome.

II. 134. **the walls thou didst give to the city were such as Remus could o'erleap.**—Later on Ovid has described how Remus leaped over the rising walls of Rome and was killed for this mark of disdain. In the present passage (line 143) Ovid seems to lay the guilt of the murder on

[1] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, vi. 24-27, p. 161 ed. Hardy, p. 44 ed. Diehl[4].
[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 233, 309.
[3] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 58.

Romulus himself; in the later passage he shifts the blame to another.[1]

II. 135. **Thy power was felt by Tatius, the little Cures, and Caenina.**—Tatius was the king of the Sabines, and Cures was his capital. After warring with Romulus and the Romans, he made peace with them, and the two peoples under their kings united to form a single nation and inhabited the rising city together.[2] The people of Caenina, a town near Rome, in resentment for the capture of their women, made a disorderly raid into the Roman territory. But Romulus easily defeated them, slew their king with his own hand, and captured their city.[3]

II. 136. **whate'er the sun beholds on either side.**—The commentators are divided on the question whether "either side" refers to the north and the south or to the east and the west. The advocates of north and south quote Horace for the north[4] and Claudian for the south.[5] The advocates of east and west seem to have less to say for themselves. The question may be left open.

II. 138. **all that exists beneath the canopy of Jove is Caesar's own.**—Literally, "Caesar owns whatsoever there is under high Jupiter" Here the name of Jupiter, the old god of the sky, is used as equivalent to the name of the sky itself. Ovid uses the same phrase "beneath Jupiter" (*sub Jove*) elsewhere in the same sense of "under the sky".[6] Other Roman poets occasionally employ the same phrase in the same sense.[7] The expression confirms the view that Jupiter was at first a simple personification of the sky. The same is true of his Greek equivalent Zeus; but it does not appear that the Greeks, like the Romans, used the name of Zeus as equivalent to that of the sky.[8] In the

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 835 *sqq.* with the note.
[2] Livy, i. 11-13; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 17-19.
[3] Livy, i. 9-10; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 16
[4] Horace, *Odes*, i. 22. 19, "*Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque | Juppiter urget*".
[5] Claudian, *In Eutrop.* ii. 242, "*Australe latus*".
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 299, iii. 527, iv. 505, *Ars Amat.* i. 726, ii. 623, *Metamorph.* iv. 260.
[7] Horace, *Odes*, i. 1. 25; Claudian, *Panegyric on the Consuls Probinus and Olybrius*, 36 *sq.*
[8] J. G. Frazer, *The Worship of Nature*, i. 57 *sq.*

present passage, by Caesar the poet means Augustus, and the name is to be so understood in many other passages of the *Fasti*.[1] Horace in like manner often speaks of Caesar when he means Augustus.[2] It was in 43 B.C., only a year after the assassination of Julius Caesar, that Augustus (then Octavian) formally assumed the name of Caesar in honour of his murdered uncle and adoptive father.[3] His mother and stepfather, with the daggers of the assassins still fresh in their minds, opposed the change of name; but the voice of fate was calling, and with a confidence which augured well for his future, the young man spurned their timid counsels and chose the path of danger and glory that led straight to empire.[4]

II. 139. **Thou didst rape wives.**—Ovid alludes to the famous rape of the Sabine women. In the early days of Rome the population is said to have consisted chiefly of broken men who had taken refuge in the asylum opened for them by Romulus. As the neighbouring peoples refused to give their daughters in marriage to these ruffians, Romulus was obliged to resort to stratagem to procure wives for his subjects. So he issued a proclamation that he was about to celebrate solemn games in honour of equestrian Neptune. Many people flocked from the neighbourhood to Rome to witness the spectacle; in particular the Sabines came in great force with their wives and children. When the games were about to begin, and the spectators were on the tiptoe of expectation, the young Roman men rushed upon them, singled out the likeliest young women, and carried them off. After some ado they succeeded in pacifying the damsels and so won brides for themselves.[5] Later on in the poem Ovid describes both the rape and the reconciliation.[6]

II. 139. **Caesar bade them under his rule be chaste.**—Augustus passed laws to check adultery, to encourage chastity, and to promote marriage.[7] The measures which

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 15, 141, 637, iii. 710, iv. 20, v. 588, vi. 455, 646, 763, 809; compare *Tristia*, i. 1. 30, i. 2. 61, 66, 93, 104, i. 3. 5, 85, 86, i. 5. 40, i. 9. 24, ii. 1. 8, 23, 28, 124, 230, 551, 560.

[2] Horace, *Odes*, i. 2. 52, i. 6. 11, i. 12. 52, iv. 5. 16, 28, *Sat.* i. 3. 4, *Epist.* i. 5. 9, etc.

[3] Dio Cassius, xlvi. 47.

[4] Velleius Paterculus, ii. 60. 1-2.

[5] Livy, i. 9; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 14.

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 195 *sqq.*

[7] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 24.

specially aimed at thus improving sexual morality were the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* and the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* or the *Lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea* (the relations of these two latter statutes are not clear).[1] The legislation of Augustus on this subject appears to have extended over many years, beginning with his sixth consulship in 28 B.C.[2] In 18 B.C. he recurred to the subject, imposing heavier taxes on the unmarried and offering rewards for marriage and the begetting of children. In doing so he had to encounter many witticisms and sarcasms, for his own private conduct was far from being a model of the domestic virtues.[3] But the laws apparently proving ineffectual and the aversion to marriage growing to an alarming extent, in 9 B.C. he increased the rewards for the procreation of children and sharpened the penalties for the unmarried state, though he allowed a year's grace to bachelors and spinsters in which to repent and prove their repentance by marrying. These salutary measures appear to have been aimed particularly at the refractory knights, who had protested against the severity of the laws directed against bachelors and had even demanded their repeal. In reply to their remonstrance the Emperor summoned them to the Forum and there, after dividing the married from the unmarried, like the sheep from the goats, and remarking with grief and indignation how much the goats outnumbered the sheep, he delivered a pathetic harangue on the blessings of matrimony and the curse of celibacy, which might have had more effect on the minds of his hearers if the practice of the preacher had been more in accord with his precepts.[4] In the *Carmen Saeculare*

[1] As to these laws see J. Ortolan, *Histoire de la Législation romaine*[10] (Paris, 1876), pp. 293-297; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, iii. 2. pp. 1149, 1157; W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*[3], i. 29 *sq.*, ii. 44 *sq.*; Gaius, *Institutiones*, edited by E. Poste, Fourth Edition, revised and enlarged by G. A. Whitcuck (Oxford, 1904), p. 225. According to Poste (or Whitcuck), the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* was passed in A.D. 4 and the *Lex Papia Poppaea* in A.D. 9, and as the provisions of the former statute were incorporated in the latter, the two are sometimes referred to as the *Lex Iulia et Papia*. From Tacitus (*Annals*, iii. 25) and Dio Cassius (lvi. 10. 3) we know that the *Lex Papia Poppaea* was passed in the later period of Augustus's life.

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 28; compare *id.* ii. 50 (*Lex Iulia de adulteriis*), iii. 25 (*Lex Papia Poppaea*).

[3] Dio Cassius, liv. 16.

[4] Dio Cassius, lvi. 1-10.

composed in 17 B.C., Horace, himself a bachelor, prays that the legislation for the encouragement of marriage and child-bearing may bear fruit;[1] and in a later ode he politely assumes that his prayer has been answered and the strenuous efforts of the Emperor crowned with success.[2] It is to these efforts that Ovid alludes in the present passage.

II 140. **Thou didst admit the guilty to thy grove.**—Ovid here refers to the place on the Capitol which Romulus set apart as an asylum whither all, bond or free, Roman or foreigner, who desired to escape from the arm of the law or the sword of the avenger, might flee and find refuge. The poet refers to it more fully later on.[3]

II. 142. **Thou didst the name of master bear: he bears the name of prince.**—There seems to be no evidence that any of the old Roman kings bore the invidious title of lord or master (*dominus*), which was applicable to the relation of an owner to his slave. Augustus never allowed the title to be applied to him;[4] and when somebody addressed Tiberius in that style, the Emperor warned the speaker never to insult him again by such an opprobrious epithet.[5] But Augustus allowed himself to be called by the title of prince (*princeps*),[6] which originally conveyed no suggestion of royalty, but signified no more than first, foremost, or chief,[7] in the sense in which Milton called Cromwell "our chief of men".[8] In his private correspondence, before the outbreak of the civil war, Cicero repeatedly speaks of Pompey as prince (*princeps*).[9] Even under the Republic tottering to its fall, in a letter written at the moment when Pompey was being driven from Italy by Caesar, Cicero could quote the remark of a correspondent, that Caesar desired nothing better than to live in safety with Pompey for his chief (*princeps*);[10] and if we can trust Sallust, the same word had been used with reference to

[1] Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, 17-20.
[2] Horace, *Odes*, iv. 5. 21-24.
[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 431 *sqq.*, with the note.
[4] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 53. 1.
[5] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 27.
[6] Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 1 and 9; Horace, *Odes*, i. 2. 50.
[7] See for example Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, i. 7. 8, iv. 8. 2.
[8] Milton, *Sonnet* xvi.
[9] Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, i. 9. 11, "*Cum autem in republica Cn. Pompeius princeps esset*"; *id.* iii. 11. 3, "*Omnium saeculorum et gentium principis*".
[10] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, viii. 9. 4, "*Nihil malle Caesarem quam principe Pompeio sine metu vivere*".

Pompey many years before in a public speech delivered by a tribune of the people.[1] Again, when Pompey was dead and Caesar was master of the Roman world, Cicero, writing to a friend remarks that if Pompey had only listened to him, Caesar would now be eminent in civil life and a leading citizen (*princeps*), but would not possess the exorbitant power which he then had at command.[2] The title of prince (*princeps*) was especially bestowed on the chief or leader of the Senate, and it was apparently in this sense that Augustus first accepted it in 28 B.C.[3]

II. 143. **Thou hast an accuser in thy brother Remus.**—Here, as we have already noted, Ovid seems to follow the usual tradition that Romulus had killed his twin brother Remus for leaping over the rising wall of Rome. Later on he follows a version of the legend more creditable to the founder of Rome.[4]

II. 143. **Caesar pardoned foemen.**—A few instances of clemency exhibited by Augustus at the height of his power are cited by his biographer Suetonius.[5] But they are insignificant in comparison with the sea of blood through which he waded ruthlessly to the throne.

II. 144. **To heaven thy father raised thee.**—Romulus was thought to have been raised to heaven and numbered with the gods at the intercession and by the agency of his divine father Mars. Later on in this book Ovid describes how the ascension took place in a thunderstorm.[6]

II. 144. **to heaven Caesar raised his sire.**—After his death Julius Caesar, the adoptive father of Augustus, was raised to the rank of the gods, and Ovid here implies that Augustus (for by Caesar he means Augustus) was chiefly responsible for the deification. Suetonius says that the murdered dictator "was among the gods not only by the voice of those who passed the decree but in the belief of the vulgar". At the first games which Augustus, as heir to the deceased, celebrated in honour of Caesar, a comet shone for

[1] Sallust, *Histor.* iii. frag. 82 ed. Kritz (vol. iii. p. 290), "*Pompeium, tantae gloriae adulescentem, malle principem volentibus vobis esse quam illis dominationis socium*".

[2] Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, vi. 6. 5, "*Esset hic* (*Caesar*) *quidem clarus in toga et princeps, sed tantas opes, quantas nunc habet, non haberet*".

[3] Dio Cassius, liii. 1. 3, πρόκριτος τῆς γερουσίας (*princeps senatus*) ἐπεκλήθη.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 835 *sqq.*, v. 457 *sqq.*

[5] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 51.

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 481 *sqq.*

seven successive days in the sky, and it was popularly believed to be the soul of the dead man on the road to heaven. Hence his statue was crowned with a star.[1] It was Augustus (then Octavian) who set up the bronze statue of Caesar, with the star on its head, in the temple of Venus, the divine ancestress of the Julian house.[2] He gave a less innocent token of respect for the memory of his benefactor when, after the capture of Perusia, he caused three hundred prisoners of noble rank to be sacrificed like beasts on the Ides of March at the altar dedicated to the deified Julius.[3] It is said that even in his lifetime Julius Caesar was accorded divine honours by the Senate, who dubbed him Jupiter Julius, voted a temple to his Clemency, and appointed Mark Antony his priest.[4]

II. 145. **Already the Idaean boy shows himself down to the waist.**—The Idaean boy is Ganymede, the cupbearer of the gods, whom popular fancy identified with the constellation of Aquarius or the Water-carrier, because in that constellation the stars were thought to represent a man standing with a jug in his hand and pouring water or wine out of it.[5] Ovid calls Ganymede "the Idaean boy", because he was a Trojan, the son of Tros,[6] and Mount Ida rises near Troy. According to Virgil it was from Mount Ida that Ganymede was carried up to heaven.[7] In the present passage Ovid seems to refer to the morning rising of Aquarius. Columella says that the middle part of Aquarius rises on the Nones (the fifth) of February and that the weather then is windy.[8] Thus his statement agrees with that of Ovid. Both may have drawn their information from the same source. Now in Aquarius the star θ may be taken to represent the middle of the constellation. Its true morning rising in Ovid's time fell on January 22 and its apparent morning rising on February 22. Thus Ovid and Columella adopted a date intermediate between the two.[9]

[1] Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 88.
[2] Dio Cassius, lv. 7. 1.
[3] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 15.
[4] Dio Cassius, xliv. 6. 4.
[5] Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 26; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 29.
[6] Homer, *Il.* v. 265 *sq.*, xx. 231 *sqq.*; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (No. V.), 202 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, iii. 12. 2.
[7] Virgil, *Aen.* v. 252 *sqq.*
[8] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 14.
[9] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 160 *sq.*

In later versions of the myth, though not in Homer, Ganymede is said to have been carried up to heaven by an eagle or by Jupiter (Zeus) in the form of an eagle.[1] The subject of Ganymede snatched up by the eagle was a favourite one with ancient artists; the best known example of these works is a marble statue in the Vatican, which is believed to be a copy of a bronze original by the Greek sculptor Leochares.[2] We know from Plautus that the same subject was often depicted in wall-paintings.[3] There was a legend that Etana, one of the early Sumerian or Semitic kings of Kish in Babylonia, was similarly carried up to heaven by an eagle. The legend is the subject of a long Semitic poem, and Sumerian seals of the early archaic period represent the eagle bearing Etana upward.[4] These representations resemble some of the Greek monuments of Ganymede and the eagle.[5] It is possible that the legend of Etana was the source of the myth of Ganymede.

II. 150. **then is the time that spring begins.**—Thus Ovid dated the beginning of spring on February 9; Pliny dated it a day earlier, on February 8, when the west wind blows and mitigates the rigour of winter.[6]

II. 153. **the Bear-ward has thrust forth both his feet.**—The Bear-ward is the constellation of Arctophylax (literally "Bear-ward"), which, following the constellation of the Great Bear in the sky, was regarded as the keeper of that celestial animal. When the larger constellation was regarded, not as a bear, but as a plough or a waggon (Charles's Wain), the lesser constellation following it was regarded, not as the bear's keeper, but as a ploughman (Boötes) or a

[1] Apollodorus, iii. 12. 2; Lucian, *Dialog. deorum*, iv. 1; Virgil, *Aen.* v. 252 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 155 *sqq.*

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 79; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3], i. 249 *sq.*, No. 386; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 814, with fig. 891. As to other representations of the subject in ancient art see O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge* (Berlin, 1847), pp. 12-41; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*[2] (Göttingen, 1854), ii. Plate iv.; J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie* i. 515 *sqq.*; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 581.

[3] Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 143-145.

[4] *The Cambridge Ancient History*, i. 366; *id.*, *Volume of Plates*, i. 40, with figs. *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.

[5] Compare Müller-Wieseler, *op. cit.* ii. Plate iv. figs. 50*a*, 50*b*, 50*c*, 51, 51*a*, 51*b*, with *The Cambridge Ancient History*, *Volume of Plates*, i. 40, figs. *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 122.

waggoner.[1] In each foot of the Bear-ward there is a bright star,[2] and it is to these that Ovid alludes in the present passage. Beneath the belt of the Bear-ward or between his knees there is a still brighter star, indeed, the brightest star in the constellation: it is Arcturus,[3] a name which in Greek is also equivalent to Bear-ward and is sometimes erroneously applied to the whole constellation, the proper Greek name of which is either Arctophylax or Boötes. Ovid dates the partial rising of the Bear-ward, including the stars in his feet, on February 11, and this appears to be correct, "because", according to Ideler, "Boötes rises in a lying position, so that his legs appear quickly after each other" But Arcturus, the brightest star in the constellation, did not rise at evening in Ovid's time till sixteen days later, namely, on February 27.[4] Columella dates the evening rising of Arcturus on February 21;[5] Pliny, following Caesar's calendar, dates it on February 23;[6] hence both of them were a few days wrong in their calculation.

II. 155. **in the train of the archeress Diana one of the sacred band was Callisto.**—The story of the Arcadian nymph or damsel Callisto and her transformation, first into a bear, and afterwards into the constellation called the Bear, is told elsewhere at greater length by Ovid.[7] The father of Callisto was Lycaon, king of Arcadia; hence Ovid made Diana address her (line 173) as Lycaonis, that is, daughter of Lycaon. Callisto had by her divine lover Jupiter (Zeus) a son called Arcas, after whom the Arcadians were thought to have been named.[8] The traditional descent of the Arcadians from a bear-woman (Callisto) through a

[1] Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 27, 91-95.

[2] Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 8; Hyginus, *Astronom.* iii. 3.

[3] Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 94-95; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 8; Hyginus, *Astronom.* iii. 3.

[4] Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 140 *sq.*

[5] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 21.

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 237.

[7] Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 409-507. Compare Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 1; *id.*, *Fab.* 177; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 17, p. 381 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella); Apollodorus, iii. 8. 2; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 1 and 8; Pausanias, viii. 3. 6-7.

[8] Pausanias, viii. 4. 1.

son Arcas, whose name, according to one etymology, was derived from the Greek *arktos*, "a bear",[1] has been adduced in favour of the view that the Arcadians were a totemic people with the bear for their totem.[2] In this connexion it may be worth while to remember that Lycaon, the father of Callisto, was said to have been turned into a wolf immediately after sacrificing a human babe to Lycaean Zeus.[3] In the light of this legend his name, Lycaon, can hardly signify anything but the Wolf-man (from the Greek *lykos*, "a wolf"); and if that was so, it furnishes a strong reason for interpreting Lycaean Zeus, the god who turned Lycaon into a wolf, as himself a Wolf-god, the adjective *Lycaean* being, like the name *Lycaon*, derived from *lykos*, "a wolf". This again is confirmed, if not demonstrated, by the belief that from the time of Lycaon onwards a man was always turned into a wolf at the sacrifice to Lycaean Zeus, and that he remained a wolf for nine years, unless in the interval he tasted human flesh, for in that case he remained a wolf for the rest of his life.[4] It is said that the man who was to undergo transformation was chosen by lot from a certain family, that he hung up his clothes on an oak, swam across a certain pool, and being changed into a wolf wandered away into the wilderness, where he herded with wolves for nine years; but if as a wolf he abstained from eating human flesh, he returned at the end of the nine years to the same pool, swam across it, and being turned back again into a man recovered his human garments.[5] This belief has a close parallel in the fancies concerning were-wolves entertained by the peasants of the Black Mountain in the south of France. They think that certain men are fated to be transformed into wolves, and that the time for the transformation is always night at the full moon. When the time comes, the man leaves his

[1] Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀρκάς.

[2] Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* (London, 1887), ii. 211 *sqq.* Compare J. J. Bachofen, *Urreligion und alte Symbolik* (Leipzig, 1926), i. 148-150.

[3] Pausanias, viii. 2. 2; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 216-239; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 731.

[4] Pausanias, viii. 2. 6; Plato, *Republic*, viii. p. 565 D-E; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 81-82; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 17 (citing Varro as his authority). Augustine rightly derives the adjective Lycaean from λυκός, "a wolf".

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 81.

house by the window and plunges into the water of a spring, whereupon he is at once covered with a shaggy wolfskin and runs about on all fours, scouring the fields, the woods, and the villages, and biting the people and animals he encounters. At the approach of dawn he returns to the spring, plunges again into the water, leaves the wolfskin in it, and goes home to bed in human shape.[1] Similarly in other parts of France the were-wolf is said to plunge into a spring or a well, from which he emerges clothed in the skin of a beast.[2] It is a German superstition that a were-wolf must remain a wolf for nine days, or for three, seven, or nine years.[3] In view of the close parallelism between the Lycaean beliefs and the widespread beliefs concerning were-wolves, it is hardly possible to doubt that Lycaean Zeus was either a Wolf-god or a Were-wolf-god, and that the attempt to explain him as a God of Light (from *lyké*, "light") is erroneous.[4]

In the myths of Lycaon and Callisto the advocates of totemism might find reminiscences of two clans which had for their totems a wolf and a bear respectively; and if they pushed their theory to its logical conclusion they might perceive a trace of exogamy with maternal descent in the tradition that the daughter of the Wolf-man was not a wolf but a bear; for it is the common rule of totemic clans that a man must marry a woman of another totem, and that, if descent is traced in the maternal line, the children take the totem of their mother and not that of their father. Thus if Lycaon, a man of the wolf totem, married a woman of the bear totem, his daughter would take the bear totem from her mother and would be (like Callisto) a bear. Further, her daughter in turn would be compelled by the law of exogamy

[1] A. de Nore, *Coutumes, Mythes et Traditions des Provinces de France* (Paris and Lyons, 1846), pp. 99 *sq.*

[2] A. de Nore, *Coutumes, Mythes et Traditions des Provinces de France*, pp. 157 *sq.*; J. L. M. Noguès, *Les Mœurs d'autrefois en Saintonge et en Aunis* (Saintes, 1891), p. 140.

[3] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*[4], ii. 916 *sq.*

[4] On this debated question see my commentary on Pausanias, viii. 2. 6, viii. 38. 7 (vol. iv. pp. 189 *sq.*, 385 *sq.*); L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, i. 41 *sq.*; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 8-10; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 63 *sqq.* (who argues in favour of the Light-god and against the Wolf-god). As to the were-wolf superstition see further *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 308-314, with the references to the literature of the subject. These references might easily be multiplied.

to marry a man of the wolf totem, and her son would take the bear totem from his mother and would be (like Arcas) a bear. Thus the traditional relationships of the three generations (Lycaon, Callisto, and Arcas) correspond exactly to the regular relationships in two totemic, exogamous, and intermarrying clans with maternal descent of the totem. But the resemblance may be no more than a coincidence.

II. 191. **Still Saturn's daughter frets and begs grey Tethys never to touch and wash with her waters the Bear of Maenalus.**—In northern latitudes the constellation of the Bear appears to wheel perpetually round the Pole Star and never to set in the sea. This simple observation was often made by the ancients,[1] and they explained the phenomenon mythically, as Ovid does here, by the jealousy of Juno ("Saturn's daughter"), who grudged the honour done to her husband's light-o'-love Callisto in being transported to the stars, and out of spite persuaded the sea-goddess Tethys never to let the constellation of the Bear bathe in the pure and refreshing water of the Ocean.[2] Elsewhere Ovid has described more at length Juno's visit to Tethys and her spouse, old Ocean, and has reported the speech which the celestial goddess addressed to the marine deities on that occasion.[3] Maenalus was a mountain of Arcadia sacred to Pan; from it the bones of Arcas, the son of Callisto, were fetched in obedience to the Delphic oracle and buried in Mantinea at a place called the altars of the Sun.[4] Thus Ovid had special reasons for describing Callisto in her starry form as "the Bear of Maenalus".

II. 193. **On the Ides the altars of rustic Faunus smoke, there where the island breaks the parted waters.**—The temple of Faunus in the island of the Tiber at Rome was vowed by the aediles in 196 B.C. from fines inflicted on graziers who had appropriated more than their due share of the public pastures;[5] the dedication of the temple followed in 194 B.C.[6] From Vitruvius we learn that the temple

[1] Homer, *Il.* xviii. 487-489, *Od.* v. 273-275; Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 47-48; Virgil, *Georg.* i. 246; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 726 *sq.*
[2] Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 1; *id.*, *Fab.* 177.
[3] Ovid. *Metamorph.* ii. 508-531.
[4] Pausanias, viii. 9. 3-4, viii. 36. 7-8.
[5] Livy, xxxiii. 42. 10.
[6] Livy, xxxiv. 53. 3-4.

was sacred to Jupiter and Faunus jointly.[1] Fines exacted from graziers (*pecuarii*) for similar offences were on other occasions in like manner devoted to public purposes, such as the celebration of games and the dedication of golden sacrificial bowls to Ceres,[2] the paving of a highway,[3] and the affixing of a gilt shield to the gable of Jupiter's temple.[4] The crimes of usurers who exacted more than the legal rate of interest were similarly turned to public account. For example, in 296 B.C. from fines paid by usurers the aediles caused the footpath beside the Appian Way to be paved from the Capene Gate (*Porta Capena*) to the temple of Mars ; further, from the same funds they constructed bronze thresholds on the Capitol, silver vessels for three tables in the temple of Jupiter, and an image of Jupiter in a four-horse chariot, which they set on the roof of his temple. Finally, they directed the making of a group of statuary representing the twins Romulus and Remus suckled by the she-wolf, and this group they set up beside the fig-tree, where the infants were traditionally said to have been exposed.[5] It is possible that this group is the famous bronze effigy of the wolf and the twins which now stands in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitol.[6]

II. 195. **This was the day on which thrice a hundred and thrice two Fabii fell by the Veientine arms.**—In the early years of the Republic, when the Etruscan city of Veii was a formidable rival of Rome, and its people used to harry the Roman territory by their raids, the noble patrician family of the Fabii volunteered to undertake alone the defence of the country against the troublesome foe. The generous offer was made in 479 B.C. and gratefully accepted by the Senate. Accordingly the Fabii, three hundred and six in number, marched out of Rome by the Carmental Gate, and established a fortified post on the little river Cremera, from which they kept the Veientines in check for two years. But in 477 B.C. the Veientines lured the Fabii into an ambush

[1] Vitruvius, iii. 2. 3.
[2] Livy, x. 23. 13.
[3] Livy, x. 47. 4.
[4] Livy, xxxv. 10. 12.
[5] Livy, x. 23. 11-12. As to the exposure of the infants at the fig-tree see Livy, i. 4. 5, and Ovid, below, *Fasti*, ii. 411 *sqq*.
[6] Compare J. Carcopino, *La Louve du Capitole* (Paris, 1925), pp. 20 *sqq*. See below, note on *Fasti*, ii. p. 411, pp. 371 *sqq*.

and cut them off to a man. Such is the account of the heroism and the destruction of the Fabii given by Livy,[1] whom Ovid closely follows in the present passage, reproducing in some lines almost the words of the historian.[2] Dionysius of Halicarnassus narrates the noble offer of the Fabii and their establishment of a fort on the Cremera in the same way as Livy;[3] but he gives two different accounts of their destruction. According to one of them, the Fabii quitted their fort and set out for Rome for the purpose of offering a sacrifice incumbent on their family; but, marching carelessly as in time of peace and in a friendly country, they were surprised by the Veientines and cut to pieces.[4] The other account agrees substantially with that of Livy, and was preferred by Dionysius as the more probable.[5]

The statement of Ovid that the slaughter of the Fabii took place on the Ides (13th) of February creates a difficulty. According to the express testimony of Livy and Tacitus, confirmed by an entry in the calendar of Antium, the destruction of the Fabii at the Cremera and the great defeat of the Romans by the Gauls at the Allia in 390 B.C. both fell on July 18; that day was deemed doubly unlucky, and public opinion was shocked when the sottish Emperor Vitellius chose that day for issuing, as Pontifex Maximus, a decree concerning the public offices of religion.[6] So far as the battle of the Allia is concerned, this date is again confirmed by Servius and the Amiternine calendar.[7] The coincidence

[1] Livy, ii. 48-50.

[2] Compare Livy, ii. 49. 1, "*Familiam unam subisse civitatis onus*", with Ovid, line 197, "*Una domus vires et onus susceperat urbis*"; compare Livy, ii. 49. 4, "*omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem sperneres*", with Ovid, line 200, "*e quis dux fieri quilibet aptus erat*"; compare Livy, ii. 49. 8, "*Infelici via, dextro iano portae Carmentalis, profecti*", with Ovid, line 201, "*Carmentis portae dextro est via proxima Iano*".

[3] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ix. 15.

[4] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ix. 18-19.

[5] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ix. 20-21. Livy's account is summarized by Florus (*Epitome*, i. 6. 1-2 ed. Halm), Aurelius Victor (*De viris illustribus*, 14), Eutropius (i. 16), Silius Italicus (*Punic.* vii. 39 *sqq.*), and Zonaras (*Hist.* vii. 17). Compare Orosius, ii. 5. 8-9; Diodorus Siculus, xi. 53. 6.

[6] Livy, vi. 1. 11; Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 91; *Fasti Antiates* under July 18, in *C.I.L.* i.^{2} pp. 248, 322.

[7] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 717; *Fasti Amiternini*, in *C.I.L.* i.^{2} p. 244. According to Aurelius Victor (*De viris illustribus*, 23. 7), the battle of the Allia was fought on July 17 ("*die xvi. Kal. August.*"), but this may be a mistake of a copyist who wrote xvi for xv.

of the battles of the Cremera and Allia on the same day of the month (though of course not in the same year) is noted also by Plutarch, who, however, indicates the date somewhat vaguely as "about the full moon after the summer solstice".[1] According to Verrius Flaccus,[2] the sacrifice before the battle of the Allia was offered on July 16, and the same statement is quoted by Macrobius on the authority of the annalist Gellius and the historian Cassius Hemina;[3] but the statement does not imply that the battle was fought on the same day on which the sacrifice was offered. On the whole it seems fairly certain that the two fatal battles of the Cremera and the Allia were fought on July 18. How then are we to account for the statement of Ovid that the Fabii perished on February 13? The most probable explanation seems to be that he confused the day of the march out from Rome with the day of the battle.[4] However, in his justification it has been suggested that the family sacrifice at Rome, which, according to one account, the Fabii had set out to perform when they were surprised and cut to pieces, was the Lupercalia on February 15; for, as we shall see presently,[5] the Fabii formed one of the two colleges of Luperci who officiated at that ceremony. In that case February 13 would have been a natural day for the Fabii to set out for Rome. Mommsen inclined to adopt this hypothesis and so to follow Ovid in dating the battle of the Cremera on February 13,[6] though formerly he had accepted the date July 18, which is vouched for by most ancient authorities.[7] Another suggestion is that the present passage of Ovid (lines 195-242) was intended by the poet to come in his seventh book under the date July 18, and that after his death it was found among his papers by his editor, who inserted it wrongly in the present place.[8]

[1] Plutarch, *Camillus*, 19; compare *id.*, *Quaest. Rom.* 25.
[2] Quoted by Aulus Gellius, v. 17.
[3] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 23.
[4] Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), p. 85.
[5] See below, pp. 328 *sq.*
[6] Th. Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen*, ii. (Berlin, 1879), p. 255 note [42]. Compare L. Holzapfel, *Römische Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 138 note [6].
[7] Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), p. 26 note [32].
[8] H. Peter, in his third edition of the *Fasti*, Part II. p. 28. As to the date of the battle of the Cremera compare A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, ii. 750-752. The historical character of the whole narrative has been denied by

II. 201. **The nearest way is by the right-hand arch of Carmentis' gate: go not that way, whoe'er thou art: 'tis ominous.**—Ovid here follows Livy, who says that the Fabii "set out by an unlucky way, the right-hand arch of the Carmental Gate".[1] The gate was also called the Wicked Gate (*Porta Scelerata*), because through it the Fabii had marched to their doom.[2] Hence, too, as Ovid here implies, some people had a superstitious objection to going out by this gate.[3] The gate stood at the southern foot of the Capitol and took its proper name of Carmentalis[4] from the neighbouring shrine and altar of Carmentis,[5] whose legendary history Ovid has already related.[6] The gate afforded a passage between the Cattle Market (*Forum boarium*) and the Vegetable Market (*Forum holitorium*).[7]

According to Gervasius of Tilbury, there was a gate in the walls of Naples of which the right-hand side was lucky and the left-hand side was unlucky for persons entering into the city.[8] It was a maxim of Pythagoras that you should enter a holy place on the right-hand side and leave it on the left-hand side.[9]

II. 231. **As a boar, hunted afar from the Laurentine woods, scatters the swift hounds with thunderous snout.**—Ovid seems here to have had in mind a parallel passage of Virgil, where that poet similarly compares Mezentius at bay to a boar, bred in the Laurentine swamp, turning fiercely on its pursuers.[10]

E. Pais, who supposes that the story was invented as a parallel to the slaughter of Leonidas and the Spartans at Thermopylae. But this seems extremely improbable. See E. Pais, *Ancient Legends of Roman History* (London, 1906), pp. 170 *sqq.*

[1] Livy, ii. 49. 8.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Scelerata porta," pp. 450, 451 ed. Lindsay; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 337; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 14. 5; Florus, i. 6. 2 ed. Halm.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Religioni", p. 358 ed. Lindsay.

[4] Festus and Servius *ll.cc.*; Livy, ii. 49. 8.

[5] Solinus, i. 13; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 32. 2.

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 471 *sqq.*

[7] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1, pp. 237 *sqq.*; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], p. 44; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 390.

[8] Gervasius von Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, herausgegeben von F. Liebrecht (Hannover, 1856), p. 16.

[9] Jamblichus, *De vita Pythagorica*, xxviii. 156. Compare F. Boehm, *De Symbolis Pythagoreis* (Berlin, 1905), p. 8.

[10] Virgil, *Aen.* x. 707 *sqq.*

Elsewhere Ovid himself has described Picus going forth to hunt boars in the Laurentine fields.[1] Hence there is no need to alter the text in the present passage.[2] The boars of the Laurentine woods or marshes were indeed famous and are often mentioned by the poets, though epicures found their flesh not good to eat.[3]

II. 237. **the gods themselves took thought to save the seed of the Herculean house.**—By "the Herculean house" Ovid means the Fabian family, for the Fabii claimed to be descended from Hercules; elsewhere the poet alludes to the claim in a letter addressed to his friend Fabius Maximus.[4] The first Fabius is said to have been begotten by Hercules on a native woman beside the Tiber;[5] according to one account, the mother of the first Fabius was a daughter of Evander.[6] The name of the family was sometimes derived from *fovea*, "pit" or "pitfall", either because the meeting of Hercules with the woman took place in a pit, or because the family used to catch wild beasts in pitfalls, whence their name of Fovii, which was afterwards changed into Fabii.[7] The claim of the Fabii to be sprung from Hercules is alluded to by Juvenal.[8]

II. 239. **for a boy under age, too young to bear arms, was left alone of all the Fabian clan.**—As the Fabii long survived their reported annihilation in 477 B.C. and rendered illustrious service to the State in after times, historians had to account for the apparent contradiction. This they did by supposing that when the clan marched out to fight, a single boy, too young to take arms, was left behind in Rome, and that from him the later Fabii were descended. This was the explanation given by Livy,[9] whose account is followed by Ovid and later writers.[10] The tradition in this form is treated with incredulity by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 342 *sq.*
[2] See the critical note on line 231.
[3] Horace, *Sat.* ii. 4. 42; Martial, ix. 48. 5, x. 45. 4.
[4] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iii. 3. 99 *sq.*
[5] Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus*, 1.
[6] Silius Italicus, vi. 627-636; compare *id.* ii. 3, vii. 35, 43 *sq.*
[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Fovi", p. 77 ed. Lindsay; Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus*, 1.
[8] Juvenal, viii. 14, "*Natus in Herculeo Fabius lare*".
[9] Livy, ii. 50. 11.
[10] Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 14. 6; Eutropius, i. 16; Zonaras, vii. 17.

who reasonably enough points out the improbability that three hundred and six able-bodied men should not have left relations enough of both sexes to continue the family.[1]

II. 241. **to the end, no doubt, that thou, Maximus, mightest one day be born to save the commonwealth by biding time.**—Ovid refers to the famous Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus, who after the dreadful defeat of Cannae in 216 B.C. retrieved the fortunes of his country by his cautious strategy, eluding all the attempts of Hannibal to draw him into a pitched battle, and protracting the war till the military resources of the enemy were exhausted and the Carthaginian army was compelled to evacuate Italy.[2] Hence he received from his detractors the title of *Cunctator* or "the Lingerer",[3] to which Ovid alludes ("*cunctando*") in the present passage. In doing so our author followed the example, and almost the words of Virgil,[4] who in his turn reproduced all but literally a famous line of Ennius.[5]

II. 243. **Three constellations are grouped together—the Raven, the Snake, and the Bowl.**—The Raven and the Bowl (*Crater*) are two small constellations at the back of the long constellation of the Hydra (Snake). The Bowl (*Crater*) is set about the middle of the Hydra; the Raven is nearer the end of the Hydra and seems to peck at its coiling tail.[6] The following myth of the origin of the three constellations is told in substantially the same way by Eratosthenes, Hyginus, and the scholiast on the *Aratea* of Germanicus.[7]

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ix. 22.

[2] As to this strategy of Q. Fabius Maximus see Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus*, 19.

[3] Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 14. 6 and 43. 1.

[4] Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 845 *sq.*, "*Tu Maximus ille es, | unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem*".

[5] Quoted by Cicero, *De officiis*, i. 24. 84 and *De senectute*, 4. 10, "*Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*". Compare Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 846.

[6] Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 447-449.

> οὐρὴ (the tail of Hydra) δὲ κρέμαται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Κενταύροιο.
> μέσσῃ δὲ σπείρῃ ΚΡΗΤΗΡ, πνυμάτῃ δ' ἐπίκειται
> εἴδωλον ΚΟΡΑΚΟΣ σπείρην κόπτοντι ἐοικός.

Ovid may have had these lines before him in writing the present passage. If that was so, the ἐπίκειται of Aratus would correspond to the *iacet* (line 244) of Ovid, thus supporting the MS. reading against Bentley's conjectural *nitet*. See the Critical Note. Compare the expression of Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 41, ὁ κρατὴρ κεῖται ἐγκεκλιμένος πρὸς τὰ γόνατα τῆς Παρθένου.

[7] Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 41; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 40; Scholiast on Germanicus, *Aratea*, 429 (pp. 419 *sq.* ed. Eyssenhardt, appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

In line 245 the poet has crowded many astronomical blunders into a short compass. Thus, in the first place, he makes all three constellations rise together on February 14, forgetting that the Hydra or the Snake, as he calls it, is a constellation which drags its slow length along about a quarter of the nightly sky and a considerable portion of the year. Again, even in regard to the small constellation of the Bowl (*Crater*) he has fallen into several errors. He says that it is invisible on February 13 (the Ides) and rises for the first time on February 14. The truth is just the reverse; in the poet's time that constellation rose, not for the first, but for the last time, on February 14. Finally, he says that the constellation rose at night, whereas on the contrary it rose in the morning. In point of fact, the apparent rising of the constellation at morning took place on February 8 and its true rising at morning on February 28. Thus the date assigned by Ovid to its rising coincided with neither of the actual dates, but fell midway between the two. Whatever may be the source of his error he appears to have shared it with Columella, who similarly dates the evening rising of the Bowl (*Crater*) on February 14.[1]

II. 263. **you shall drink cool water from no spring until the figs upon the tree grow juicy.**—It was said that to punish the raven for his delay in bringing the water Apollo commanded that every year, so long as the figs were ripening, no raven should slake its thirst; we are even told that during these days the throat of the raven is perforated, so that any water it might imbibe would all run out again.[2] This absurd fable is fathered on Aristotle by the pseudo-Eratosthenes and the scholiast on Germanicus.[3] According to Pliny, ravens are sick and thirsty for sixty days till the figs are ripe in autumn.[4]

II. 267. **The third morn after the Ides beholds the naked Luperci and then, too, come the rites of two-horned Faunus.**—

[1] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 20. As to Ovid's astronomical blunders in the present passage see Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 165.

[2] Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 40; compare Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, i. 47.

[3] Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 41; Scholiast on Germanicus, *Aratea*, 429 (pp. 419 *sq.* ed. Eyssenhardt, appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 32.

Ovid now proceeds to deal with the Lupercalia, one of the oldest and most interesting, but at the same time most obscure and debated, festivals in the Roman year. In dating it on February 15 he is supported by a number of ancient calendars, including the Caeretan and the Maffeian.[1] Dionysius of Halicarnassus says loosely that the festival fell in February after the winter solstice.[2] And as the Luperci, who performed the rites, were one of the most ancient priesthoods of Rome, so they outlived all the rest, for they continued to celebrate their quaint ceremonies in the capital even after the establishment of Christianity. In A.D. 467 the Pope Hilarius sternly rebuked the Emperor Anthemius for suffering these clowns to cut their old capers to the scandal of pious folk;[3] and it was not till A.D. 494 that the festival was suppressed by Pope Gelasius I. and converted into the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin.[4]

The priesthood of the Luperci included of old two colleges, the Quinctiales or Quintilii and the Fabiani or Fabii: the

[1] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 212, 223, 310.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 32. 5.

[3] H. H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, Fourth Edition, i. 287.

[4] J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] p. 446, referring to Baronius, *Annal. Ecclesiast.* (Lucae, 1741) viii. 602 *sqq.* Besides the present passage of Ovid (lines 267-452) the principal ancient authorities on the Lupercalia are Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 32. 3-5, i. 80. 1; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 21, *Numa*, 19, *Julius Caesar*, 61, *Antonius*, 12, *Quaest. Rom.* 68, 111; Dio Cassius, xliv. 6, xlv. 30; Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 109; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 85, vi. 13, vi. 34; Festus, *s.vv.* "Creppos", "Februarius", "Faviani", and "Quintiliani", pp. 49, 75 *sq.*, 78, 308 ed. Lindsay; Livy, i. 5. 2 *sq.*; Valerius Maximus, ii. 2. 9; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 343 *sq.*; Propertius, v. (iv.) 1. 25 *sq.*; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 76. 1, and 79. 2, *Augustus*, 31. 4; Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. 142; Justin, xliii. 1. 7; Cicero, *Philipp.* iii. 5, xiii. 15, *Pro Caelio*, 11. 26; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 56. 4; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 22. 1; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 82, *Aen.* viii. 343; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 12; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 25, p. 83 ed. Wuensch. Among modern writers on the subject see G. F. Unger, "Die Lupercalien", *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. xxxvi. (1881) pp. 50-86; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 387 *sqq.*; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] 438-446; W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1884), pp. 72-155; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 310-321; J. A. Hild, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, iii. 2, pp. 1398-1402; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 208 *sqq.*, 559-561; Otto, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vi. 2, coll. 2062-2069 (*s.v.* "Faunus"); L. Deubner, "Lupercalia", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. (1910) pp. 481-508; Marbach, in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.* xiii. 2, coll. 1816–1830, *s.v.* "Lupercalia".

former was supposed to have been founded by Romulus and the latter by Remus.[1] In 44 B.C. a third college of Luperci, called the Julii, was instituted in honour of Julius Caesar ;[2] but on the death of Caesar, which followed soon after, the funds appropriated to the support of the new college were withdrawn.[3] The sanctuary which was the centre of the sacred functions of the Luperci was known as the Lupercal.[4] The exact site of the Lupercal is uncertain, but it appears to have been situated at the south-western foot of the Palatine hill, on the way to the Circus Maximus. Even in the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a contemporary of Ovid, the original state of the holy place was obscured by the mass of buildings that had grown up around the sacred enclosure, but he tells us that it was traditionally said to have been a great cave at the foot of the hill, with springs of water welling up under the rocks, and overarched by a thick grove of oaks, whose stately boles and foliage overshadowed the spot. In that sylvan scene the she-wolf is said to have suckled the abandoned babes, Romulus and Remus. Down to the time of Dionysius the cave, with the bubbling spring, was still shown, and near it was a sacred enclosure with a bronze group, of ancient workmanship, representing the she-wolf in the act of giving her teats to the twins. But the grove of oaks had vanished and was replaced by crowded edifices.[5] The sacred edifices, whatever they may have been, were restored by Augustus,[6] who also revived the Lupercalia,

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 375-380 ; Propertius, v. (iv.) 1. 26 ; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 22. 1 ; Festus, *s.v.* "Faviani", p. 78 ed. Lindsay (who gives the names as Faviani and Quintiliani) ; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 1923, "*lupercus Quinctial. vetus*", No. 4948, "*lupercus Fabianus*" ; Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson (London, 1868), i. 57 *sq.* ; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 559. Mommsen prefers the form Quinctii as the name of Romulus's college. It seems to have the support of the Farnese MS. of Festus (p. 308 ed. Lindsay) and perhaps of Livy (i. 30. 2), who mentions the Quinctii among the noble Alban families which King Tullus Hostilius incorporated in Rome.

[2] Dio Cassius, xliv. 6. 2, xlv. 30. 2 ; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 76. 1.

[3] Cicero, *Philipp.* xiii. 15. 31.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 381 ; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 81, vi. 13 ; *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 2, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 24 ed. Diehl[4] ; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 22. 1 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 343 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 32. 3.

[5] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 32. 4, i. 79. 5-8 ; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 35, 133.

[6] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 2, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 24 ed. Diehl[4].

though he forbade beardless youths to act as Luperci and take part in the running, which was an important part of their office.[1] Hence in an epitaph of one of these priests, found at Rome, we read that "in this mound lies the lifeless corse of one whose spirit has been received among the gods—for so he merited—Marcus Ulpius Maximus, a Roman knight, who also ran as a Lupercus".[2] In the Lupercal there formerly grew a fig-tree called the Ruminal fig-tree (*ficus Ruminalis*), at the foot of which Romulus and Remus were said to have been found and suckled by the she-wolf, but the tree was afterwards, we are told, transported by magic to the Forum.[3]

According to the testimony of the ancients, the Lupercalia was essentially a purificatory rite.[4] In particular, it was a purification of the ancient city on the Palatine,[5] of which the boundary, as it was believed to have been fixed by Romulus, continued to be marked out by stones down to Imperial times.[6] At their annual festival the Luperci appear to have run round the boundary of the ancient city. Certainly they started from the Lupercal and made a circuit,[7] in the course of which they ran up the Sacred Way and down again, which Christians in the time of Augustine absurdly interpreted as a reminiscence of the Deluge, the Luperci representing the sinners who on that occasion ran up and down the mountains as the waters of the flood rose or fell.[8] Moreover, Dionysius of Halicarnassus expressly affirms that in the time of Romulus the Lupercalia was celebrated by young men who, starting from the Lupercal (which he calls the Lyceum), ran round the village on the Palatine, clad only in girdles made from the skins of the sacrificial victims; and he adds that the rite was a traditional purification observed by the villagers in the time of Romulus

[1] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31. 4.
[2] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4947.
[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 77. Compare Livy, i. 4. 5-6; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 34; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 4. See Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 407 *sqq.*
[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 13; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 80. 1; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 21, *Numa*, 19, *Quaest. Rom.* 68.
[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 34.
[6] Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 24.
[7] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 21. 4.
[8] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 12

and continued down to the writer's own day.[1] The skins of which the girdles were made were those of goats which had been sacrificed.[2] At the festival the Luperci also sacrificed a dog, which was deemed a purificatory rite.[3] Plutarch is the only ancient writer who mentions the sacrifice of a dog at the Lupercalia, and in doing so he observes that down to his own time almost all the Greeks sacrificed dogs in ceremonies of purification,[3] but as to the mode of sacrifice at the Lupercalia nothing is recorded. With strips of the skins of the sacrificed goats the Luperci, as they ran, struck at all whom they met,[4] but especially at women,[5] who held out both hands to receive the blows, persuaded that this was a mode of securing offspring and an easy delivery.[6] The goatskin with which they were struck was called Juno's cloak,[7] a name which becomes intelligible when we remember that in her great temple at Lanuvium the goddess was represented clad in a goatskin as in a cloak.[8] Indeed, according to a tradition which appears to have been recorded by Livy in his lost second decade the Lupercalia was instituted for the purpose of remedying the infertility of women at a particular time.[9] Livy may therefore have been Servius's authority for

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 80. 1. That the girdles worn by the Luperci were made from the skins of the newly sacrificed goats is clear from the expression of Dionysius, *γυμνοὺς ὑπεζωσμένους τὴν αἰδῶ ταῖς δοραῖς τῶν νεοθύτων.*

[2] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 21.

[3] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 68 and 111, *Romulus*, 21. As to sacrifices of dogs see above, *Fasti*, i. 389, with the note (pp. 168 *sqq.*).

[4] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 21, *Julius Caesar*, 61, *Antonius*, 12.

[5] Festus, *s.vv.* "Creppos" and "Februarius", pp. 49, 75 *sq.* ed. Lindsay.

[6] Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*, 61; Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. 142; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 343.

[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Februarius", pp. 75 *sq.* ed. Lindsay, "*Lupercalia, quo die mulieres februabantur a lupercis amiculo Iunonis, id est pelle caprina*". In this passage G. F. Unger proposed to alter *Iunonis* into *Inui*. See *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F., xxxvi. (1881) p. 72. But the connexion of Juno with the goat is too firmly established to allow us to doubt that *Iunonis* is the right reading here. The institution of the custom was ascribed to an oracle of Juno. See below, *Fasti*, ii. 435 *sqq.*

[8] See above, pp. 295 *sq.*

[9] Livy, ed. Weissenborn, Pars vi. (Teubner, Leipzig, 1877) p. xv, "*Lupercalia autem propter quid instituta sint (quantum ad ipsius superstitionis commenta respectant) Livius secunda decade loquitur: nec propter morbos inhibendos instituta commemorat, sed propter sterilitatem mulierum, quae tunc acciderat, exsolvendam*". This is quoted *Ex Gelasii Papae Epist. adversus Andromachum in Baronii Annal. eccles. ad a.* 496. *num.* 35.

the statement that "some say the rite was instituted by Romulus on account of barrenness, and for that reason girls are beaten with the thong of goatskin in order that they may escape barrenness and be fruitful".[1] Hence it is not surprising to read that according to a certain Anysius in his treatise on the months the rites performed by the Luperci in February aimed at promoting the growth of the crops;[2] for in the minds of many peoples at an early stage of culture the fertility of women is closely bound up with the fertility of the earth, and the same causes which promote or hinder the one are thought to promote or hinder the other, a vital connexion being supposed to subsist between the union of the human sexes on the one hand and the fruitfulness of the ground on the other.[3] A hint of this connexion is perhaps given by the part which the Vestal Virgins played at the Lupercalia. Between the 7th and the 14th of May, on alternate days, the three eldest Vestals collected ears of spelt in reapers' baskets, and with their own hands roasted and ground them. From this spelt, mixed with salt, they provided the sacrificial meal on three days of the year, namely at the Lupercalia on January 15th, at the festival of Vesta (the Vestalia) on June 9th, and on the Ides (13th) of September.[4] The name of Creppi or Crepi popularly applied to the Luperci appears to be an old form of *capri*, "he-goats", and to have been suggested by the goatskins which they wore and which they carried in their hands.[5]

By far the most famous celebration of the Lupercalia was that which fell on the fifteenth of February 44 B.C., exactly one month before the assassination of Caesar. The dictator was then at the height of his power and at the summit of human

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 343.

[2] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 25, p. 83 ed. Wuensch.

[3] I have collected evidence of this in *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 97 *sqq.*; *Psyche's Task*[2], pp. 44 *sqq.*

[4] Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 82.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Crep[p]os", p. 49 ed. Lindsay, "*Crep*[*p*]*os, id est lupercos, dicebant a crepitu pellicularum, quem faciunt verberantes*". Compare *id. s.v.* "Caprae", p. 42 ed. Lindsay, "*Caprae dictae, quod omne virgultum carpant, sive a crepitu crurum. Unde et crepas eas prisci dixerunt*". Thus we see that in old Latin *crepae*, "she-goats", answered to *crepi* or *creppi*, "he-goats". This explanation of *creppi* or *crepi* is accepted by L. Preller (*Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 389), W. Mannhardt (*Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 91), and G. Wissowa (*Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 209, 560).

glory. A golden throne had been set for him on the Rostra, and there, clad in the gorgeous costume of a general at his triumph, he sat watching the antics of the Luperci in the Forum below. It chanced that his friend Mark Antony was his colleague in the consulship and also Master of the new college of Julian Luperci. In that capacity Antony, naked and glistening with oil after the fashion of the Luperci, came running into the Forum, the crowd opening to let him pass. He made straight for the Rostra, and being hoisted on to the platform by his colleagues he advanced to Caesar and offered to place on the dictator's head a diadem twined with laurel. In the crowd there was some slight applause but more hissing. When Caesar pushed the bauble away, the crowd applauded. Again Antony presented the crown, and again Caesar refused it, whereupon the whole multitude broke into a tumult of applause. Caesar frowned, and standing up from his golden chair he pulled his robe from his neck and offered his throat to any who pleased to cut it. His friends placed the crown on one of his statues, but when the tribunes tore it down, the spectators cheered them. According to Cicero, who may have witnessed the scene, Antony was drunk as well as naked when he attempted to crown Caesar king of Rome.[1]

According to Ovid, the god whom the Luperci served was Faunus, a deity of the woodlands and of cattle, whose festival fell on the fifth of December, when the flocks and herds skipped in his honour on the greensward, and in the forest the fallen leaves, "yellow, and black, and pale, and hectic red", made a soft carpet for the light footsteps of the amorous god as he pursued the nymphs among the trees.[2] He was thought to keep the wolves from the lambs,[3] a function appropriate to the Lupercalia if, as some have thought, the prime aim of that festival was to guard the flocks and herds from the prowling wolf. But according to Livy the god whom the Luperci honoured was named Inuus.[4] The

[1] Cicero, *Philipp.* iii. 5. 12, xiii. 15. 31; Plutarch, *Caesar*, 61, *Antonius*, 12; Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 16. 109; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 79. 2; Dio Cassius, xlv. 30.

[2] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 18.

[3] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 18. 13, "*Inter audaces lupus errat agnos*".

[4] Livy, i. 5. 2.

ancients identified this Inuus with the Greek god Pan and both of them with Faunus ; [1] otherwise little or nothing is known about him, except that in Italy he was honoured, sometimes with yearly, sometimes with monthly festivals.[2] An image of the supposed god, whatever he may have been called, stood in the Lupercal ; it represented the deity in the costume of the Luperci, that is, naked with a girdle of goat-skin about his loins.[3] The name Inuus seems clearly to be derived from the verb *inire*, " to go into ", " to cover ", applied to the union of the male with the female, whether in animals or in the human sexes.[4] It is significant that in explaining the origin of the Lupercalia our author himself uses the same verb in the oracle which enjoined " the going in " of the he-goat to Italian wives.[5] We can, therefore, scarcely doubt that the fertilization of women was a foremost object of the festival as it was originally instituted, and not a merely secondary object imported into it at a later time, as has been suggested by some learned scholars.[6] The implied belief that women can conceive without commerce with the other sex belongs to so deep a stratum in the evolution of human thought [7] that it must have descended to the civilized Romans from a very remote time, a time doubtless long antecedent to the foundation of Rome. The Romans themselves recognized the great antiquity of the festival by alleging that it had been imported from Arcadia by Evander long before the birth of Romulus and therefore long before the

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 22. 2-7 ; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 4. 6 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 776 ; Probus, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 10 and 16 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 80. 1.

[2] Probus, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 10.

[3] Justin, xliii. 1. 7. Justin names the god Lupercus.

[4] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. 7. 9 ; Festus, *s.v.* " Init ", p. 98 ed. Lindsay. Compare L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 380 ; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 211. This derivation of the name Inuus was accepted by Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 776). It was rejected by G. F. Unger, who supposed that Inuus was an Etruscan god. See his article, " Die Lupercalien ", *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F., xxxvi. (1881) pp. 71 *sqq.*

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 441.

[6] G. F. Unger, " Die Lupercalien ", *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F., xxxvi. (1881) pp. 59 *sq.* ; L. Deubner, " Lupercalia ", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. (1910) p. 493.

[7] On this subject a large body of evidence has been collected by E. S. Hartland in his learned work *Primitive Paternity* (London, 1909), in which he deals rightly with the belief implicit in the ritual of the Lupercalia (vol. i. pp. 100-106).

building of the capital ;[1] but this allegation rested on the erroneous identification of the Roman Lupercalia with the Greek Lycaea. The two festivals probably had much more in common than the similarity of the names, which in both Greek and Latin imply that the festivals were primarily concerned with wolves. It is even possible that the festivals were derived from rites observed in common by the ancestors of both peoples in the forests or steppes of northern or eastern Europe, where the ravages of wolves were even more dreaded than in Greece and Italy ; but that the festival was directly imported from Arcadia to Rome is an hypothesis which need not be seriously considered.

The primitive character of the ritual and of the ideas implied in it suggests that originally the Lupercalia was a magical rather than a religious rite, and hence that it did not involve a reference to any particular deity, but was simply one of those innumerable ceremonies whereby men have attempted, in all ages and all countries, by their own efforts, without the divine assistance, to repel the powers of evil and so to liberate the powers of good, thus promoting the fertility at once of man, of beast, and of the earth. These ceremonies commonly take the form of a periodic, generally of an annual, expulsion of evils, which are usually conceived in the form of demons or ghosts ; having forcibly driven out these dangerous intruders, the community fancies itself safe and happy for the time being, till the recurrence of the old troubles seems to require a fresh application of the old remedy.[2] Viewed in their essential character as a riddance of evil, such ceremonies are properly called purifications; and the ancients, as we have seen,[3] commonly explained the Lupercalia as a purification, in which they appear to have been substantially right. So familiar, indeed, to them was this notion that some of them even explained the name Lupercalia as equivalent to *luere per caprum*, "to purify by means of a goat".[4] The late W. Warde Fowler, our

[1] Livy, i. 5. 2.

[2] I have collected many examples of such occasional or periodic expulsions of evil in *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 109 *sqq.*

[3] Above, p. 330.

[4] Quintilian, i. 5 66, "*Quamvis . . . inveniantur qui* Lupercalia *aeque tres partes orationis esse contendant, quasi* luere per caprum" ; Servius, on Virgil,

genial and learned interpreter of Roman religion, happily compared the Lupercalia to the annual custom of "beating the bounds" which is still kept up in some parts of England; and he suggested that the peeled wands carried by the bound-beaters at Oxford on Ascension Day may once have been used in the same way as the thongs of goatskin wielded by the Luperci on their rounds. The theory has much to commend it, and its author may have been quite right in describing the Lupercalia as "at the same time a beating of the bounds and a rite of purification and fertilization".[1] If we could trace the custom of beating the bounds to its origin we might find that it belonged to the world-wide group of expulsions of devils long before it sank to the level of a simple marking of boundaries. On such occasions the blows struck by the Luperci, bound-beaters, or whatever we call them, are aimed primarily at the devils hovering unseen in the air, and though they hit the people, and particularly the women, this is only an accident, and the sufferers may console themselves by the thought that the strokes from which they smart have had the happy effect of brushing off the demons, like so many gnats or mosquitoes, that were clinging to their persons. If the Lupercalia was thus in origin a purely magical rite, attached to the worship of no divinity, it was natural enough that in after ages men should seek to give it a religious significance and should ask themselves what god was propitiated by the Luperci; for the belief in magic belongs to an earlier stage of thought than the belief in deities, and when men have partially outlived it they are puzzled by the ancient magical ceremonies which they continue to practise through sheer force of habit, and being now inured to the worship of gods they look for a divinity at the back of every rite. In the case

Aen. viii. 343, "*Sub monte Palatino est quaedam spelunca, in qua de capro luebatur, i.e. sacrificabatur: unde et Lupercal dictum nonnulli putant*".

[1] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 319. As to the custom of perambulating or beating the bounds see J. Brand, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, New Edition (London, 1882–1883), i. 197 *sqq.*; T. F. Thiselton-Dyer, *British Popular Customs* (London, 1876), pp. 204 *sq.*, 208-211, 213, 214; Ella Mary Leather, *The Folk-lore of Herefordshire* (Hereford and London, 1912), pp. 149-151; Eleanor Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles* (London, 1928), pp. 77-80. The ceremony is usually performed in Rogation Week or on Ascension Day.

of the Lupercalia they found him in Faunus or Inuus, who, in virtue of his relation to the commerce of the sexes in animals and men, was well fitted to act as divine patron of a ceremony designed to ensure the fertility of women and perhaps also of the flocks and herds, possibly even of the fields and orchards. Greek religion seems to have passed through a similar stage of evolution; in it also many rites appear to have been originally independent of deities, though in historical times gods or goddesses were tacked on to most of them in order to fill up the religious vacuum.[1]

We might be better able to appreciate the exact significance of the Lupercalia if we could be sure of the etymology of the word, but on this point there has been much divergence of opinion both in ancient and modern times. We have seen that in antiquity some people understood the name to signify "purification by means of a goat". In modern times three principal etymologies have been proposed and defended by scholars of repute. In the first place, it has been held that *lupercus* is simply an emphatic form of *lupus*, "a wolf", the termination *ca* being like that in *noverca*, which may be simply an emphatic form of *nova*, "the new (mother)", "the stepmother". On this theory Luperci are "the Wolves", the Lupercal is "the Wolf-sanctuary", and the Lupercalia is "the Wolf-festival". This view was adopted by Th. Mommsen, H. Jordan, and other scholars.[2] In the second place, others derive *lupercus* from *lupus*, "a wolf", and *arcere*, "to keep off", so that *lupercus* would mean "he who keeps off wolves". This explanation is accepted by L. Preller, G. Wissowa, and L. Deubner.[3] The same derivation of the name was approved by some of the ancients.[4]

[1] M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 463.

[2] Th. Mommsen, *Roman History*, translated by W. P. Dickson (London, 1868), i. 49, 54, 57; H. Jordan, in L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 126 note[1], 380 note[4]; O. Gilbert, *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, i. 145 note[2]; Otto, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vi. 2, coll. 2064 *sq.*, *s.v.* "Faunus".

[3] L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 380; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 209, 559 note[2]; L. Deubner, "Lupercalia", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. (1910) pp. 485 *sq.*

[4] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 343, "*Ergo ideo et Evander deo gentis suae sacravit locum, et nominavit* Lupercal, *quod praesidio ipsius numinis lupi a pecudibus arcerentur*".

In the third place, others explain *lupercus* as a compound of *lupus*, "a wolf", and *hircus*, "a he-goat", so that the composite *lupercus* would mean "wolf-goat". This explanation was proposed by A. Schwegler, accepted by W. Mannhardt, and preferred by J. A. Hild.[1]

To the first of these etymologies it may be objected that if the Luperci personated any animal, it was apparently not the wolf but the goat; for they sacrificed goats, were clad in girdles of goatskin, wielded thongs of goatskin, and were popularly known by a name (*creppi*) which seems to have signified "goats". How could they be called Wolves?

The second of these etymologies appears to be philologically possible and to offer a good sense if we suppose the Lupercalia to have been an essentially pastoral ceremony designed for the protection of the flocks and herds. For in Europe the most dangerous enemy of the cattle and the sheep is the wolf, and nothing could be more useful than a body of priests or magicians whose office it was to keep the ravening beast from the folds. But to this view there are objections. In our records it is not said that the Luperci paid any attention to the flocks and herds: it was not the folds and cattle-stalls but the city that they ran round; and it was not the sheep and cattle but the men and women, and especially the women, that they purified by the blows of their goatskins. Moreover, we must remember that the wolf was sacred to Mars;[2] that it was in the character of the sacred beast of Mars that the she-wolf had nursed the god's children, Romulus and Remus;[3] and that the Lupercal, from which the Luperci started on their rounds, was supposed to be the very lair of the she-wolf which had acted as foster-mother to the founders of Rome. How then could the Luperci, as Romans, dare to drive away the kinsfolk of their kind stepmother? In the ritual, as it is described by ancient authors, there is not a

[1] A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 361; W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 60; J. A. Hild, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, iii. 2. p. 1399. Compare Mannhardt's criticisms of the other two etymologies (*op. cit.* pp. 86-89).

[2] Livy, x. 28. 8 *sq.*; Virgil, *Aen.* ix. 566; Horace, *Odes*, i. 17. 9.

[3] Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 12. 20; Propertius, v. (iv.) 1. 55 *sq.*; Manilius, iv. 26; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 21. 3-4; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 4. 2.

trace of such a function : wolves are not so much as mentioned in it.

Accepting the third etymology, Mannhardt proposed to explain the title *lupercus*, " wolf-goat ", as signifying the union of two priestly colleges, of which the one personated wolves and the other goats, and of which the members called themselves accordingly Wolves and Goats respectively. Under these two names, according to him, the priests represented the Spirit of Vegetation in animal form, for down to this day in European folk-lore both wolves and goats are very often conceived to be embodiments of the Corn-spirit.[1] In point of fact, as we have seen, the Luperci were divided into two colleges, the Quinctiales and the Fabii, of which the Quinctiales were associated with Romulus and the Fabii with Remus.[2] As the Lupercal, the lair of the foster-mother wolf, was at the Palatine, and the Fabii observed the sacred rites of their family on the Quirinal,[3] it seems to follow, on Mannhardt's hypothesis, that the Quinctiales were of old the Wolves and the Fabii the Goats, and that, when the two colleges united, they assumed the joint name of Wolves-goats (*Luperci*).[4]

This ingenious theory, though it is not free from difficulties, seems open to less serious objections than either of its rivals, and we may provisionally acquiesce in it till a better has been suggested. It has, indeed, been objected to it[5] that the festival appears to have been a purely pastoral one, and that it was recognized as such by the ancients ; for Cicero refers contemptuously to the college of the Luperci as " a sort of wild and thoroughly pastoral and rustic brotherhood of regular Wolves (*germanorum Lupercorum*), which was formed in the woods before the institution of civilized life and law " ;[6] and Plutarch, speaking of the Lupercalia,

[1] Of these embodiments I have collected evidence in *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. pp. 271 *sqq.*, 281 *sqq.*

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 369-377 ; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 22. 1.

[3] Livy, v. 46. 2-3, v. 52. 3.

[4] W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, pp. 90 *sqq.*

[5] By W. Warde Fowler (*Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 316 *sq.*) and L. Deubner (" Lupercalia ", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. (1910) pp. 487 *sq.*).

[6] Cicero, *Pro Caelio*, 11. 26, " *Neque vero illud me commovet, quod sibi in Lupercis sodalem esse Caelium dixit. Fera quaedam sodalitas et plane pastoricia atque agrestis germanorum Lupercorum, quorum coitio illa silvestris ante est instituta quam humanitas atque leges* ".

observes that "many write that it was of old a festival of shepherds, and it somewhat resembles the Arcadian Lycaea".[1] To this it may be retorted that in the ancient accounts of the festival which have come down to us there are references to the crops [2] but none to the flocks and herds. Therefore, so far as the balance of evidence is concerned, it inclines rather against than in favour of the pastoral theory of the Lupercalia. However, the two apparently inconsistent theories are reconciled by the view that the festival was one of purification which, by ridding the community of the evil powers of barrenness and disease that had infested it in the past year, set free the kindly powers of nature to perform their genial task of promoting the fertility alike of women, of cattle, and of the fields.

One singular feature of the Lupercalia, which is mentioned by Plutarch alone, remains to be noticed. Before the Luperci began to run their rounds, they slaughtered the goats of which the skins were to be used by them to strike the people. When they had finished the slaughter, two youths of good family were brought to them, and with the bloody knife some of the Luperci touched the two youths on the forehead, and immediately afterwards others wiped away the blood with wool steeped in milk. No sooner had the blood been thus wiped away than the youths were bound to laugh. Next the Luperci cut up the skins of the slaughtered goats into thongs and began to run naked, except for their girdles, striking all whom they met with the thongs.[3] The meaning of this curious piece of ritual is obscure, as Plutarch, who reports it, himself confesses. The only plausible explanation of it, so far as I know, is the one suggested by Mannhardt, namely, that it was a ritual of death and resurrection, or rather of death and a new birth. By touching the lad on the forehead with the knife which had been used in the slaughter of the goats, and which still dripped with their blood, they symbolically slew him as a goat, and by wiping away the blood with wool steeped in (goat's ?) milk they symbolically brought him to life again as a kid that needed to be fed on its mother's milk. The lads testified their joy

[1] Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*, 61. 1. [2] See above, p. 332.
[3] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 21. 4-5.

at the new birth by laughing; and afterwards we may suppose, though we are not told by Plutarch, that they girt themselves with the goatskin and ran about with the other Luperci as full-grown goats (*creppi*), smiting the people with the thongs of goatskin. Thus if we suppose with Mannhardt that the Luperci as Goats represented the Spirits of Vegetation, which were often supposed to assume that form,[1] the symbolic death and new birth of one of them at the festival represented, and would be supposed to hasten, the rebirth of vegetable and animal life in the spring, then near at hand.[2] At all events this explanation of the Lupercalia, which we owe to the genius of Mannhardt, satisfies all the conditions of a reasonable hypothesis, which cannot be said of any other explanation that has been propounded.

Mannhardt's interpretation of the application of milk to the forehead of the youths may seem far-fetched, but it is perhaps confirmed by the ritual use of milk in the worship of Attis; for after a period of abstinence and fasting the worshipper was fed with milk as if he had been born again.[3] Again, in ancient Greece, if a man returned alive after he had been given up for dead and funeral rites had been performed for him, he was obliged to make a pretence of being born again of a woman and of sucking milk from her breasts, before he was allowed to resume ordinary relations with his fellows and to participate in the offices of religion.[4] Even the pretence of being born again from a goat, extravagantly absurd as it may seem to civilized readers, has its exact parallel in savage ritual. Among the Kikuyu of Mount Kenya, in East Africa, every child has, or had till recently, to undergo a rite consisting of a pretence of being born either from a goat or a sheep before he was allowed to be circumcised. The rite, which appears to be

[1] In classical antiquity the woodland spirits—the Fauns, Satyrs, Pan, and Silvanus—are regularly represented in semi-human, semi-goat form. See W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1877), pp. 113 *sqq.*

[2] W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, pp. 96-100. The suggestion that the milk in which the wool used to wipe off the goat's blood was goat's milk is mine, not Mannhardt's.

[3] Sallustius, "De diis et mundo" iv., *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum*, ed. F. G. A. Mullach, iii. 33; *id.* ed. A. D. Nock (Cambridge, 1926), p. 8, ἐπὶ τούτοις γάλακτος τροφὴ ὥσπερ ἀναγεννωμένων.

[4] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 5; Hesychius, *s.v.* Δευτερόποτμος.

still observed, has been independently described by several writers, who had good opportunities for ascertaining the facts. It is known by alternative native names which signify " being born again " and " born of a goat " ; for though a sheep sometimes figures in the ceremony instead of a goat, it appears never to give its name to the rite.[1] I will here quote the latest description of the ceremony which I have met with. The writer, Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, O.B.E., acted for about five years (1909–1916) as Assistant Commissioner at various Government posts in Kenya and enjoyed ample opportunities of studying particularly the tribes on the southern slopes of Mount Kenya. He says : " In addition to the ritual attending the actual birth, there is also the obscure ceremony known as ' Goat Birth ' among the Kikuyu ; or among the minor tribes *Kuitwa Ya Nyamu* (to be named of a beast). The details of this appear to vary considerably, and the rules governing it seem elastic. Broadly, it takes place in early infancy, though the Chuka[2] seem inclined to postpone it somewhat.

" A doctor is summoned and the mother sits on the floor of the hut, while a goat is killed. The skin of this is then spread over the mother's legs, and the child is seated on it, facing the mother, after which the skin is wrapped round the child. A number of old women are present, and they then snatch the child from the skin, giving the trilling cry for a birth—five for a boy and four for a girl—and at the same moment the doctor may utter a name for the child. It seems obscure how far this is a new name, or whether it is usually given when the naming has been postponed. The goat's flesh subsequently provides a feast.

" There is a curious detail sometimes added : the intestine of the goat is tied round the mother's waist, and is cut at the moment when the child is taken up. From the skin of this goat is cut a sort of amulet for the child to wear,

[1] C. W. Hobley, " Kikuyu Customs and Beliefs ", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xl. (1910), pp. 431, 440 *sqq.* ; *id.*, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), pp. 77-79 ; W. Scoresby Routledge and Kathleen Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People, the Akikuyu of British East Africa* (London, 1910), pp. 151-153. For a description of the rite, based on the testimony of these writers, see my *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 7-10.

[2] Another tribe of Mount Kenya.

consisting of a strip from the fore and hind leg, while a diamond-shaped piece of skin is also left on the breast of the goat. The long strip is worn by the child over the shoulder, four days for a girl and five for a boy; it is then taken off and burned, the mother and child being shaved. The use of the diamond-shaped piece of skin from the breast is obscure: a similar piece, however, figures in other ceremonies, and serves to make a finger-ring.

"The whole proceeding is curious and puzzling; the complete lack of any explanation, with the variation in detail among the sections, suggests that the ceremony is the remnant of some older and more elaborate ritual, which has now been almost lost: it is guarded with considerable jealousy, and the above account is from various informants, as I was never able to witness the proceedings myself." [1]

In this account the goat's intestine tied round the mother's waist is clearly an imitation of the navel-string, and its severance at the moment when the child is lifted up from the goatskin represents the severance of that membrane after the birth of a child or of a kid. Thus the representation of the birth of a child from a goat is complete. The meaning of this "birth from a goat" among the Kikuyu is obscure, and it would be rash to assume that it corresponds to that of the rite at the Lupercalia as interpreted by Mannhardt.

Yet there is another curious resemblance or coincidence between the Roman and the Kikuyu rites which deserves to be mentioned, since it may possibly throw light upon both. We have seen that in the Lupercal, from which the Luperci started on their rounds and in which probably the ritual of the goat-birth (if such indeed it was) took place, there grew a fig-tree, at the foot of which the exposed infants Romulus and Remus were believed to have been found by the she-wolf.[2] Now it is a curious fact that Romulus was brought into relation with a fig-tree at his death as well as at his birth. For he is said to have vanished from earth at a place called the Goat's Marsh ("*ad Caprae paludem*") on a day (the seventh of July) which was called the Nones of the Goat

[1] Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, O.B.E. (Mil.), *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya* (London, 1925), pp. 82 *sq.*

[2] See above, p. 330, and below, *Fasti*, ii. 407 *sqq.*

(*Nonae Caprotinae*), because on it the women, both free and slaves, offered sacrifices to Goat Juno (*Juno Caprotina*) under a wild fig-tree, which the Romans called a Goat Fig (*caprificus*): the women cut a twig from the fig-tree and used the milky sap of the tree for the sacrifice. They also roamed about, jeering at all whom they met, and they engaged in a sham fight with each other, in which sticks were used and stones thrown. Finally, they feasted under the fig-tree or under booths made of fig-branches.[1] It is highly probable that, as L. Preller long ago suggested,[2] this festival of licence accorded to women coincided with the artificial fertilization (*caprificatio*) of the fig-trees, which was practised by the Romans about this time of the year; Palladius recommended the solstice in June, Columella preferred July for the operation,[3] which consists in placing figs from a wild fig-tree (*caprificus*) among the branches of a cultivated fig-tree (*ficus*), for the wild fig-tree is a male and the cultivated fig-tree is a female, and the fertilization is effected by insects, which are engendered in the fruit of the male tree and convey the pollen to the blossom of the female.[4] Thus the procedure is a real marriage of the male fig-tree to the female fig-tree, and as such it might naturally give occasion to a festival of women. Perhaps the women were believed to be themselves fertilized by the twigs and the milky juice of the male fig-tree, just as they were supposed to be fertilized by the strips cut from the skins of the male (?) goats. We may surmise that they attempted to fertilize themselves by striking each other with the twigs which they cut from the male fig-tree, just as at the Lupercalia men were sup-

[1] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 29, *Camillus*, 33; Livy, i. 16. 1 (as to the Goat's Marsh); Florus, i. 1. 16 (as to the Goat's Marsh); Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 18; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 11. 36-40. I have discussed this festival in *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 313-319; Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 258-259. The festival is also discussed, in relation to the fig-tree of Romulus, by E. Pais (*Ancient Legends of Roman History*, pp. 55 *sqq.*), but he does not notice its probable connexion with the artificial fertilization of the fig.

[2] L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 287.

[3] Palladius, *De re rustica*, iv. 10. 28; Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 56. Compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 79-81, xvi. 114, xvii. 256.

[4] A. Engler, in V. Hehn's *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien*[7] (Berlin, 1902), p. 99. For more details see *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 314 *sq.*

posed to fertilize women by striking them with the thongs cut from the skins of male (?) goats; and they may have used the milky sap of the male fig-tree for the same purpose.[1] The male goat and the male fig-tree would both be esteemed instruments for the fertilization of women, and we could perfectly understand why the Romans called the wild fig-tree a goat-fig-tree (*caprificus*), because it was a male which fertilized female fig-trees and women, just as a he-goat (*caper*) fertilizes a she-goat. The analogy did not escape the Greeks. They, too, practised caprification or the artificial fertilization of figs,[2] and in Messenia a wild fig-tree was called simply a he-goat.[3]

The theory that the festival observed at Rome and in Latium[4] by women on the seventh of July was in fact a marriage of the male fig-trees with the female fig-trees for the production of figs, and incidentally for the fertilization of women, is confirmed by the ritual observed at Athens about a month earlier. On the sixth day of the month of Thargelion (corresponding to the latter part of May and the early part of June) a man and a woman, drawn from the offscourings of the population, were led through the streets of Athens in the character of scapegoats, the man representing the men, and the woman representing the women: round his neck the man wore a string of black figs, and round her neck the woman wore a string of white figs; after being thus publicly paraded they were led out of the city and apparently put to death, though their execution and the manner of it, if indeed it took place, are not certain.[5] It was suggested

[1] The cutting of the twig from the fig-tree is mentioned by Varro (*De lingua Latina*, vi. 13, "*E caprifico adhibent virgam*"); the use of the milky sap of the tree is mentioned by Macrobius (*Saturn.* i. 11. 40, "*Sacrificiumque statuit annua solemnitate celebrandum, cui lac quod ex caprifico manat propter memoriam facti praecedentis adhibetur*").

[2] Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* v. 32, p. 557 b, ed. Bekker; Theophrastus, *Histor. Plant.* ii. 8, *De causis plantarum*, ii. 9. 5; Plutarch, *Quaest. conviv.* vii. 2. 2; *Geoponica*, iii. 6, x. 48. According to the *Geoponica* (iii. 6), caprification should be done in June.

[3] Pausanias, iv. 20. 1-3. In this passage Pausanias tells us that the ordinary Greek word for a wild fig-tree was *olynthe*, but that the Messenians called it *tragos* ("he-goat"), and that an oracle played on the ambiguity of the term.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 18, "*Nonae Caprotinae, quod eo die in Latio Iunoni Caprotinae mulieres sacrificantur et sub caprifico faciunt*".

[5] Helladius, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 534 A, ed. Bekker (Berlin, 1824); Harpocration, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* φαρμακός; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 734,

with great probability by the late W. R. Paton that this ceremony, in one at least of its aspects, may have been designed to promote, by sympathetic or imitative magic, that caprification or artificial fertilization of the fig which still takes place in June in Greece and Asia Minor;[1] and the theory is strongly confirmed by the observation that in Asia Minor in antiquity the human scapegoat, before being put to death, was beaten on the genital organs with branches of a wild fig-tree while the flutes played a certain tune.[2] This ceremonial beating to music can only have been intended to increase the virility of the man by contact with the generative virtue of the male fig-tree; and this again is confirmed by the colour of the figs he wore round his neck, for we know from Theophrastus that black figs from the male fig-tree were specially recommended for fertilizing the female fig-tree.[3] It is likely enough that, as Paton thought, the beating was a preparation for real or symbolic sexual intercourse between the man and the woman; for sexual intercourse has similarly been practised in many parts of the world for the sake of promoting the crops by sympathetic magic.[4]

The operation of artificially fertilizing the figs is still annually performed in Sicily either on Midsummer Day or in the early days of July;[5] in the latter case the date nearly,

and on *Knights*, 1136; Hesychius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* *φαρμακοί*; Suidas, *Lexicon*, *s.vv.* *κάθαρμα*, *φαρμακός*, *Φάρμακος*, *φαρμακούς*; Lysias, *Orat.* vi. 53. According to Helladius and Harpocration, these human scapegoats were two men; according to Hesychius, they were a man and a woman, and as, according to Helladius and Harpocration, one of them represented the men and the other represented the women, it seems more likely that the representative of the women was a woman. On this ceremony see W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, pp. 124-138 (who rightly brought it into relation to the Lupercalia, though not to caprification); E. Cahen, *s.v.* "Thargélia", Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, v. 1, pp. 176-178; A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, pp. 468-477; P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*[3], pp. 245 *sq.*; *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 253-259.

[1] W. R. Paton, "The *φαρμακοί* and the Story of the Fall", *Revue Archéologique*, iv. Série ix. (1907) pp. 51 *sqq.*

[2] J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, v. 726-761 (ed. Th. Kiesseling, Leipzig, 1826); Hesychius, *s.vv.* *κραδίης νόμος* and *κραδησίτης*.

[3] Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ii. 8. 2. The statement is copied by Pliny. *Nat. Hist.* xvii. 256, "*Caprificorum laudantur maximae nigrae*" etc.

[4] *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 97 *sqq.*

[5] G. Pitrè, *Usi e Costumi, Credenze e Pregiudizi del Popolo Siciliano* (Palermo, 1889), iii. 113.

or perhaps exactly, coincides with that of the *Nonae Caprotinae* (July 7), thus serving to confirm the interpretation which I have adopted of the rites observed by Roman and Latin women on that day. Nor is this marriage of the fig-trees confined to Southern Europe; on the opposite side of the Mediterranean it is observed in Morocco and generally in North Africa on Midsummer Day, the very time prescribed for the operation by Palladius in antiquity. On that day bunches of male figs are hung in the female fig-trees, and some people make cuts in the trunks of the fig-trees to let the sap ooze out,[1] just as the women in Latium did on the *Nonae Caprotinae*. Midsummer day is a great festival among the native peoples, whether Berber or Arab, of North Africa; many charms are practised at that season for the fertilization of plants and the healing of diseases.[2] The ceremonies observed at this time in North Africa present, indeed, so remarkable a resemblance to the popular celebration of Midsummer in Europe, with regard particularly to the rites of fire and water, that we seem almost driven to assume the existence of a homogeneous culture on both sides of the Mediterranean at some period before the rise and spread of Greek and Roman civilization.[3] Of that culture the artificial fertilization of the fig-tree, with the magical rites which accompanied it, would seem to have formed a part.

I have said that besides the apparent resemblance between the Roman and the Kikuyu pretence of birth from a goat, there was another parallelism between the customs of the two peoples which deserves to be considered; this is their belief in the fertilizing power which fig-trees exercise on women, and the close analogy which the ancient Romans and the modern Kikuyu alike traced between fig-trees and goats. For the Kikuyu attribute to the wild fig-tree the power of fertilizing barren women. For this purpose they apply the white sap or milk of the tree to various parts of the body of the would-be mother; then, having sacrificed a

[1] Budget Meakin, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 258; E. Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers, 1908), p. 568; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), ii. 190.

[2] E. Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, pp. 565 *sqq.*; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii. 182-206.

[3] *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 213-219.

goat, they tie the woman to a wild fig-tree with long strips cut from the intestines of the sacrificial animal.[1] Thus the barren woman is brought simultaneously into close physical contact both with a goat and a male fig-tree; both are clearly expected to fertilize her. The milky sap of the tree is apparently regarded as its seed; and we may conjecture that it was similarly regarded by Roman women and similarly applied to their persons on the *Nonae Caprotinae*.

At the request of my friend Mr. C. W. Hobley, further inquiries on this subject were instituted among the Kikuyu and the Akamba of Kenya Colony by Mr. Juxon Barton, Assistant Secretary to the Government of Kenya Colony at Nairobi; and as the results of the inquiries confirm Mr. Hobley's former account and further illustrate the curious parallel between Africa and Rome in this respect, some notice of them may not be out of place here.

Among the northern Kikuyu the following account was

[1] From a letter to me from Mr. C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., late Senior Provincial Commissioner, Kenya Colony. The letter is dated Nairobi, British East Africa, July 27th, 1910. This interesting information was given spontaneously and not in answer to any questions of mine. Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 316 *sqq*. In his book, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), pp. 197 *sq*., Mr. Hobley describes the custom in a slightly different form as follows: "Among the Kikuyu if a married woman does not prove fertile, a medicine man takes her to a *mukeo*, *mukenyia*, or *muthakwa* tree, and there suffocates a *mwati* (a young ewe which has not yet borne a kid); the elders of the husband's clan take the small intestine of the *mwati* and twine it around the woman and the tree, the intestine being then cut through with a sharp splinter of wood. The ceremony concludes with the anointing of the woman on the forehead with castor oil, and some fat from the carcase of the *mwati* is melted and poured out at the foot of the tree." In this account the sacrificial victim is a sheep, not a goat, and the trees, of which Mr. Hobley gives the native names, appear not to be fig-trees. In a later letter (dated Chale, High View Road, Sidcup, Sept. 11, 1927) Mr. Hobley informs me that in the sacrifice described in his book (pp. 197 *sq*.) the sacrificial victim is "a ewe (female of sheep) which has not borne young", and that the three trees there mentioned are conjecturally identified by the late Conservator of Forests in Kenya with the *Dombeya sp*., the *Ardisia sp*., and the *Vernonia sp*. In the same letter Mr. Hobley writes: "The information I sent you in 1910 was obtained by me from the chief Kinanjui and a number of his elders who came to see me at Nairobi, and I remember holding the conference on the tennis lawn at my bungalow. On one side of the lawn is a great wild fig-tree which was originally parasitic on a muhugu tree (Brachylaura), long ago, however, it had killed the host and the fig had grown into a mighty tree. I remember the elders showing me how the woman was tied to the tree, and the wild fig in question has a white latex which oozes out from under the outer bark."

given by a native interpreter named Kiranga to Mr. R. G. Stone, District Commissioner, Nyeri, Kenya Colony.

The barren woman goes with her husband and a medicine-man to a fig-tree (*mukuyu*) or to a tree called *mugumu*, which appears to belong to the fig family. They take with them a ewe which has not lambed. Arrived at the tree, the woman finds a foothold, such as a branch or a protuberance of the bole, and takes her stand on it, with her back to the trunk and her face to her husband and the medicine-man. The husband takes the sheep and places it, pick-a-back fashion, on his wife's shoulders, so that the head of the sheep rests on hers, while she grasps the fore feet of the sheep above her shoulders, and its hind legs are round her loins. The medicine-man then kills the sheep with the stab of a knife in the throat driven home to the heart, and the blood pours over the woman's head and body. The body of the sheep is thereupon removed and placed on one side. After that the medicine-man takes a twig of the tree against which the woman has been standing, bores a hole in it, and fills the hole with a mixture of earth from a path, castor oil, and his own medicines. Having done so, he seals up the hole with gum from a native tree. The twig of the fig-tree, thus prepared, is bound round the woman's middle by the tendrils of a certain plant, so that the twig projects downwards over the woman's vagina. She must wear it in this position until the tendrils dry and break. The medicine-man then makes a doll out of the leaves of certain shrubs and places it between the woman's breasts. She carries it home, speaking to no one by the way, and on reaching her hut she places the doll carefully on her bed, and tends it as though it were her child. That night the husband and wife must cohabit, while the leaf doll lies beside the woman on the bed.

The native interpreter, who gave Mr Stone the foregoing account, averred that the ceremony was always efficacious, and in proof of it he cited the case of his own wife, who had been barren till she underwent the ceremony, but since then she had borne four children.

In this account it will be observed that the victim sacrificed is not a goat but a sheep. However, a medicine-man of the district, who had officiated at hundreds of such ceremonies,

told Mr. Stone that the victim may be either a goat or a sheep, but that the milky juice of the fig-tree (whether *mukuyu* or *mugumu*) is essential, and so is the blood of the sheep or goat, which is used in the manner described by Kiranga. According to one account, after the barren woman has been drenched with the blood of the sheep at the fig-tree, she is tied to the tree by the intestines of the sacrificed sheep.[1]

Similar ceremonies for the fertilization of barren women are reported to be common among the Machakos Akamba, another tribe of Kenya, though among them the custom of tying the barren woman to a tree with the intestines of a goat is said to be unknown. On this subject Mr. H. Beresford Stooke, Assistant District Commissioner, Machakos, Kenya Colony, writes as follows: "Among the Machakos Akamba these ceremonies are comparatively common, and the traditions thereof have been handed down from father to son. There is no definite custom, as each medicine-man has his own way of doing things. The latex of the fig-tree and the contents of a sacrificial goat's bowels play a prominent part in all ceremonies of this nature. Fig-tree latex is usually used by itself and is smeared on the loins and navel of the patient. . . . Some medicine-men anoint the patient with the blood of the goat which has been sacrificed, and one method of doing this is by placing the carcase, after the intestines have been cut out, over the patient's head. . . . I have no knowledge of the Roman custom, but fig-tree latex and goat's intestines are the main constituents of Akamba ceremonies. Other details may differ considerably according to the prejudices of individual medicine-men."

Thus both the Kikuyu and the Akamba smear the milky juice of the fig-tree on the body of a barren woman in order to get her with child, and the Kikuyu custom of hanging a twig of the fig-tree over the woman's vagina seems to prove that in the opinion of the Akikuyu the fig-tree possesses a procreative virtue. These customs, coupled with the sacrifice of a goat or a sheep and the pouring of its blood on the barren woman, present a very close parallel to the Roman

[1] Notes of Mr. J. H. Clive, Assistant District Commissioner, Fort Hall, Kenya Colony.

ritual of the *Nonae Caprotinae*, if we suppose, as I conjecture, that at that festival the women applied to themselves or to each other the twig which they cut from the Goat Fig-tree (*caprificus*), that they smeared each other with the milky juice of the tree, that the victim which they sacrificed to Goat Juno (*Juno Caprotina*) was a goat, and that the object which the women aimed at in performing these rites was to fertilize at once the fig-trees and themselves.

Further, it should be noted that the attitude of the Kikuyu woman standing against the trunk of the fig-tree, with the sheep or the goat mounted on her back, its head resting on her head, its fore feet drawn over her shoulders, and its hind legs trailing down her loins, is exactly the attitude of Juno Sospes or Sospita at Lanuvium, who, as we have seen,[1] was similarly portrayed with the skin of a goat hanging down her back, its head over her head, its fore feet knotted on her breast, and its hind legs dangling at her thighs. As the attitude of the Kikuyu woman is adopted for the express purpose of impregnating her, we seem driven to conclude that this is believed to be done by identifying her with the animal, which in the ceremony appears to be always a female, whether a ewe or a she-goat, that has not yet had a lamb or a kid and so far resembles the woman, who has not yet borne a child. Apparently the impregnation is supposed to be effected by contact with the fig-tree; if any doubt could subsist on this head, it would be dispelled by the custom of suspending a twig of the fig-tree over the woman's vagina and compelling her to wear it in this position until, the tendrils which bind it to her waist withering and breaking, the twig drops to the ground. It would be hard to imagine any symbolism more expressive of a procreative virtue ascribed to the tree. The parallel suggests that on the Goat Nones (*Nonae Caprotinae*) the Roman women made a similar use of the twig which they cut from the goat-fig-tree (*caprificus*); that they sacrificed a goat to Goat Juno (*Juno Caprotina*) under the goat-fig-tree, and invested themselves with the goat's skin in the exact attitude of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium and of Kikuyu women in Kenya, all for the sake of getting children through the procreative virtue of the goat-

[1] Note on *Fasti*, ii. 55, above, pp. 295 *sq.*

fig-tree. And if, as seems probable, the day (the *Nonae Caprotinae*) on which these ceremonies took place was also the day when the female fig-trees were fertilized by attaching to them bunches of figs from the male fig-tree (the goat-fig-tree), the women could not have chosen a better day for fertilizing themselves at the same time by contact with the male fig-tree, then at the very height of its generative activity.

Thus to the Kikuyu, as to the ancient Roman mind, the distinction between a wild fig-tree and a goat would seem to be almost negligible; both were supposed to be endowed with generative virtue which could be communicated by simple contact to women.

The same belief in the fertilization of women by goats and trees comes out no less clearly in a ceremony observed by the Baganda of Central Africa for the purpose of quickening the womb of a barren woman. "After a husband had tried other methods in vain, the medicine-man ordered him to come with his wife and to bring a male goat; and the goat was killed by the medicine-man, who cut out the male organs and gave them to the woman to cook in a small pot; when she had done so, the medicine-man mixed the soup with herbs, and sent the couple to some place where a wild banana was growing. There the man stood on one side of the tree, and the woman on the other. The man drank some of the soup from the pot, and passed it round the tree to his wife who also drank of it; it was assumed that after this ceremony their union would be fruitful, and that the desired child would be born in due time." [1]

We can now, perhaps, better understand why Roman men were supposed to fertilize women by striking them with strips of goatskin at the Lupercalia, and why Roman women feasted under the goat-fig-tree (*caprificus*) in honour of Goat-Juno, cut a twig of the tree, and extracted its milky sap on the Nones of the Goat (*Nonae Caprotinae*). In thinking and acting thus the ancient Romans were in perfect agreement with the theory and practice of some black tribes of Africa at the present day; and from the practice of the Baganda we may infer with some confidence that the goats whose

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), p. 46.

skins furnished the scourges at the Lupercalia were males.[1] Indeed, a moment's reflection should satisfy us that the skins of she-goats would have been perfectly useless for the purpose of getting women with child; the thing would have been physically impossible, and we may be sure that, as sensible people, the Romans would not have attempted it.

The mode of artificially fertilizing the date-palm resembles that of fertilizing the fig-tree. The method adopted in North Africa and Egypt is thus described by the old English traveller, Thomas Shaw. "It is well known that these trees (the date-palms) are male and female; and that the fruit will be dry and insipid without a previous communication with the male. In the month of March or April therefore, when the sheaths that respectively inclose the young clusters of the male flowers and the female fruit, begin to open (at which time the latter are formed, and the first are mealy;) they take a sprig or two of the male cluster, and insert it into the sheath of the female; or else they take a whole cluster of the male tree, and sprinkle the meal or *farina* of it over several clusters of the female. The latter practice is common in Egypt, where they have a number of males: but the trees of Barbary are impregnated by the former method; one male being sufficient to impregnate four or five hundred females."[2] From a later writer we learn that both the methods of fertilizing the female palm which Shaw describes are now practised in Algeria.[3]

These modes of fertilizing the date-palm were known to the ancients. Theophrastus describes the process of shaking the pollen of the male palm over the fruit of the female palm, and he rightly compared it to the artificial fertilization of the fig.[4] At a still earlier time Herodotus tells us that the

[1] This is also indicated in the passages of Quintilian and Servius quoted above (pp. 335 *sq.*).

[2] Thomas Shaw, D.D., F.R.S., *Travels or Observations relating to several Parts of Barbary and the Levant*, Second Edition (London, 1757), p. 142. By "the meal or *farina*" of the male palm Shaw means the pollen.

[3] Lieut.-Col. Villot, *Mœurs, Coutumes et Institutions des Indigènes d'Algérie*[3] (Paris, 1888), p. 347. According to this author the fertilization of the palms in Algeria takes place in April. As to the artificial fertilization of the date-palm see further C. Ritter, *Vergleichende Erdkunde von Arabien* (Berlin, 1847), ii. 811, 827 *sq.*

[4] Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ii. 8. 4, *De Causis Plantarum*, iii. 18. 1. Compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 34 *sq.*

Babylonians or, as he calls them, the Assyrians, fertilized the date-palms like the fig-trees by tying the fruit of the male palms to the date-bearing palms, that is, to the females.[1] In Babylonia the custom was probably very ancient. On Assyrian monuments a winged human figure, probably a priest, is often represented holding an object like a pine-cone to a palm-tree. On one of these sculptured slabs in the British Museum the priest is thus portrayed in company with King Ashur-nasir-pal. Together they are clearly performing a solemn religious rite at the tree; and the scene has been explained, with great probability, by Sir Edward B. Tylor, as the artificial fertilization of the female palm by means of the inflorescence of the male palm, which the priest is holding out in his raised right hand towards the tree.[2] If this interpretation of the scene is correct, we may infer that in Babylonia the fertilization of the palms was celebrated by a religious festival comparable to those which the Greeks and Latins appear to have celebrated on the occasion of the fertilization of the fig. Nor is it surprising that religion should thus be called in to reinforce the purely arboricultural operations; for dates and figs are still the staple food of the Arabs,[3] and they probably have been so among other Semitic peoples from a remote antiquity. It would be no wonder, therefore, if the king, who in primitive society is regarded as respon-

[1] Herodotus, i. 193.

[2] E. B. Tylor, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xii. (1890) pp. 383-393; *The British Museum, Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*[3] (1922), p. 43, with Plates xiv. and xvi. According to another interpretation (mentioned in the *Guide, l.c.*), the priest is holding out the object to the king and is in the act of anointing him. It is true that on the relief the figure of the king is interposed between the priest and the tree, so that the priest appears to be holding out the object to the back of the king's head rather than to the tree. But this is probably due only to the artistic difficulty of representing the two figures in perspective side by side. If we accept the theory of anointing rather than that of fertilization, the part played by the tree in the scene remains unexplained. Yet the tree is obviously the centre of interest, for the priest and the king are represented in duplicate on each side of it, both of them facing toward it; and the king is seen raising his right hand towards the tree in an attitude exactly corresponding to that of the priest. For these reasons the theory of fertilization, proposed by Sir Edward Tylor, appears to be much the more probable of the two.

[3] A. de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (London, 1884), p. 303. We are told that "in Egypt and generally in North Africa, Persia, and Arabia, dates form the principal food, and date palms the principal wealth of the people" (*Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, New Edition, vol. iii. (1925) p. 695).

sible for the weather and the crops, should officiate in person at the sacred marriage of the palms, on the fruitfulness of which the life of his people in large measure depended. The association of Romulus with the fig-tree at his birth, and his mysterious disappearance on the very day of the year on which the fertilization of the fig seems to have been celebrated in Latium, suggest that he too may have played an important, perhaps a fatal, part in the rites of the day. If at Athens, as appears probable, the ceremony of the fertilization of the fig-trees was accompanied by the sacrifice of a man and a woman who personified the male and the female fig-trees respectively, may not the corresponding ceremony in Italy have had a like tragic accompaniment? If so, it is possible that the king or his substitute may have been the victim chosen for the sacrifice; since in early society the king is often deemed answerable with his life for the growth of the crops and for the whole course of nature. According to one tradition, Romulus was cut to pieces on the *Nonae Caprotinae* in the Senate-house by the senators, who buried the bleeding fragments in the earth.[1] What more could they have done if they had desired to quicken the fruits of the earth by the blood and flesh of the king?

It was an ingenious conjecture of the late W. R. Paton that the Christian celebration of Palm Sunday originated in an ancient Oriental festival of the fertilization of the palms.[2] The time at which that fertilization takes place in North Africa, namely in March or April, would fit in very well with the theory, since Palm Sunday always falls within these months.

When we consider the religious parallelism which seems to have marked the cultivation of the palm and the fig in antiquity, it is worth while to remember that the ancient habitat of the two trees appears to have been approximately the same. On this subject the eminent botanist Alphonse de Candolle observes with regard to the date palm: "I think, in fine, that in times anterior to the earliest Egyptian

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 56. 4; Livy, i. 16. 4; Florus, i. 1. 16 *sq.*; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 27. 5. Compare A. B. Cook, "The European Sky-God", *Folk-lore*, xvi. (1905) pp. 324 *sq.*

[2] W. R. Paton, "The Pharmakoi and the Story of the Fall", *Revue Archéologique*, Quatrième Série, ix. (1907) pp. 54 *sq.*

dynasties the date-palm already existed, wild or sown here and there by wandering tribes, in a narrow zone extending from the Euphrates to the Canaries, and that its cultivation began later as far as the north-west of India on the one hand and the Cape de Verde Islands on the other, so that the natural area has remained nearly the same for about five thousand years ".[1] In regard to the habitat of the fig the same authority tells us that " in our own day the fig tree grows wild, or nearly wild, over a vast region of which Syria is about the centre ; that is to say, from the east of Persia, or even from Afghanistan, across the whole of the Mediterranean region as far as the Canaries " ; and after examining the evidence for the diffusion of the fig in antiquity, he concludes that " the prehistoric area of the fig tree covered the middle and southern part of the Mediterranean basin from Syria to the Canaries ".[2] Thus it seems not unreasonable to suppose that before the rise of the great civilizations of Babylonia, Egypt, and Greece, a ruder but perhaps more homogeneous culture, based to a large extent on the cultivation of the date-palm and the fig-tree, may have prevailed throughout a zone stretching from the Tigris and Euphrates on the east along the whole of North Africa to the Atlantic on the west, with offshoots on the northern coasts of the Mediterranean in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy ; and that the religion of the people throughout this great area may have centred to some extent round the trees from which they mainly drew their subsistence. And when we remember further the importance which other fruit-trees, such as the banana and the coco-nut palm, have had in the life of other peoples in other parts of the world, we may be inclined to think that historians have not taken sufficient account of arboriculture as a stage in the economic progress of mankind from hunting to agriculture. But we have wandered far from Ovid. It is time to return to him.

II. 271. **The Arcadians of old are said to have worshipped Pan.**—Having assigned the Lupercalia to the worship of Faunus, our author proceeds to identify Faunus with the Greek god Pan, and to explain that the Lupercalia was

[1] A. de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (London, 1884), pp. 303 *sq.*
[2] A. de Candolle, *op. cit.* pp. 295, 298.

a festival which Evander brought with him from Arcadia to his new home on the Palatine. The same view of the Arcadian origin of the festival was adopted by Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch ;[1] it seems indeed to have been the general opinion of the ancients. The identification of Faunus with Pan was natural and almost justifiable, for the two gods appear to have been closely akin ; both were deities of the wild woods and closely associated with goats, both being represented in semi-human, semi-goat form, unless indeed we are to suppose that the representations of Faunus in semi-goat form, to which Ovid alludes in other parts of the poem,[2] are simply due to his identification with the Greek prototype.[3] Pan was worshipped especially in Arcadia,[4] as Ovid correctly indicates in the following lines ; and this was natural enough, since he was especially a god of herdsmen and shepherds, and Arcadia was above all a land of flocks and herds. Hence in a lost ode Pindar hailed Pan as "lord of Arcadia".[5]

II. 273. **Witness Mount Pholoe, witness the Stymphalian waters, and the Ladon that runs seaward with rapid current.**— Mount Pholoe is a mountain of north-western Arcadia,[6] forming a southern continuation of Mount Erymanthus. Mount Lampea, a branch of Mount Erymanthus, was said to be sacred to Pan.[7] The Stymphalian lake, in northern Arcadia, is a small and shallow but beautiful mere surrounded by high wooded mountains. The Ladon is a river of northern Arcadia ; as Ovid says, it is a rapid river, tumbling in foam over the rocks that obstruct its course,

[1] Livy, i. 5. 2 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 80. 1 ; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 21. 3.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 312, v. 99, 101 ; compare *Heroides*, iv. 49, "*Faunique bicornes*".

[3] Compare W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1877), pp. 113 *sqq.* ; G. Wissowa, *s.v.* "Faunus", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1453 *sqq.* ; Wernicke, *s.v.* "Pan", *ib.* iii. 1347 *sqq.* ; J. A. Hild, *s.v.* "Faunus", in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, ii. 2, pp. 1021 *sqq.* ; J. A. Hild, *s.v.* "Pan", *ib.* iv. 1, pp. 296 *sqq.*

[4] Pausanias, viii. 26. 2 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 32. 3 ; Wernicke, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iii. 1349 *sqq.*

[5] Pindar, *Frag.* 95 (63) ed. Sandys[2].

[6] Pausanias, vi. 21. 5, viii. 24. 4, viii. 27. 17.

[7] Pausanias, viii. 24. 4.

and sending up a roar of waters to the traveller who follows it far above on the narrow footpath that clings to the side of the deep wooded gorge through which the river bursts its impetuous way. Pausanias said that there was no fairer river than the Ladon either in Greece or in foreign land;[1] and so far as my experience goes I agree with him. Milton's "By sandy Ladon's lilied banks"[2] gives no idea of the wild magnificence of the scenery. It would need but little imagination to catch a glimpse of Pan in the dappled shade of the trees and to hear his shrill piping above the thunder of the river.[3]

II. 275. **witness the ridges of the Nonacrine grove begirt with pinewoods.**—Nonacris was an ancient city or town of northern Arcadia not far from the waterfall of the Styx, which falls over an immense perpendicular cliff on the face of Mount *Chelmos* (the ancient Aroanius). In the second century of our era the town lay in ruins, and even of the ruins not much was left.[4] Nothing of them remains to be seen, and even the site of the city is unknown. It is supposed to have been at or near the place now occupied by the prosperous village of Solos at the mouth of the wild glen down which flows the Crathis from the fall of the Styx. The scenery of the profound and narrow glen is almost oppressively grand. The mountains are immense and exceedingly massive; above they are bare and rocky; but their lower slopes are terraced so as to resemble gigantic staircases, and on the terraces are several picturesque villages, the houses straggling at different levels and embowered among trees. At the upper end of the glen soars the mighty cone of Mount *Chelmos* (Aroanius). The grandeur of the scenery, which would otherwise be almost awful, is softened by the wonderful luxuriance of the vegetation in the glen. The horse-chestnut trees especially, with their enormous gnarled and knotted trunks, are a sight to see. The nightingales are said to be very common in the glen and to sing from February to June. A long laborious

[1] Pausanias, viii. 25. 13. [2] Milton, *Arcades*.

[3] I have described more at large, from personal observation, the wonderful gorge of the Ladon in my commentary on Pausanias (vol. iv. pp. 288 *sq.*).

[4] Pausanias, viii. 17. 6; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 231.

ascent by a winding path leads up to the village of Solos, the site perhaps of Nonacris.[1] Altogether the glen is a fit home for Pan, who may have roamed these bleak and awful mountains, making their solitudes echo to the music of his pipe. But I do not remember to have seen any of the pine-woods with which Ovid has adorned the landscape. Probably he painted them from imagination. So far as we know, he was never in Arcadia.

II. 276. **witness high Cyllene and the Parrhasian snows.**—Cyllene, a fine pyramidal mountain of reddish-grey rock, is the highest mountain in Arcadia and nearly in Peloponnese, its height (7789 feet) falling little short of that of Mount St. Elias in Laconia.[2] Its top is clearly visible even from Attica and is capped with snow for about eight months of the year. But in antiquity the mountain was associated with Hermes rather than with Pan. Hermes was born in a cave on the mountain ;[3] he was called Lord of Cyllene ;[4] and he had a temple on the summit, which, however, had fallen into ruins in the second century of our era.[5] Sacrifices were annually offered to him on the top of the mountain. It is said that the remains of the victims and the ashes of the last year's fire were always found unchanged the following year.[6] Parrhasia was a district of western Arcadia which included Mount Lycaeus and the ancient city of Lycosura.[7] The height of Mount Lycaeus is under 5000 feet ; hence the snow does not lie on it so long as on the loftier mountains of northern Arcadia.[8]

II. 281. **the Flamen Dialis still performs in the olden way the rites brought hither by the Pelasgians.**—The rites in question are the Lupercalia, and by the Pelasgians our author means Evander and the Arcadians who were supposed to have brought the rites to Italy from Arcadia. For the inhabitants of Arcadia are said to have been

[1] I have allowed myself to copy the description, based on personal observation, from my commentary on Pausanias (vol. iv. p. 249).
[2] Pausanias, viii. 17. 1, with my note (vol. iv. p. 245).
[3] Apollodorus, iii. 10. 2 ; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* ii. 16.
[4] *Homeric Hymns*, IV. *To Hermes*, 2. [5] Pausanias, viii. 17. 1.
[6] Geminus, *Eisagoge*, 14, pp. 68 *sq.* ed. Halma (17. 3, p. 180 ed. Manitius).
[7] Pausanias, viii. 27. 4, viii. 38. 1-3. See note on *Fasti*, i. 478 (above, pp. 189 *sq.*).
[8] Pausanias, viii. 38. 2, with my note (vol. iv. pp. 381-383).

called Pelasgians before they were named Arcadians.[1] Ovid is the only ancient authority for the statement that the Flamen Dialis officiated at the Lupercalia ; and his participation in the rites is remarkable when we remember that the victims sacrificed on these occasions were goats and dogs, and that by the rules of his office the Flamen Dialis was forbidden to touch or even to name these animals.[2] Are we to suppose that once a year the Flamen Dialis was dispensed from these taboos in order that he might take part in these sacrifices ? If that was so, the sacrifices must have been for him sacraments. But the reading of the line is uncertain. See the Critical Note.

II. 289. **The Arcadians are said to have possessed their land before the birth of Jove.**—According to one account, his mother Rhea gave birth to Jupiter (Zeus) on Mount Lycaeus in Parrhasia, a district of Arcadia. In order to wash the divine infant his mother caused a spring to burst from the ground, and this spring gave rise to the river Neda. The spot was locally known as the Childbed of Rhea ; it was holy, and curiously enough no pregnant woman or animal might approach it.[3]

II. 290. **that folk is older than the moon.**—The claim of the Arcadians that their race existed before the creation of the moon has already been alluded to by Ovid.[4]

II. 305. **As chance would have it, the Tirynthian youth was walking in the company of his mistress.**—The Tirynthian youth is Hercules, who is called Tirynthian because his taskmaster King Eurystheus dwelt in Tiryns, and thither Hercules had to go to take his orders from him.[5] The mistress of Hercules was Omphale, queen of Lydia. The reason for his servitude was this. Hercules had murdered Iphitus by throwing him in a fit of madness from the walls of Tiryns. Being in consequence afflicted with a grievous disease, he inquired of the oracle at Delphi how he might be cured. After a personal tussle with Apollo, in which

[1] Pausanias, viii. 4. 1.

[2] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 111 ; Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 12 (as to the goat only).

[3] Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, 10-38. Compare Pausanias, viii. 36. 3, viii. 38. 2 ; Strabo, viii. 3. 22, p. 348.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 469 *sq.*, with the note.

[5] Apollodorus, ii. 4. 12, ii. 5. 1.

the burly hero attempted to carry off the oracular tripod and set up an oracle of his own, he received an answer that, if he would be healed, he must be sold into slavery for three years and pay compensation for the murder to Eurytus, the father of his victim. The injured father refused to accept the compensation, but Hermes put up Hercules for public sale and knocked him down to Omphale, queen of Lydia, who had succeeded her dead husband Iardanus on the throne. After he had served his time with her, he was healed of his disease, as the oracle had predicted.[1] According to Pherecydes, an old Attic antiquary, the sum for which Hercules was sold to Omphale was three talents.[2] The oracle, says Diodorus, required that the sum obtained by the sale of the murderer should be paid to the sons of the murdered man, and paid it was.[3] According to Sophocles, the period for which Hercules served Omphale was one year.[4] The haughty Asiatic queen is said to have heaped indignities on her illustrious slave by dressing him up in female attire and female gauds, making him card wool, and spin, and slapping him with her golden sandal.[5] The legend is instructive, since it probably preserves a tradition of a real custom of selling a homicide as a slave and paying the price obtained by the sale as bloodwit to the family of his victim. The servitude with Omphale was not the only one which the truculent hero had to undergo as an expiation for murder. Having thrown his own children into the fire he was commanded by the Delphic oracle to serve Eurystheus for twelve years and to do all his bidding ;[6] it was in the course of this servitude and in obedience to his taskmaster that Hercules performed his famous labours. The great god Apollo himself is said to have been compelled to serve Admetus as a herdsman for a year in expiation of the

[1] Apollodorus, ii. 6. 2-4. The story is told somewhat differently by Hyginus, *Fab.* 32. Homer gives a different account of the murder of Iphitus, but says nothing as to the servitude of Hercules with Omphale (*Od.* xxi. 22-30).

[2] Pherecydes, cited by the scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xxi. 22.

[3] Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 5-6.

[4] Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 248-253.

[5] Ovid, *Heroides*, ix. 55 *sqq.*, *Ars Amat.* ii. 217-221 (where Hercules is called "the Tirynthian hero", as here "the Tirynthian youth"); Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, xiii. 2.

[6] Apollodorus, ii. 4. 12.

slaughter of the Cyclopes.[1] The legend no doubt only represented the deity as doing what a man in similar circumstances would have been expected or obliged to do. In historical times a Greek homicide was normally banished for a year;[2] but there are some grounds for thinking that formerly the period of banishment may have been eight years. Thus Cadmus is said to have served Ares eight years for slaying the dragon that guarded the spring at Thebes.[3] Plato explained the banishment of a homicide for a year by an ancient belief that the angry ghost of the victim might do his slayer a mischief if he caught him red-handed in the country within the space of a year.[4] The explanation is probably correct.

II. 310. **the Maeonian damsel tripped along.**—The Maeonian damsel is Omphale, queen of Lydia, for Maeonia was an old name of Lydia.[5] Elsewhere, in describing Hercules disguised in female attire, Ovid speaks of him "girt with Maeonian girdle like a wanton girl".[6]

II. 311. **A golden parasol kept off the sun's warm beams.**—Women in antiquity sometimes carried parasols to shade them from the sun. Elsewhere Ovid speaks of a lover holding his lady-love's parasol "stretched on its sticks",[7] so that the construction of the implement must have resembled that of a modern parasol or umbrella. The parasol was sometimes held over a lady by a slave or attendant.[8] For a man to use a parasol or an umbrella was apparently deemed a mark of effeminacy. Juvenal speaks of such a fellow lolling in a huge easy chair under a green umbrella on a sunshiny or showery day of spring.[9] At a later time

[1] Apollodorus, iii. 10. 4; Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 71. 3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 49. Pherecydes (quoted by the scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1) agrees with Apollodorus in mentioning a year as the period during which Apollo served Admetus.

[2] Hesychius, ἀπενιαυτισμός; Suidas, *s.v.* ἀπενιαυτίσαι.

[3] Apollodorus, iii. 4. 1-2. See further my note on Apollodorus, ii. 5. 11 (vol. i. pp. 218 *sq.*).

[4] Plato, *Laws*, ix. p. 865 D E.

[5] Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 5; Strabo, xiii. 4. 5, p. 625; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 110; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 583, vi. 149.

[6] Ovid, *Heroides*, ix. 65-66.

[7] Ovid, *Ars Amat.* ii. 209, "*Ipse tene distenta suis umbracula virgis*".

[8] Martial, xi. 73. 6; Claudian, *In Eutropium*, i. 464-465.

[9] Juvenal, ix. 50-53. Compare Martial, xiv. 28.

Ammianus Marcellinus describes the exquisites of his age, who fancied they rivalled the marches of Caesar or of Alexander the Great if they had floated in a painted skiff from the Avernine Lake to Puteoli on a summer's day, and who grumbled that they had not been born in the far North if, between the flapping of their gilded fan, a fly lighted on their silken robes, or if a ray of sunshine stole through a hole of the umbrella or awning suspended over their heads.[1] Greek women also carried parasols or sunshades, as we may see by their figures in vase-paintings.[2] At a festival called the Scirophoria, which seems to mean " the Carrying of the Umbrella ", the priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus at Athens went in procession, carrying a large white umbrella, from the Acropolis to a place called Scirum on the road to Eleusis, and with him in the procession walked the priest of the Sun, who might rather have been expected to carry the umbrella. For the ceremony fell about Midsummer Day, when the heat is great at Athens, and, the rains being long over, the ground is parched and dusty, and the whole landscape white and shimmering in the intense sunlight. The ceremony was perhaps intended to cool the air by reminding the Sun-god of the inconvenience to which he was putting his worshippers by baking them in his burning beams.[3]

II. 313. **Now had she reached the grove of Bacchus and the vineyards of Tmolus.**—Tmolus was a mountain of Lydia crowned with a look-out place, built of white marble by the Persians, from which there was a wide view over the plains below, with the river Cayster winding through them, and the Pactolus rolling down its golden sands.[4] The vineyards on the slopes of the mountain were famous in antiquity and are repeatedly mentioned by Ovid elsewhere.[5] These

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii. 4. 18.

[2] Compare A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, iii. 1684; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, v. 1, pp. 583 *sq.*, *s.v.* " Umbella ".

[3] Harpocration, *s.v.* Σκίρον; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.vv.* Σκίρον and Σκίρος; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 18. As to the festival see G. F. Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*[4] (Berlin, 1897–1902), ii. 492 *sq.*; Aug. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 504 *sqq.*; P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*[3], pp. 247 *sq.*

[4] Strabo, xiii. 4. 5, pp. 625.

[5] Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 98; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 110, xiv. 74; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 15, 86.

vineyards might well be called the grove of Bacchus, and so perhaps the line should be read. See the Critical Note. The chorus of Bacchanals in Euripides' great tragedy, the *Bacchae*, is represented as following the vine-god from " Tmolus, bulwark of Lydia ", to Mount Cithaeron.[1]

II. 314. **and dewy Hesperus rode on his dusky steed.**—The Evening Star is here supposed to ride a steed darkened by the evening shadows. Milton's thought was different :

> *" Hesperus, that led*
> *The starry host, rode brightest."* [2]

Tibullus provided the Morning Star with a chariot to ride in.[3]

II. 319. **tunics in Gaetulian purple dipped.**—Horace mentions the same dye in almost the same words.[4] The Gaetulians were an African tribe who in Pliny's time occupied the province of Tingitana, answering roughly to the modern Morocco.[5] Their rocky coast abounded in the purple shellfish (*murex*), which yielded a purple dye that was highly esteemed,[6] though it was reckoned inferior to that obtained from the purple shellfish of Puteoli.[7]

II. 329. **the reason was that they were preparing to celebrate in all purity, when day should dawn, a festival in honour of the discoverer of the vine.**—In ancient religion it was a common rule that continence must be observed by the sexes on the eve of a festival.[8] The Roman poets allude to this custom in connexion with the worship of Isis.[9] Roman women had to observe continence also at the annual festival of Ceres.[10] In the present passage Ovid implies that continence was observed on the eve of a festival of Bacchus, " the discoverer of the vine ". In the *Bacchae* of Euripides the messenger tells how in the glens of Cithaeron he saw, by the light of the rising sun, the bands of Bacchanal women

[1] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 55 *sqq.*, 64 *sqq.*
[2] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iv. 605 *sq.*
[3] Tibullus, i. 9. 62.
[4] Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 181, " *Vestes Gaetulo murice tinctas* ".
[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 17.
[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 12, vi. 201, ix. 127 ; Mela, iii. 104.
[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 45.
[8] The rule of chastity in ancient religion is fully illustrated by E. Fehrle in his learned work *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910).
[9] Tibullus, i. 3. 23 *sqq.* ; Propertius, ii. 33. 1 *sqq.*, v. (iv.) 5. 33 *sq.* ; Ovid, *Amores*, i. 8. 73 *sq.*
[10] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 10. 1 *sqq.*

sleeping chastely, their heads pillowed on oak leaves or the sprays of the pine.[1] At the investigation of the Bacchanalian rites which took place at Rome in 186 B.C. it was reported that a candidate for initiation had to observe continence for ten days.[2]

II. 341. **as oft at sight of a snake a wayfarer starts back dismayed.**—The comparison was used by Homer[3] and repeated with improvements, or at least variations, by Virgil.[4] Ovid probably had one or both of the passages in his mind.

II. 359. **To foreign reasons add, my Muse, some Latin ones.**—Ovid has thus far given reasons, drawn from Greek mythology to explain why the Luperci ran naked at the Lupercalia. He now adduces a Latin or Roman tradition to explain both the running and the nudity. The same story is told much more briefly by Servius[5] and by Plutarch on the authority of Gaius Acilius,[6] a Roman senator who wrote a history of Rome in Greek about 142 B.C.[7] An even more pointless explanation of the running at the Lupercalia is quoted by Plutarch from a certain Butas, who wrote in Greek verse. According to him, when Romulus and Remus had got the better of their wicked uncle Amulius they ran joyfully to the spot where the she-wolf had given them suck, and the Lupercalia commemorated that gladsome race.[8]

II. 373. **he drew the hissing inwards from the spits and said, "None but the victor surely shall eat these".**—We may compare the legend told of the Potitii and Pinarii at the foundation of the Great Altar (*Ara Maxima*) in the Cattle Market.[9]

II. 377. **He laughed and grieved that Remus and the Fabii could have conquered when his own Quintilii could not.**—Ovid is here endeavouring to explain the foundation of the two colleges of Luperci, namely, the Fabii or Fabiani and the Quintilii or Quinctiliales.[10]

[1] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 677 *sqq.*
[2] Livy, xxxix. 9. 4, xxxix. 10. 1, xxxix. 11. 2.
[3] Homer, *Il.* iii. 33-35.
[4] Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 379-381.
[5] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 343.
[6] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 21. 7.
[7] Livy, *Per.* liii; *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, ed. H. Peter, (Lipsiae, 1883), pp. 34 *sq.*
[8] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 21. 6.
[9] See the note on *Fasti*, i. 581 (above, pp. 213 *sqq.*).
[10] See above, pp. 328 *sq.*

II. 381. **Perhaps you may also ask why that place is called the Lupercal.**—The name of the Lupercal was explained by the legend that the she-wolf (*lupa*) had there suckled the abandoned twin infants, Romulus and Remus. Ovid seizes the opportunity to tell the story of the birth and exposure of the twins at full length. The tale in brief ran thus. The rightful king of Alba Longa was Numitor, to whom his father Proca had bequeathed the crown. But Amulius, his younger brother, was ambitious and unscrupulous; he dethroned his gentle elder brother by force and reigned in his stead. More than that, he murdered his nephews, the sons of Numitor, and under pretence of doing her honour he devoted his niece Silvia, the daughter of Numitor, to the service of Vesta, which, by binding her to perpetual virginity, would in his opinion prevent her from ever giving birth to a son who might replace his grandfather Numitor on the throne, from which he had been ousted by his wicked brother. But heaven defeated the nefarious plot. For, going as a Vestal Virgin to fetch water for the sacred rites, Silvia or Rhea Silvia or Ilia (for the daughter of Numitor was known by all these names) met a god or a man in the sacred grove of Mars and became by him the mother of the twins Romulus and Remus, whom she fathered on the god Mars in person. But the cruel and sceptical king refused to accept this unvarnished account of the virgin birth; he ruthlessly ordered the mother to be cast into prison and her brats to be thrown into the river. His command was obeyed, but the river washed up the ark with the babes in it at the foot of a fig-tree, and there a she-wolf (*lupa*) came and gave them suck. That was why the place was called the Lupercal. Such was the orthodox Roman tradition as told or alluded to by Ovid in the following passage (lines 383-422). The accounts of other ancient writers agree in substance, though some of them differ in details.[1]

II. 389. **Albula, which took the name of Tiber from Tiberinus, drowned in its waves.**—This drowning of King Tiberinus in the river, which afterwards took its name

[1] Compare Livy, i. 3-4; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 19-21; Florus, i. 1. 1-3; Justin, xliii. 2. 1-8; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 76-79; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 2-6; Conon, *Narrationes*, 48.

from him, is mentioned by Ovid later on in the poem.[1] That the old Latin name of the Tiber was Albula is recorded by Varro and Virgil.[2]

II. 398. **unless appearances deceive me, I fancy you have some god.**—The speaker was about to add "for your father"; but the sight of the helpless babes, about to be drowned like blind puppies in the river, suggests a doubt; for surely, thinks he, if their father were a god he would come to their rescue now.

II. 411. **There was a tree (traces of it still remain), which is now called the Rumina fig-tree.**—We have already had occasion to notice the fig-tree under which the infants Romulus and Remus were said to have been suckled by the she-wolf.[3] The tree and its association with the twins are often mentioned by ancient writers.[4] From the evidence of Varro and Festus, confirmed by that of Pliny, Tacitus, and Plutarch,[5] we gather that the proper name of this fig-tree was *Ruminalis*, not *Romula* or *Romularis*, the alternative names mentioned by Ovid and Livy. The name seems to be derived from *ruma* or *rumis*, "a dug",[6] from which the Romans, with their faculty of finding deities for everything, constructed a pair of divinities, to wit, Jupiter Ruminus and the Goddess Rumina, whose function it was to give suck to animals.[7] We might naturally suppose the pair to be husband and wife, if we had not been told by Augustine that Rumina was a widow.[8] Perhaps the absurdity of assuming a male deity to give suck to animals had struck some Roman rationalist, and he sought to evade the diffi-

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 47 *sq.*, with the note.

[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 30; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 330-332.

[3] Above, pp. 330, 343.

[4] Livy, i. 4. 5; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 20. 3 *sq.*; Festus, *s.v.* "Ruminalis", pp. 332, 333 ed. Lindsay; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 54; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 77; Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 58; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 90; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 4. 1.

[5] See the references in the preceding note.

[6] Festus, *s.v.* "Ruminalis", pp. 332, 333 ed. Lindsay; Varro, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Rumam", p. 246 ed. Lindsay; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 4. 1; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 77; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 4. 1; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 90.

[7] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 11, vi. 10, vii. 11. Compare L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], i. 418 *sq.*; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 242.

[8] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vi. 10.

culty by the hypothesis of widowhood for the goddess. In any case, whether widow or wife, she had a shrine, beside which shepherds planted a fig-tree, doubtless the Ruminal fig-tree, where they sacrificed for their sucking lambs and kids, offering milk instead of wine to the goddess.[1] Thus again we meet with the intimate connexion of the fig-tree with the fecundity of the flocks in Roman religion. In historical times the Ruminal fig-tree stood, not at the Lupercal on the south-western side of the Palatine hill, but in the Forum and more exactly in the Comitium, to which the famous augur Attus Navius is said to have transported it by his magic art.[2] Hence the tree was sometimes called after him the Navian fig-tree (*ficus Navia*).[3] A bronze statue of the augur stood beside the sacred fig-tree in front of the Senate-house down to the time of Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[4] In the year A.D. 58, when some branches of the tree died and the trunk withered, the thing was counted a prodigy, but the tree afterwards put out fresh shoots and the popular consternation abated.[5] Pliny drops a hint that the priests had a hand in the miraculous rejuvenescence.[6] The sacred tree was enclosed within a bronze railing.[7] On the finely sculptured marble balustrades (the *Anaglypha Traiani*), which once adorned the Rostra, and which now stand on the pavement of the Forum not far from the place which they occupied in antiquity, the fig-tree is clearly and unmistakeably represented, twice over, growing beside the statue of Marsyas, which is mentioned by Horace as a place where legal business was done.[8] The sculptures wrought in relief on the balustrades are believed to date from the time

[1] Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. 11. 5; *id.*, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Rumam", p. 246 ed. Lindsay; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 4. 1 (who calls the goddess Rumilia).

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 77.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Navia", p. 168 ed. Lindsay.

[4] Livy, i. 36. 5; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 71. 5.

[5] Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 58.

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 77, "*Nec sine praesagio aliquo arescit, rursusque cura sacerdotum seritur*".

[7] Conon, *Narrationes*, 48, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐρινεὸς ἱερά ⟨πρὸ⟩ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κιγκλίσι χαλκαῖς περιειργομένη, where πρὸ was rightly inserted by Heyne. In this passage it is to be noted that the tree is spoken of as a wild fig-tree (Greek *erineos*, equivalent to the Latin *caprificus*).

[8] Horace, *Sat.* i. 6. 20. Compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 9; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 58.

of Trajan and to represent the emperor's charity in providing for the support of the poor and for the remission of taxes due to the imperial treasury; it appears that the records of the taxes are being heaped up and burned in presence of the emperor. In the background are seen buildings and arches which probably represent the edifices that surrounded the Forum, as they would be seen by a speaker standing on the Rostra; but their identification is uncertain. On the inner (originally outer) side of each balustrade are carved in relief a boar, a ram, and a bull, the three victims (*suovetaurilia*) regularly sacrificed at purificatory ceremonies. These sculptured animals probably commemorate the purificatory sacrifice which was offered when Trajan completed his restoration of the Rostra in this magnificent style.[1] Near these balustrades the excavations have disclosed a plot of ground about thirteen feet square where there was no ancient pavement. In this plot probably grew the sacred fig-tree, and beside it may have stood the statue of Marsyas.[2]

II. 412. **A she-wolf which had cast her whelps came, wondrous to tell, to the abandoned twins.**—The story of the suckling of the twins by the she-wolf was a favourite one with Roman writers, who often tell or allude to it.[3] The legend was commemorated by at least two groups of bronze statues representing the wolf suckling the twins. In 296 B.C. the Curule Aediles Cnaeus and Quintus Ogulnius exacted fines from usurers, and with the money they caused to be executed several works of art, including images of the infant founders of the city under the dugs of the she-wolf: this group of statuary they placed beside the

[1] E. Petersen, *Vom alten Rom*[4] (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 42 *sq.* with the illustrations, 22, 23, pp, 40, 41; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], p. 82, with Taf. 8; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*[6], pp. 129 *sq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 263-266, with fig. 58; K. Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome*[15], p. 293. As to the topography see H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 263 *sq.*, 356-358, with Plate iv., facing p. 218 (photographs of the reliefs on the balustrades).

[2] S. P. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 269 *sq.*

[3] Livy, i. 4. 6; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 12. 20; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 630-634; Propertius, ii. 7. 20, iii. 9. 51, v. (iv.) 1. 55 *sq.*; Juvenal, xi. 104 *sq.*; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 20. 3; Florus, i. 1. 3; Justin, xliii. 2. 5; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 79. 6-8; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 4. 2, *Quaest. Rom.* 21; Conon, *Narrationes*, 48.

Ruminal fig-tree.[1] This statement leaves the position of the group somewhat uncertain; for, as we have seen,[2] the Ruminal fig-tree was believed to have been originally situated in the Lupercal, at the western foot of the Palatine, where the wolf was traditionally said to have suckled the twins, but at a very early date, in the reign of the Elder Tarquin, the tree was said to have been magically transported by the augur Attus Navius to the Forum, where it certainly was to be seen growing in historical times.[3] It seems natural, therefore, to suppose that the group of statuary made by the Ogulnii in 296 B.C. was set up by them beside the Ruminal fig-tree in the Forum and not in the Lupercal. In favour of this view an inscribed pedestal has been cited, which was found in the Forum in November, 1899, in front of the Church of St. Adrian. The inscription records a dedication by the Emperor Maxentius "to Father Mars the Unconquered and to the Founders of his Eternal City", together with the date of the dedication, which was the twenty-first day of April, that is, the day on which Rome was traditionally said to have been founded.[4] It has been held that the pedestal was a new one set up by Maxentius to support the old group of the wolf and the twins which had originally been made by the Ogulnii in 296 B.C.[5] Certainly no date could have been more appropriate for such a dedication than the day of the foundation of Rome.

On the other hand there is a difficulty in supposing that the group in question stood in the Forum. For Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a contemporary of Ovid and Augustus, who lived for some time at Rome and wrote towards the end of the first century B.C., has recorded that at the foot of the Palatine, on the way to the Circus Maximus, where the twins were said to have been suckled by the wolf, there was a sacred enclosure, in which stood a bronze group of ancient

[1] Livy, x. 23. 12, "*Ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum urbis sub uberibus lupae posuerunt*".

[2] Above, pp. 330, 368.

[3] The augur Attus Navius is said to have been a contemporary of King Tarquin the Elder, who held him in honour. See Livy, i. 36; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 70-71.

[4] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 8935 (vol. iii. pars. ii. p. xxiii).

[5] J. Carcopino, *La Louve du Capitol* (Paris, 1925), p. 31.

style representing the wolf suckling the two children.[1] The sacred enclosure here mentioned by Dionysius is no doubt the Lupercal, and as he was a sober and trustworthy witness, who described what he had seen, we may take it as certain that about the time when Ovid was writing a bronze group representing the wolf suckling the twins stood in the Lupercal. To reconcile this evidence with that which points to the existence of a similar group in the Forum it has been argued by J. Carcopino that there were two such groups, one in the Forum and one in the Lupercal, and that the latter group had been set up by Augustus, when he restored the Lupercal.[2] In this connexion it is to be noted that, in describing the bronze group at the Lupercal, Dionysius makes no mention of the fig-tree, but in another passage he says that down to his time the bronze statue of the augur Attus Navius stood in the Forum in front of the Senate-house near the sacred fig-tree.[3] Surely, if a bronze group of the wolf and the children had existed in the Forum beside the fig-tree, Dionysius would have mentioned it, just as he mentioned the corresponding group in the Lupercal. His silence is a strong argument against the view that a group representing the wolf suckling the twins existed in his time in the Forum as well as another group of the same sort in the Lupercal. And with regard to the group in the Lupercal, it is difficult to believe that it dated only from the restoration by Augustus, for in that case the group, if it was made on purpose for the restoration, as Carcopino seems to think, could only have been a few years old, and its recent origin could not have been forgotten; yet Dionysius describes the workmanship as ancient. To meet this difficulty Carcopino supposes that the historian was uncritical and credulous, and that he was deceived by his guide, or the custodian, whose pride, and perhaps his pocket, was concerned in vaunting the antiquity of the image. The solution is unsatisfactory, for to me at least it seems that the ancient historian was by no means so uncritical as his modern critic supposes.

But besides the group of the wolf suckling the twins which

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 79. 8.
[2] J. Carcopino, *La Louve du Capitol*, pp. 28 *sqq.*
[3] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 71. 5.

certainly stood in the Lupercal, and the other which perhaps stood in the Forum, there was a similar group on the Capitol. The group is described by Cicero as an eyewitness. It represented the she-wolf and Romulus and Remus sucking the swollen udders of the beast; the figure of Romulus was gilded. In the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus, that is, in 65 B.C., the image was struck by lightning and thrown down, leaving traces in the shape of footprints on the pedestal. This incident is repeatedly mentioned by Cicero: two years after it happened he recalled it in one of his speeches against Catiline, and he described it at full length in the poem which he composed on the glories of his consulship; for he professed to look on the event as one of the portents which heralded the outbreak of the Catilinarian conspiracy.[1] The same event is recorded by Julius Obsequens and Dio Cassius, both of whom clearly drew their information directly or indirectly from Cicero.[2] The image is not again mentioned by ancient writers: its origin and the date of its dedication are unknown.

In the Capitoline Museum at Rome there is a well-known bronze group of statuary representing the wolf suckling the twins, which would answer well either to Livy's description of the group set up by the Ogulnii in 296 B.C. or to Cicero's description of the group which was struck by lightning on the Capitol in 65 B.C. It represents the wolf standing in a watchful attitude, with its head turned to one side, as if looking out for an enemy, while beneath its belly are the twins, represented as infants, the one seated and the other kneeling, both with upturned faces putting their lips to the pendent dugs of the wolf. Critics are now generally agreed

[1] Cicero, *In Catilinam*, iii. 8. 19, "*Nam profecto memoria tenetis Cotta et Torquato consulibus compluris in Capitolio res de caelo esse percussas, cum et simulacra deorum depulsa sunt et statuae veterum hominum deiectae et legum aera liquefacta; tactus est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio, parvum atque lactentem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis*"; *id.*, *De divinatione*, i. 12. 20

"*Hic* (on the Capitol) *silvestris erat Romani nominis altrix,*
Martia, quae parvos Mavortis semine natos
uberibus gravidis vitali rore rigabat;
quae tum cum pueris flammato fulminis ictu
concidit atque avolsa pedum vestigia liquit;"

id., *De divinatione*, ii. 21. 47, "*Romulus lactens fulmine ictus*".

[2] Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 61, p. 175 ed. Rossbach; Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 9. 1-2.

that the wolf is ancient, but that the figures of the twins are modern, having been added in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, perhaps about 1474 or 1475.[1] But if the wolf is ancient, it is probably either the one described by Livy or the one described by Cicero, and on this question the opinions of critics have been divided. Against the identification of it with the group set up by the Ogulnii in 296 B.C. critics have urged the archaic style of the wolf, for it is probably the work of a Greek artist, and in 296 B.C. Greek art had long outlived the archaism of its youth; it had already touched its meridian in the works of Scopas and Praxiteles, and its sun, though still high in heaven, was verging to a mellow afternoon. It is very unlikely, therefore that the Capitoline wolf, in spite of its great power and vigour, is a work of that age of exuberant fancy and facile execution : the severity, almost the stiffness, of the figure forbids the supposition.

But fortunately for its history the wolf bears a mark which allows us to identify it with some confidence. For in both the hind legs of the animal there are gaping rifts which a technical expert, after careful examination, believes to have been made by lightning. His view appears to be accepted by critics ; hence we may conclude that the Capitoline wolf is the one seen and described by Cicero, the one which in his third speech against Catiline he declared his hearers must surely remember, the one which was struck and thrown down by lightning in 65 B.C. Of its origin, as we have seen, nothing is known ; but the noble severity and dignity of the style accord well with the opinion of Eugen Petersen that it is the work of a Greek, perhaps an Ionian, artist of the end of the sixth century B.C. But that, as he points out, was just the time (510 B.C.) when the Roman monarchy was abolished and the republic established ; and the critic may therefore be right in conjecturing that the group was on that memorable occasion dedicated in the temple or precincts of Jupiter on the Capitol, in order to commend the commonwealth, symbolized by these images of its Founders, to the favour and protection of the gods.[2]

[1] J. Carcopino, *La Louve du Capitol*, pp. 4-9.

[2] On the Capitoline wolf see E. Petersen, *Vom alten Rom*[4], pp. 22-23, with fig. 11, p. 21; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer*

In a learned and elaborate essay a distinguished French archaeologist, Monsieur J. Carcopino, has endeavoured to prove that the statue in question was not made to illustrate the legend of the suckling of the twins by the wolf, but that on the contrary it was the statue which gave rise to the legend. His view is that the wolf was the sacred animal or totem (he uses the word) of the Sabines, and that the original image represented the sacred animal with two men standing below it and representing the union of the Sabines and Latins as a single nation under the protection of the holy wolf. Later on people mistook the two little men under the wolf for infants being suckled by the animal, and on the strength, or weakness, of this mistake constructed the legend of the suckling of Romulus and Remus on the model of similar Greek legends, which described the suckling of heroes and heroines by animals.[1] The theory is interesting and ingenious, but it seems to contradict the evidence of the ancient writers who describe the statues; for all of them speak of Romulus and Remus as infants suckled by the wolf, and not as little men standing under its belly. The evidence of Cicero on this point is particularly important, for he had seen the very statue on which M. Carcopino bases his theory, and in his repeated references to the group the orator leaves no room for doubt that in his opinion the wolf was represented in the act of giving suck to the two infants.[2] How can we suppose that his eyes deceived him in such a simple matter of observation? Again, if the group had been intended to commemorate, as M. Carcopino thinks, the union of the Sabines and Latins as a single nation at Rome, why should the artist have given such prominence to the wolf by comparison with the human representatives of the two peoples? Why should the wolf bulk so large and the men so small? And could the artist not have found some more dignified and

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Altertümer in Rom[3] (Leipzig, 1912–1913), vol. i. pp. 562-564, No. 983 (with references to the literature); J. Carcopino, *La Louve du Capitol* (Paris, 1925), pp. 3 *sqq*. This last work contains a full discussion of all the questions raised by the statue. Compare Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, i. pp. 60-61, with Plate lviii. fig. 288; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 512, with fig. 552 on p. 510.

[1] J. Carcopino, *La Louve du Capitol*, pp. 54 *sqq*.

[2] See the passages of Cicero quoted above, p. 372.

appropriate place for the men than under the belly of the animal?

The Capitoline wolf, though by far the most famous, is by no means the only surviving monument of the immense popularity which the legend of the suckling of the twins by the wolf enjoyed in antiquity. The legend is illustrated by representations of it on many coins, gems, sculptured reliefs and vases which have come down to us.[1] Among them perhaps the oldest are a series of Romano-Campanian coins, some of which are believed to date between 342 and 317 B.C. and therefore to be anterior to the erection of the bronze group by the Ogulnii in 296 B.C. On them the twins are represented as infants squatting or kneeling and holding up their heads and hands to the dugs of the wolf, which is turning its head to the children as if to lick or fondle its nurslings,[2] exactly in the attitude described by Virgil, who doubtless had some real work in his mind, though in it the wolf seems to have been represented as lying down instead of standing up, as in the Capitoline group and on the coins.[3] These designs on the coins clearly lend no support to M. Carcopino's theory of their origin. On coins issued by Sextus Pompeius Faustulus about 129 B.C. we see the wolf and the children in exactly the same attitude; and standing beside them, leaning on his pastoral staff, is the shepherd Faustulus, who is said to have discovered the twins in the act of being suckled by the animal.[4]

A strong argument in favour of the great antiquity and genuine popularity of the legend of the wolf and the Roman twins is that many similar stories are current in India to this day among people who never heard of Romulus and Remus, and that these stories are vouched for by Englishmen of education and repute, who personally saw and examined the boys (for they are never girls) who had been rescued from

[1] A long list of these monuments is given, with illustrations, by J. B. Carter in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, *s.v.* "Romulus", vol. iv. coll. 202-207.

[2] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 10, 13, 31, 50.

[3] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 630-634.

[4] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. 336 *sq.* As to Faustulus and the twins see Livy, i. 4. 6; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 20. 3; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 6. 1; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 79. 9.

the wolves' dens. Some of the children thus recovered have been recognized by their parents through marks on their bodies and have continued to live for years after their rescue, but without learning to speak or to behave like ordinary human beings; they commonly run on all fours, devour raw meat, and resist any attempt to clothe them. Many of these cases are reported from the Kingdom of Oude by Major-General Sir W. H. Sleeman, K.C.B., Resident at the Court of Lucknow;[1] others have been reported by Mr. Valentine Ball, of the Indian Geological Survey.[2] It may be of interest to the reader if I quote one or two of these Indian parallels to the Roman legend.

Sir W. H. Sleeman writes as follows: "There is now at Sultanpoor a boy who was found alive in a wolf's den, near Chandour, about ten miles from Sultanpoor, about two years and a half ago. A trooper, sent by the native governor of the district to Chandour, to demand payment of some revenue, was passing along the bank of the river near Chandour about noon, when he saw a large female wolf leave her den, followed by three whelps and a little boy. The boy went on all fours, and seemed to be on the best possible terms with the old dam and the three whelps, and the mother seemed to guard all four with equal care. They all went down to the river and drank without perceiving the trooper, who sat upon his horse watching them. As soon as they were about to turn back, the trooper pushed on to cut off and secure the boy; but he ran as fast as the whelps could, and kept up with the old one. The ground was uneven, and the trooper's horse could not overtake them. They all entered the den, and the trooper assembled some people from Chandour with pickaxes, and dug into the den. When they had dug in about six or eight feet, the old wolf bolted with her three whelps and the boy. The trooper mounted and pursued, followed by the fleetest young men of the party, and as the ground over which they had to fly was more even, he headed them, and turned the whelps and boy

[1] Major-General Sir W. H. Sleeman, K.C.B., *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude in 1849–1850* (London, 1858), i. 208-222.

[2] V. Ball, M.A., *Jungle Life in India, or the Journeys and Journals of an Indian Geologist* (London, 1880), pp. 454-466.

back upon the men on foot, who secured the boy, and let the old dam and her three cubs go on their way.

" They took the boy to the village, but had to tie him, for he was very restive, and struggled hard to rush into every hole or den they came near. They tried to make him speak, but could get nothing from him but an angry growl or snarl. He was kept for several days at the village, and a large crowd assembled every day to see him. When a grown-up person came near him, he became alarmed, and tried to steal away ; but when a child came near him, he rushed at it with a fierce snarl like that of a dog, and tried to bite it. When any cooked meat was put before him, he rejected it in disgust ; but when any raw meat was offered, he seized it with avidity, put it on the ground under his paws, like a dog, and ate it with evident pleasure. He would not let any one come near him while he was eating, but he made no objection to a dog coming and sharing his food with him. The trooper remained with him four or five days, and then returned to the governor, leaving the boy in charge of the Rajah of Hasunpoor. He related all that he had seen, and the boy was soon after sent to the European officer commanding the First Regiment of Oude Local Infantry at Sultanpoor, Captain Nicholetts, by order of the Rajah of Hasunpoor, who was at Chandour, and saw the boy when the trooper first brought him to that village. This account is taken from the Rajah's own report of what had taken place.

" Captain Nicholetts made him over to the charge of his servants, who take great care of him, but can never get him to speak a word. He is very inoffensive, except when teased, Captain Nicholetts says, and will then growl surlily at the person who teases him. He had come to eat anything that is thrown to him, but always prefers raw flesh, which he devours most greedily. He will drink a whole pitcher of butter-milk when put before him, without seeming to draw breath. He can never be induced to keep on any kind of clothing, even in the coldest weather. A quilt stuffed with cotton was given to him when it became very cold this season, but he tore it to pieces, and ate a portion of it, cotton and all, with his bread every day. He is very fond of bones, particularly uncooked ones, which he masticates apparently

with as much ease as meat. He has eaten half a lamb at a time without any apparent effort, and is very fond of taking up earth and small stones and eating them. His features are coarse, and his countenance repulsive; and he is very filthy in his habits. He continues to be fond of dogs and jackals, and all other small four-footed animals that come near him; and always allows them to feed with him if he happens to be eating when they approach.

"Captain Nicholetts, in letters dated the 14th and 19th of September, 1850, told me that the boy died in the latter end of August, and that he was never known to laugh or smile. He understood little of what was said to him, and seemed to take no notice of what was going on around him. He formed no attachment for any one, nor did he seem to care for any one. He never played with any of the children around him, or seemed anxious to do so. When not hungry he used to sit petting and stroking a pareear or vagrant dog, which he used to permit to feed out of the same dish with him. A short time before his death Captain Nicholetts shot this dog, as he used to eat the greater part of the food given to the boy, who seemed in consequence to be getting thin. The boy did not seem to care in the least for the death of the dog. The parents recognized the boy when he was first found, Captain Nicholetts believes; but when they found him to be so stupid and insensible, they left him to subsist on charity. They have now left Hasunpoor, and the age of the boy when carried off cannot be ascertained; but he was to all appearance about nine or ten years of age when found, and he lived about three years afterwards. He used signs when he wanted anything, and very few of them except when hungry, and he then pointed to his mouth. When his food was placed at some distance from him, he would run to it on all fours like any four-footed animal; but at other times he would walk upright occasionally. He shunned human beings of all kinds, and would never willingly remain near one. To cold, heat, and rain he appeared to be indifferent; and he seemed to care for nothing but eating. He was very quiet, and required no kind of restraint after being brought to Captain Nicholetts. He had lived with Captain Nicholetts' servants about two years, and was never heard to speak till within a

few minutes of his death, when he put his hands to his head, and said 'it ached', and asked for water: he drank it, and died." [1]

In the Sekundra Orphanage, near Lucknow, in 1872 there were two boys who had lived for some time with wolves. In the Report of the Orphanage for that year occurs the following passage, which at the time went the round of the Indian papers. It runs thus: "A boy of about ten was burned out of a den in the company of wolves. How long he had been with them it is impossible to say, but it must have been for rather a long period, from the facility he has for going on all fours, and his liking for raw meat. As yet he is very much like a wild animal; his very whine reminds one of a young dog or some such creature. Some years ago we had a similar child; he has picked up wonderfully, and though he has not learned to speak, can fully express his joys and grief." On reading this report Mr. Valentine Ball at once wrote to the Superintendent of the Sekundra Orphanage for confirmation of the story, and he received the following reply from the Rev. Mr. Erhardt:

"We have had two such boys here, but I fancy you refer to the one who was brought to us on March 6th, 1872. He was found by Hindus who had gone hunting wolves in the neighbourhood of Mynepuri. Had been burnt out of the den, and was brought here with the scars and wounds still on him. In his habits he was a perfect wild animal in every point of view. He drank like a dog, and liked a bone and raw meat better than anything else. He would never remain with the other boys but hid away in any dark corner. Clothes he never would wear, but tore them up into fine shreds. He was only a few months among us, as he got fever and gave up eating. We kept him up for a time by artificial means, but eventually he died.

"The other boy found among wolves is about thirteen or fourteen years old, and has been here about six. He has learnt to make sounds, speak he cannot; but he freely expresses his anger and joy. Work he will at times, a little; but he likes eating better. His civilisation has progressed

[1] Sir W. H. Sleeman, K.C.B., *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, i. 208-211.

so far that he likes raw meat less, though he still will pick up bones and sharpen his teeth on them.

" Neither of the above are new cases, however. At the Lucknow Madhouse there was an elderly fellow only four years ago, and may be alive now, who had been dug out of a wolves' den by a European doctor, when I forget, but it must be a good number of years ago." [1]

Mr. Valentine Ball visited the Sekundra Orphanage and examined the survivor of the two wolf-boys. He presented an appearance not unlike that of ordinary idiots, and grinned in a sort of monkey fashion. His arms were remarkably short ; Mr Ball inclined to explain this arrested growth by " having gone on all-fours in early life, as all these wolf-boys are reported to have done when first captured ".[2]

Sir W. H. Sleeman was never able to hear of a case in which an adult man was recovered from a wolf's den ; all the many reported cases were of children. He says : " I have never heard of a man who had been spared and nurtured by wolves having been found ; and, as many boys have been recovered from wolves after they had been many years with them, we must conclude that after a time they either die from living exclusively on animal food, before they attain the age of manhood, or are destroyed by the wolves themselves, or other beasts of prey, in the jungles, from whom they are unable to escape, like the wolves themselves, from want of the same speed. The wolf or wolves, by whom they have been spared and nurtured, must die or be destroyed in a few years, and other wolves may kill and eat them." [3]

All the children said to have been nurtured by wolves in India appear to be boys. But a case is reported of a girl who is said to have been nursed by a bear. She was found sitting beside a huge bear near a den in a forest of Jalpaigori ; it was the coolies of the tea-gardens who discovered her. She seemed to be two or three years old. Having been placed in the Jalpaigori hospital, she at first

[1] V. Ball, *Jungle Life in India, or the Journeys and Journals of an Indian Geologist*, pp. 458 *sq.*

[2] V. Ball, *op. cit.* pp. 459 *sq.*, with a portrait of the boy from a photograph on p. 459.

[3] Sir W. H. Sleeman, K.C.B., *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude in 1849–1850*, i. 222.

used to walk on all-fours and to bite and scratch, but gradually she was taught to walk on her feet and to wear clothes. However, she could not articulate a single word, and the Civil Surgeon, after trying for three years to teach her to speak, discharged her from the hospital. She then lived on the mercy of the women and children of the place, till at last a missionary brought her to Calcutta and committed her to the care of the Dasasram, a charitable institution.[1] This Indian girl, who seems to have been nurtured by a bear, may be compared to the Greek heroine Atalanta, of whom we are told that she was exposed by her father, because he desired male children ; and a she-bear came often and gave her suck, till hunters found her and brought her up among themselves.[2] Again, we read that at his birth Paris was exposed on Mount Ida because his mother Hecuba had dreamed an evil dream about him ; but a bear nursed the infant for five days, and at the end of the five days the servant who had exposed the child returned and, finding it safe, carried it away and brought it up as his own son.[3] These legends of the exposure of Atalanta and Paris, like the legend of the exposure of Romulus and Remus, at least illustrate how infants might come to be found and adopted by animals ; and with the Indian parallels before us we may hesitate to conclude that all the similar Greek and Roman traditions were wholly fictitious.

In any case, whether based on fact or fiction, the story of the rearing of the twins by the she-wolf bears on its face the imprint of a genuine folk-tale, and we need not, with some German scholars, suppose that it is a simple copy of Sophocles's lost tragedy *Tyro*, which the Romans mistook for a genuine national tradition of their own. Such a theory is natural enough to learned men who are more familiar with books than with folk-lore, and are consequently apt to assume that everything that is written in a book must have come out of another book, and not out of the mouth of the people.[4]

[1] *North Indian Notes and Queries*, March 1893, pp. 215 *sq.*, No. 764.

[2] Apollodorus, iii. 9. 2.

[3] Apollodorus, iii. 12. 5.

[4] W. Soltau, "Die Entstehung der Romuluslegende", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xii. (1909) pp. 101-125. As to the *Tyro* of Sophocles, of which only a few disjointed fragments remain, see *The Fragments of Sophocles*, edited

II. 418. **She halted and fawned on the tender babes with her tail, and licked into shape their two bodies with her tongue.**—Ovid seems to have had in his mind the passage of Virgil in which the poet describes the scene as it was wrought by Vulcan on the shield of Aeneas.[1] Indeed, our author's description of the wolf licking into shape the bodies of the twins ("*fingit lingua corpora bina sua*") are an echo of the words of Virgil ("*corpora fingere lingua*"). The attitude of the wolf with her head turned back towards the twins in order to lick them is reproduced on many ancient monuments, including coins and sculptures,[2] and it is engraved also on what is called the mirror of Bolsena.[3] Virgil was doubtless familiar with some of these monuments and had them in his mind in his description of the scene on the shield of Aeneas; but he cannot have been thinking of the figure of the Capitoline wolf which has come down to us, for in that group, as we saw, the wolf is not looking towards the twins under her belly, but gazing away into the distance, as if to mark the approach of an enemy.

II. 423-424. **Why should not the Luperci have been named after the Arcadian mountain? Lycaean Faunus has a temple in Arcadia.**—After deriving the name of the Luperci from the Latin *lupa*, "a wolf", Ovid now suggests a Greek derivation of the name in accordance with his theory that the Lupercalia had been imported from Arcadia. "The Arcadian Mountain" is Mount Lycaeus, where there was a famous and doubtless very ancient sanctuary of Lycaean Zeus. On the mountain there was a grove, and in the grove there

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by A. C. Pearson, ii. 270 *sqq.*; and as to the story of Tyro and her twin sons Pelias and Neleus see Apollodorus, i. 9. 8.

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 630-634.

[2] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 13, 20, 31, 72, ii. 336, 487; W. Altmann, *Die römische Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 50 *sq.* (with fig. 40), 57, 77, 82, 86, 93 (with fig. 77), 99 (Nos. 2, 3, 15, 32, 43, 48, 65, 80); Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine*, pp. 238-239, 241-243, 271, with Plates lxxii., lxxiii., lxxiv., lxxxii.; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3], Nos. 1412, 1463 (vol. ii. pp. 177 *sq.*, 201 *sq.*); J. B. Carter, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iv. 202 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Romulus"; J. Carcopino, *La Louve du Capitole*, pp. 46 *sqq.*, with Plate iv. figs. 1, 2, 3, 7. Among the sculptures the most notable is a fine relief on an altar from Ostia (Mrs. Strong, *op. cit.*, Plates lxxiii., lxxiv.; W. Helbig, *op. cit.* No. 1463).

[3] J. B. Carter, *op. cit.* iv. 207.

was a sanctuary of Pan,[1] whom Ovid here and elsewhere[2] identifies with the Roman god Faunus. The same identification of Faunus with Pan was countenanced by Horace[3] and other Roman writers.[4] Livy, whom Ovid may have followed in the present passage, says that the Luperci worshipped Lycaean Pan, whose religion had been brought by Evander from Pallantium in Arcadia to Rome, where the Palatine hill (*Palatium*) took its name from the Arcadian city.[5] As we have already seen,[6] the story seems to have no better foundation than the superficial resemblance between the names Pallantium and Palatium. Truly, etymology is a slippery foundation on which to rear an historical superstructure. The fabulous derivation of the Palatine from Pallantium is repeated at full length by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[7] The derivation of *Lupercus* from *Lycaeus*, which is here suggested by Ovid (if lines 423-424 are not an interpolation; see the Critical Note), is favoured by Plutarch, who says that *Lupercalia* is *Lycaea* in Greek, both being derived from the word for "wolf", which is *lupus* in Latin and *lykos* in Greek.[8]

II. 425. **Thou bride, why tarry? . . . submit with patience to the blows dealt by a fruitful hand.**—Ovid is here encouraging brides to submit to the strokes inflicted by the Luperci with strips of the skin of the sacrificed goats, which were deemed an infallible means of ensuring offspring and a safe delivery. In the hope of attaining these objects the women are said to have readily held out their hands to the smiter.[9]

II. 435. **Under the Esquiline a sacred grove, untouched by woodman's axe for many a year, went by the name of the great Juno.**—The ancient grove and temple of Juno, surnamed Lucina on account of the aid she was supposed to lend to women in childbed, stood on Mount Cispius or Cespius,[10] the northern spur of the Esquiline Hill, while the southern

[1] Pausanias, viii. 38. 5.
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 84, *Heroides*, v. 137 *sq.*
[3] Horace, *Odes*, i. 17. 1 *sq.*
[4] Compare G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 85 *sqq.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 212.
[5] Livy, i. 5. 1-2.
[6] Above, p. 187.
[7] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 31.
[8] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 68, *Romulus*, 21. 3.
[9] See above, p. 331.
[10] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 49-50.

and larger spur of that hill was called Mount Oppius ; on the ridge of the ancient Mount Cispius now stand the great Church of S. Maria Maggiore and the ancient Church of S. Prassede.[1] The Virgin Mary may have succeeded to the honours, though not to the place, of Juno Lucina ; for Ovid tells us that the grove of the goddess stood under, that is, on the slope or at the foot of the hill, whereas the church of S. Maria Maggiore stands on its summit. No remains of the temple have been discovered, but its site is thought to have been to the west of the church of S. Prassede, near the Via dei Quatro Cantoni, perhaps at the mediaeval tower called Torre Cantarelli, where some ancient foundations, built of squared blocks of tufa, were uncovered in 1888. According to an older opinion, the temple of Juno Lucina was near the site now occupied by the Church of S. Maria Maggiore.[2] The temple was founded in 375 B.C.[3] It had been vowed by a lady named Albinia and was dedicated by the matrons on the first of March, as we learn from a note in the Praenestine calendar,[4] confirmed by Festus[5] and by Ovid later on in the poem.[6] However, this temple would seem not to have been the oldest sanctuary of Juno Lucina in Rome, for it is said that King Servius Tullius, with the view of ascertaining the population of Rome, ordained that for every birth a coin should be paid into the treasury of Juno Lucina, and for every death a coin into the treasury of Venus Libitina.[7] In 190 B.C. the temple of Juno Lucina was struck by lightning, which damaged the roof and the folding doors.[8] From an inscription found on the Esquiline, probably at or near the site of the temple, it appears that in 41 B.C. a wall of the

[1] Festus, *s.vv.* " Cispius ", " Septimontium ", and " Septimontio ", pp. 37, 458, 459, 476 ed. Lindsay ; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 49-50 ; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 254 *sqq.*

[2] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 333 *sq.* ; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* [2], p. 323 ; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* [2], p. 458.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 235.

[4] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 233, 310.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* " Martias Kalendas ", p. 131 ed. Lindsay, " *Martias Kalendas matronae celebrabant, quod eo die Iunonis Lucinae aedes coli coepta erat* ".

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 247 *sq.*

[7] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 15. 5.

[8] Livy, xxxvii. 3. 2.

temple or of the precinct was built or restored by direction of the city quaestor Quintus Pedius.[1]

In the grove of the goddess there was an ancient lotus-tree (nettle-tree) which was said to be older than the temple; its age was estimated at five hundred years in the time of Pliny (first century A.D.), who tells us that there was a still older lotus-tree, which was called the Hairy (*capillata*) tree, because the Vestal Virgins used to hang the clippings of their hair (*capillus*) on its branches.[2] The motive of thus depositing the shorn tresses was probably to prevent them from falling into the hands of witches or wizards, who by working magic on them might thereby have wrought serious harm to the Virgins. Similarly the shorn hair of the Flamen Dialis was buried under a lucky tree.[3] Like customs have been observed for like reasons in many parts of the world. Thus in Dukkâla (Morocco) "it is the custom for women who are losing hair to take it to a shrine and leave it there, in order to prevent other women from getting hold of it for the purpose of practising witchcraft".[4] In Morocco women often hang their cut hair on a tree that grows on or near the grave of a wonder-working saint; for they think thus to rid themselves of headache or to guard against it.[5] In this custom the saint is probably supposed to protect the women against the nefarious arts of witches, who might put the shorn locks to an ill use. In Fez, outside the shrine of a saint, there is a lotus-tree full of hair and rags which women have deposited there in order to cure their headache or other bodily pains by the power of the saint.[6] For a similar reason, no doubt, among the Igliwa of Morocco, when the lock of hair which a boy has worn from childhood is shaved for the first time, it is hung on a cork-tree that grows close to the shrine of a saint.[7]

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3102.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 235. Compare Festus, *s.v.* "Capillatam", p. 50 ed. Lindsay, "*Capillatam vel capillarem arborem dicebant, in qua capillum tonsum suspendebant*".

[3] Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 15.

[4] E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i. 192.

[5] M. Quedenfelt, "Aberglaube und halbreligiöse Bruderschaft bei den Marokkanern", *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte*, 1886, p. (680).

[6] E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i. 553.

[7] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 413.

In Germany clipped and combed-out hair used often to be buried under an elder-bush, probably to save it from witches, who in that country are believed to exercise their baleful power by means of shorn tresses.[1] Examples of similar practices in other parts of the world could be multiplied.[2]

II. 441. **"Let the sacred he-goat", said she, "go in to Italian matrons."**—This oracle, as Ovid proceeds to tell us, was interpreted metaphorically to mean that the women were to be impregnated by being struck with strips of the skin of the he-goat which had been offered in sacrifice. But at Mendes in Egypt, where the goat, especially the he-goat, was the sacred animal of the district, it appears that women were publicly coupled with he-goats, no doubt as a solemn religious rite in order to ensure their fertility by intercourse with the holy and lustful animal. The custom was known to Pindar, and Herodotus tells us that it was actually observed in his lifetime, though he does not explain the religious motive of the practice.[3] He informs us that the god of Mendes was represented like the Greek god Pan with the face and legs of a goat;[4] and we may surmise that both the Greek and the Egyptian deities were originally neither more nor less than he-goats, which in historical times had partially shed their old animal nature and were on the road to become purely anthropomorphic divinities. In the case of Mendes this seems practically certain; for Herodotus says that while all he-goats were sacred at Mendes, one of them was more sacred than all the rest, and that when it died there was great mourning throughout the whole Mendesian province.[5] This statement of Herodotus suggests a simple explanation of a famous and much-discussed story told by Plutarch. An Egyptian pilot named Thamus, he says, was sailing to Italy, and when he was passing the Echinadian Islands he heard a voice hailing him from the land and

[1] A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube* [2], pp. 294 *sq.*, § 464.

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 275 *sq.*

[3] Herodotus, ii. 46; Strabo, xvii. 1. 19, p. 802, referring to Pindar as his authority (ὡς δὲ Πίνδαρός φησιν, οἱ τράγοι ἐνταῦθα γυναιξὶ μίγνυνται).

[4] Herodotus, ii. 46.

[5] Herodotus, ii. 46. As to the worship of the goat at Mendes compare Diodorus Siculus, i. 88. 1-3; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 39, p. 34 ed. Potter; Suidas, *s.v.* Μένδην; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Μένδης. Diodorus compares the Greek Pans and Satyrs.

bidding him, as soon as he should be off a certain place, announce that the Great Pan was dead. The pilot complied with the injunction, and when the ship was off the place, and the wind had died away, and there was a great calm, standing in the stern and looking towards the land he cried, "The Great Pan is dead!" Hardly had the words passed his lips when a sound like the sighing and lamentation of a great multitude came wafted to him from the shore.[1] When we observe that the announcement of the death was made to and by an Egyptian, we may reasonably surmise that the Great Pan who had died was no other than the sacred he-goat of Mendes, which Herodotus identified with Pan. The name of the Egyptian pilot, Thamus, resembles Tammuz, the Babylonian Adonis, whose death was annually mourned not only in Syria but in Greece; so that it would not be surprising if on the coast of Greece there were found worshippers to lament in like manner the death of the Great Pan of Mendes.[2]

It is significant that the oracle recorded by Ovid in the present passage should be put into the mouth of Juno; for we have seen that in her famous sanctuary at Lanuvium the goddess was represented clad in a complete goatskin, and that the strips of goatskin with which the women were struck to fertilize them were called "Juno's cloak".[3] But we can hardly suppose that either at Lanuvium or at Rome the fertility which, as a goddess of childbirth (Lucina), she was believed to bestow, was ever sought by the gross rite observed

[1] Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 17.

[2] This explanation of the death of the Great Pan is substantially identical with the one suggested by W. H. Roscher, except that he supposed the sacred animal of Mendes to have been a ram instead of a goat. But that the animal was really a goat, as Greek writers consistently represent it, appears to be proved by Ed. Meyer, who has indicated at the same time the source of Roscher's mistake; for he tells us that the Egyptian *ba* means both a he-goat and a ram, but that it is always written with the sign of a ram even when it refers to the he-goat of Mendes. Sarcophaguses containing remains of the sacred goats have been found at Mendes. See W. H. Roscher, "Die Legende vom Tode des groszen Pan", *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, xxxviii. (1892) pp. 465-477; Ed. Meyer, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 2770-2775, *s.v.* "Mendes". I formerly accepted a different explanation of the legend. See *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, pp. 6 *sq.*; F. Liebrecht, *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* (Hanover, 1856), p. 180; S. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, iii. (Paris, 1908) pp. 1 *sqq.*

[3] See above, pp. 295 *sq.*, 331.

for the same purpose at Mendes in Egypt, though I have shown some grounds for thinking that women desirous of offspring may have imitated the goddess by clothing themselves in the skins of the sacrificial goats.[1]

II. 445. **the damsels offered their backs to be beaten with thongs cut from the hide.**—According to Plutarch, it was both their hands which the women held out to receive the strokes, like children at school,[2] and this statement is confirmed by Juvenal, who intimates that the blows fell on the palms of the hands.[3] For the purpose of impregnation it can have made very little difference whether the stripes were administered to the hands or to the back.

II. 449. **Thanks to Lucina! this name, goddess, thou didst take from the sacred grove (lucus), or because with thee, goddess, is the fount of light (lucis).**—Later on in the poem Ovid prefers the second of these etymologies,[4] and no doubt he was right in doing so, Lucina being the goddess who brings the infant to the light from the darkness of the womb. The same derivation from *lux*, "light", was adopted by Varro, Cicero, and other ancient writers, though some of them thought that the light in question was that of the moon, with which they identified Lucina.[5] Thus Plutarch, who accepted this derivation, says that Juno Lucina helped women in travail, "like the moon, for women are reputed to be delivered most easily at the full moon".[6] Believing in the powerful influence exercised by the lunar rays on the offspring in the womb, the ancients often identified goddesses of childbirth with the moon. Thus in another passage, after mentioning the idea that the full moon helps to an easy delivery, Plutarch observes that in his opinion Artemis Lochia (that is, Artemis Goddess of Childbirth) and Ilithyia (the regular Greek goddess of childbirth) were no other than the moon.[7] The notion that the full moon was the best, and the dark of

[1] See note on *Fasti*, ii. 267, above, pp. 348-352.
[2] Plutarch, *Caesar*, 61. 2.
[3] Juvenal, ii. 142, "*Nec prodest agili palmas praebere luperco*".
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 255, vi. 39 *sq.*
[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 69; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 27, 68; Festus, *s.v.* "Supercilia", p. 397 ed. Lindsay; Martianus Capella, ii. 149; Tertullian, *De anima*, 37; Isidore, *Origines*, viii. 11. 57.
[6] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 77.
[7] Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* iii. 10. 3.

the moon the worst, time for childbirth had the support of the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus.[1] It chanced that the great temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus was burnt down on the same night on which Alexander the Great was born ; and the Greek historian Timaeus wittily remarked that it was no wonder the temple should catch fire in the absence of the goddess, who had gone in the capacity of midwife to attend the birth of the infant hero.[2] The eyebrows were supposed, especially by women, to be under the guardianship of Juno Lucina, " because by them the eyes are protected, whereby we enjoy the light ".[3] The erroneous derivation of the name Lucina from *lucus*, " a grove ", was adopted by Pliny.[4]

II. 451. **Gracious Lucina, spare, I pray, women with child, and gently lift the ripe burden from the womb.**—The prayers addressed to Juno Lucina by women in travail are mentioned by Varro and Cicero,[5] and they are alluded to by Horace,[6] who in the *Carmen Saeculare* beseeches the goddess to grant easy deliveries to Roman mothers.[7] Prayers for help addressed to Juno Lucina are put in the mouths of women in childbed by Plautus and Terence.[8]

II. 453. **When that day has dawned, then trust no more the winds.**—The day in question is that of the Lupercalia, namely, the fifteenth of February. Similarly Columella observed that on February 15 the weather was sometimes windy,[9] and Pliny noted that from February 16 there was a three days' period of unsettled weather.[10] Both of them seem to have drawn on the same almanac as Ovid, though our author extends the time of blustery weather to six days.

II. 455. **for six days the door of the Aeolian gaol unbarred**

[1] Quoted by the scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxi. 483. For much more evidence on this subject see W. H. Roscher, *Juno und Hera* (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 41 *sqq.* ; *id.*, *Über Selene und Verwandtes* (Leipzig, 1890), pp. 57 *sqq.*

[2] Timaeus, quoted by Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 27. 69.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* " Supercilia ", p. 397 ed. Lindsay ; compare Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 69.

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 235.

[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 69 ; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 27. 68.

[6] Horace, *Epod.* v. 5 *sq.*

[7] Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, 13 *sqq.*

[8] Plautus, *Aulularia*, 691 *sq.* ; Terence, *Andria*, 473 *sq.*, *Adelphi*, 486 *sq.*

[9] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 20.

[10] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 237.

stands open wide.—Homer represents Aeolus, the king of the winds, as dwelling in a floating island, girt about with a wall of unbreakable bronze and sheer smooth cliffs. He kept the winds in his house, and when Ulysses was about to depart from the Aeolian isle, Aeolus skinned an ox, made a bag of the skin, and tied up the blustering winds in it and fastened the bag by a silver cord to the ship of Ulysses, so that not a breath of air could escape from it to disturb the course of the voyager; at the same time he sent forth a fair west wind to waft the weary wanderer to his home across the sea.[1] On this view Aeolus did not keep the winds permanently shut up in bags or bladders, which he opened at discretion when he wished a certain wind to blow; for apparently he had to make a new bag every time he made a present of a wind to a friend. Virgil speaks of a vast cave in which, as in a prison, Aeolus kept the winds and storms confined in shackles, while they roared and howled indignant at their bonds.[2] This conception of the winds as incarcerated by Aeolus their gaoler is adopted by Ovid here and elsewhere.[3]

II. 457. **Now the light Water-Carrier (Aquarius) sets with his tilted urn : next in turn do thou, O Fish, receive the heavenly steeds.**—"The light Water-Carrier" is the constellation of Aquarius, to which our author has already referred in the present book.[4] The epithet "light" suggests that the Water-Carrier lightens his burden by pouring water from his tilted urn. Ovid here intimates in poetical language that at this time, that is, on or about February 15, the sun passes from the sign of Aquarius into the sign of the Fish. In harmony with him Columella says plainly that the sun passes into the sign of the Fish on the fifteenth of February.[5]

II. 459. **They say that thou and thy brother (for ye are two constellations that sparkle side by side) did support twain gods upon your backs.**—The ancients distinguished two constellations to which they gave the name of Fish, to wit, the Great or Southern Fish and the Little or Northern Fish. The Great or Southern Fish is situated under the back of the

[1] Homer, *Od.* x. 1-27.
[2] Virgil, *Aen.* i. 50-59.
[3] Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 663, xi. 431 *sq.*
[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 145 *sq.*, with the note.
[5] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 20.

Horse, next to Aquarius, and was supposed to be drinking the water which Aquarius was pouring from his tilted urn. The Little or Northern Fish is situated under the arm of Andromeda.[1] The mythical story of the origin of the two constellations is told in nearly the same form by Hyginus on the authority of Diognetus of Erythrae, who, like Ovid, explains by the same fable the religious reverence of the Syrians for fish and their refusal to touch them.[2] The myth is indicated in a more summary form by Eratosthenes[3] and Manilius.[4] The only substantial difference between the versions of Ovid and Hyginus is that, according to Hyginus, when Venus (for so he calls the goddess) plunged into the water she was changed into a fish, whereas according to Ovid she was merely upborne on the backs of fishes. According to Eratosthenes, the name of the goddess was Derceto, which was a form of Atargatis, itself another name of the great Syrian goddess Astarte,[5] and the water into which she fell was a lake at Bambyce (Hierapolis) on the Euphrates, where the Syrian goddess had a famous sanctuary, of which Lucian has given a very valuable account.[6]

Thus we may safely conclude that the myth of the constellations of the Fishes is of Syrian, or at all events Semitic, origin, and that the goddess who figures in it is the Semitic goddess of love, Astarte, whom Greeks and Romans identified with Aphrodite or Venus. The conclusion is confirmed by a slightly different version of the story. It is said that an egg of wondrous size fell into the Euphrates and was rolled by fishes to the bank, where doves perched on it and hatched it, and from the egg came forth Venus, who was afterwards called the Syrian Goddess. As she excelled all the world in justice and probity, Jupiter allowed her to choose a boon, and out of gratitude she begged that the fish which had saved her life

[1] Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 21 and 38; Hyginus, *Astronom.* iii. 29; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 243, p. 402 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella). The relative positions of the two constellations are clearly shown on the star-maps appended to G. R. Mair's edition of Aratus in the Loeb Classical Library, and on the similar maps appended to the edition of Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, by J. C. Schaubach (Göttingen, 1795).

[2] Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 30.

[3] Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 38.

[4] Manilius, iv. 579-581, 800-801.

[5] Ed. Meyer, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexicon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 650 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Astarte".

[6] Lucian, *De dea Syria.*

might receive an immortal reward. The deity complied with her request and set the fishes among the stars. That is why, continues the story, down to this day the Syrians number both fishes and doves among the gods and do not eat them. This version of the myth was told by Nigidius,[1] a Roman senator and philosopher, a friend of Cicero. Long before him Xenophon, on his march through northern Syria with the Ten Thousand, came to a river full of large tame fish, and he reports that the Syrians regarded the fish as gods and would not injure them nor the doves.[2] The sanctity both of fishes and doves in the great sanctuary of Hierapolis (Bambyce) on the Euphrates is attested by Lucian, who tells us further that in Phoenicia he had seen images of Derceto (Astarte) portrayed as a woman down to the waist, but as a fish from the waist downward.[3] Under the name of Derceto she was represented in this fashion with the face of a woman and the body of a fish at Ascalon, where her sanctuary was situated beside a great and deep lake full of fish; and to explain her fishy shape it was said that, out of shame for having loved a Syrian man and borne him a daughter, the goddess had flung herself into a lake, where she took on the body of a fish; and that, says Diodorus Siculus, is why the Syrians abstain from eating fish and look on the fishes as gods.[4] "All men", says Artemidorus, "eat fish except the Syrians who worship Astarte."[5] The worshippers of the Syrian Goddess believed that, if they ate fish, she would cause their legs to waste away, their body to burn with ulcers, and their liver to melt.[6] Menander referred to this superstition in a lost play; he said that when the sinners felt their legs and belly swelling on account of their sin, they used to clothe themselves in sacking and sit down on dung in the highway,

[1] Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 243, pp. 402 *sq.* ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella); Hyginus, *Fab.* 117; Ampelius, *Liber Memorialis*, ii. 12. As to P. Nigidius Figulus, senator and Pythagorean philosopher, see Cicero, *Pro Sulla*, 14. 42; *id.*, *Timaeus*, 1; J. Carcopino, *La Basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure* (Paris, 1927), pp. 196 *sqq.*

[2] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 4. 9.

[3] Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 14.

[4] Diodorus Siculus, ii. 4. 3. The story is repeated by Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ix. 501 *sqq.*, except that he changes the goddess into an Assyrian queen named Dorceto and says that she threw herself into "the lake of the Myris".

[5] Artemidorus, *Onirocrit.* i. 8, p. 14 ed. Hercher.

[6] Plutarch, *De Superstitione*, 10.

hoping by thus humbling themselves to appease the goddess whom they had offended.[1]

II. 460. **Once on a time Dione, fleeing from the dreadful Typhon, when Jupiter bore arms in defence of heaven.**—According to the usual tradition, from Homer onwards, Dione was the mother of Aphrodite (Venus) by Zeus (Jupiter).[2] But here and elsewhere Ovid uses Dione as a name of Venus herself,[3] and the name is repeatedly employed in this sense by the author of the *Pervigilium Veneris*,[4] twice by Statius,[5] and once at least by Valerius Flaccus.[6] However, this usage of the Latin poets is mythologically incorrect; for when we observe that the name Dione is derived from the same root *dio* as Zeus (genitive *Dios*), and that Dione was worshipped as the wife of Zeus and in the same temple with him at his most ancient sanctuary, Dodona,[7] we may surmise that Dione was the first love of Zeus, and that he married her long before he was compelled for family reasons, or perhaps from political exigencies, to wed his sister Hera. Indeed, this conclusion did not escape the ancients themselves,[8] and it has been rightly maintained in modern times by some learned mythologists.[9] In his capacity as a Roman god, Jupiter proved himself a more faithful husband than

[1] Menander, quoted by Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iv. 15.

[2] Homer, *Il.* v. 370 *sq.*; Euripides, *Helena*, 1098; Theocritus, xvii. 36; Apollodorus, i. 3. 1; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30 ed. Bunte; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* ix. 47.

[3] Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii. 3 *sq.*, "*Vincant, quibus alma Dione | faverit et, toto qui volat orbe, puer*".

[4] *Pervigilium Veneris*, stanzas 2, 3, 12, 19.

[5] Statius, *Theb.* i. 298, *Achill.* ii. 340.

[6] Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* vii. 187, "*Monitis parere Diones*".

[7] A scholiast on Homer (*Od.* iii. 91) says, on the authority of the learned antiquary Apollodorus (not the author of the handbook of mythology which has come down to us under his name), that Hera, the wife of Zeus, was named Dione at Dodona, and Strabo (vii. 7. 12, p. 329) informs us that Dione was worshipped in the same temple with Zeus (*σύνναος τῷ Διΐ*) at Dodona. However, it is to be noted that the name *Διώνη* in the passage of the scholiast (*l.c.*) is a correction of Buttmann: the MSS. read *Διόνη* or *Διαίνη*. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 350 note [4]. The union of Zeus with Dione at Dodona is amply confirmed by inscriptions, found on the spot, in which worshippers address prayers or questions jointly to Zeus and Dione. See Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], Nos. 1160, 1163, 1165 (vol. iii. pp. 307 *sq.*).

[8] *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* *Διώνη*, p. 280. 41, *ἀπὸ τοῦ Διός, Διώνη κατὰ ἔκτασιν τοῦ ο εἰς ω· ὅτι αὐτὴ πρῶτον γέγονε γαμετὴ τοῦ Διός.*

[9] W. H. Roscher, *Juno und Hera* (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 24 *sqq.*, referring to Buttmann and Welcker.

his Greek double, Zeus; for Jupiter always remained true to his first love and wedded wife, Juno, whose name is only a dialectically different form of Dione.[1]

Ovid says that the reason why Dione (Venus), or rather Astarte, took to the water was to escape the monster Typhon, who was attacking the gods, while Jupiter did battle with the aggressor. We can hardly doubt that in the original form of the myth, as preserved in one place by Hyginus,[2] the goddess was said to have been transformed into a fish; for, as we have seen, under the name of Derceto she was represented as half a fish and half a woman, and, moreover, the transformation of Venus (Astarte) on this occasion was only a particular case of a general transformation into animals which the gods are said to have undergone in Egypt, whither they had fled, for the sake of escaping from Typhon. Thus Apollo is said to have been turned into a falcon or, according to another account, into a raven; Artemis became a cat, Juno a snow-white cow, Dionysus a goat, Hermes an ibis, Latona a shrew-mouse, Venus a fish, and so forth. Indeed, according to one account, even Jupiter turned himself into a ram to escape the fury of Typhon, thus setting the example of the ram with curved horns which was afterwards known as Jupiter Ammon. This transformation of Jupiter into a ram is reported by Ovid elsewhere,[3] though here he represents that great deity as nobly combating the monster in armed conflict. Similarly the Greek mythologists save the honour of the supreme god Zeus by saying that, far from turning into a ram, he felled Typhon with a thunderbolt and buried him, all flaming, under Mount Etna, and the flames that burst from it to this day are the fires of the burning monster.[4] As these transformations are said to have taken place in Egypt, and some of the animals, in which the deities

[1] Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* [4], i. 125; W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 576, *s.v.* "Juno".

[2] Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 30.

[3] Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 327 *sq.*

[4] Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 28; Lucian, *De sacrificiis*, 14; Apollodorus, i. 6. 3 (who does not mention the particular animals into which the gods were transformed); Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 321-331; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 28; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, pp. 407 *sq.* ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella), where we must read *Typhon* or *Typhonis* for *Python* and *Pythonis* in three places.

hid themselves, such as the cat and the ibis, were characteristic of Egypt, we may safely conclude that the myth was invented to explain why the Egyptians worshipped many kinds of animals, including falcons, cats, cows, goats, and ibises. Indeed, this was clearly perceived by Lucian, who tells us that in the Egyptian temples the tradition of these transformations was recorded in manuscripts thousands of years old.[1]

A curious conclusion of the story is mentioned by the scholiast on Caesar Germanicus. He says that when Typhon, in pursuit of the deities, came to Egypt, and saw nothing of the gods and goddesses, who were all safely stowed away in the shape of animals, he thought that the land was uninhabited and took possession of it as lord and master. Thus he reigned in solitary glory for eighteen days, at the end of which the gods set upon him and tore him in pieces. For that reason, continues the scholiast, these eighteen days were made into an annual festival, and anything born within them does not live. The place where Typhon was slain, says the scholiast, was the temple at Memphis, where it was the custom to enthrone the kings at the beginning of their reign. On being enthroned and robed they had first to carry a yoke to the bull Apis, which the Egyptians esteemed the greatest of the gods, and afterwards they were conducted by the priest of Isis to a place where an oath was administered to them, to the effect that they would not intercalate a month or a day in the year, nor change the festivals, but that they would observe the three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, as that number had been ordained by the ancients.[2]

This very remarkable account, which has all the appearance of being authentic, suggests that the annual festival of eighteen days coincided with the reign of a mock king, who, after ruling like Typhon without competitor for eighteen days, was like him put to death in the very temple in which the real kings were crowned, and in which the real monarch may be supposed to have resumed the insignia of royalty

[1] Lucian, *De sacrificiis*, 14.

[2] Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, pp. 408-409 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

after they had been temporarily worn by his substitute. I have already had occasion to speak of such temporary kings whose life ended with their brief reign of a few days; the closest parallel to this Egyptian custom, if I am right in my interpretation of it, would be the annual mock king of the Sacaea at Babylon and the annual mock king of the Banyoro in Central Africa, both of whom were put to death after a few days' nominal tenure of the regal power.[1]

II. 464. **Sat down by the brink of the Palestinian water.**—There seems to be no justification for thus stretching the boundaries of Palestine to the east so far as to include, or at least touch, the Euphrates. The boundaries of Palestine are roughly indicated by Pliny, who says that it was the part of Syria which began at Arabia; he distinguishes it from Phoenicia and Babylonia or Mesopotamia.[2]

II. 475. **Next day is vacant, but the third is dedicated to Quirinus.**—That the Quirinalia, the festival of Quirinus, was celebrated on February 17 is recorded by the ancient calendars,[3] with which Ovid is in agreement. In the Caeretan and the Farnesian calendars the words "to Quirinus on the hill" ("*Quirino in colle*") are added to the word QUIRIN(ALIA),[4] from which we learn that the festival was held on the Quirinal hill, with which the name of the god is obviously connected. The etymology of the name Quirinus has been much discussed in ancient and modern times. The two most popular derivations have been those which Ovid mentions in the following lines, namely, either from the Sabine town Cures, or from *curis*, said to be a Sabine word meaning "spear". Both etymologies are mentioned by Festus, though apparently he preferred the latter,[5] and so did Plutarch, Macrobius, and Isidore, all of whom accept the derivation from *curis*, "a spear", without mentioning the derivation from the town Cures.[6] Niebuhr supposed that

[1] See above, note on *Fasti*, i. 43, pp. 52 *sqq*.
[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 66-69.
[3] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 310.
[4] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 212, 250, 310.
[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Curis", p. 43 ed. Lindsay.
[6] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 29. 1, *Quaest. Rom.* 87; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 9. 16; Isidore, *Origines*, ix. 2. 84. Compare Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 292, who hesitates between the derivation from *curis*, "a spear", and the Greek κοίρανος, "a king". The view that *curis* was a Sabine word meaning "spear" had

the name Quirinus was derived from a word *Quirium*, which he conjectured to have been the original name of the Sabine town on the Quirinal. On this view the name Quirinus was related to Quirium as Latinus is related to Latium; and Quirites were "the people of Quirium", just as Samnites were "the people of Samnium".[1] This plausible theory has been accepted by G. Wissowa and other modern scholars.[2] In antiquity the term Quirites, applied to Roman citizens in prayers and formal addresses, seems to have been commonly derived from the Sabine town Cures.[3] It is said that the name was adopted after the union of the Sabines under Tatius with the Romans under Romulus to signify that the Romans identified themselves politically with their new allies.[4]

Very little is known of the god Quirinus. He seems to have been a very ancient deity, probably the god of the Sabine town on the Quirinal hill which afterwards united with the Roman town on the Palatine to form the city of Rome. The ancients looked on him as a war-god; hence Greek writers equated or compared him to their own Enyalius, and were doubtful whether he was identical with or different from Mars;[5] some thought that he was Mars in a pacific mood, because his temple was within the city, whereas that

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the authority of Varro, who explained the name Cures to mean "spears". See Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 48. 4. The derivation of *Quirinus* from the Sabine *quiris*, "spear", is accepted by L. Deubner, who argues that the god was supposed to be incorporate in the spear, which originally may have been a simple fetish. See L. Deubner, "Die Devotion der Decier", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, viii. Beiheft (1905) pp. 74-76. In support of this view he quotes the saying, attributed to Varro, that the ancient image of Mars at Rome was a simple spear. See Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 46, p. 41 ed. Potter; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vi. 11; compare Plutarch, *Romulus*, 29, 1. As to this view see below, pp. 399 *sqq.*

[1] B. G. Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, translated by Hare and Thirlwall, i. 248.

[2] G. Wissowa, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexicon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iv. 10 *sq.*, *s.v.* "Quirinus"; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 153 *sq.*

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 68; Livy, i. 13. 5; Festus, *s.v.* "Dici", p. 59 ed. Lindsay, "*Dici mos erat Romanis in omnibus sacrificiis precibusque: populo Romano Quiritibusque, quod est Curensibus, quae civitas Sabinorum potentissima fuit*".

[4] Festus, p. 304 ed. Lindsay, "*Quirites autem dicti post foedus a Romulo et Tatio percussum, communionem et societatem populi factam indicant*"; Livy, i. 13. 5; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 710, who, like Livy, accepts the derivation of *Quirites* from *Cures*.

[5] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 48. 2; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 29. 1, *Quaest. Rom.* 87; Polybius, iii. 25. 6.

of Mars was outside of it, as if to allow the war-god to take the field without delay.[1] The idea of the distinction was probably fostered by the use of the term Quirites to designate the Romans in their civil as distinct from their military capacity, as on the famous occasion when Julius Caesar reduced a mutinous regiment to order by addressing the men as "Quirites" instead of "Soldiers".[2] Certain it is that Quirinus owned weapons which were anointed with ointment drawn from a sacrificial vessel called a *persillum*; but though Quirinus had a flamen of his own (*flamen Quirinalis*), the anointing of his weapons was performed, oddly enough, not by his own priest but by the flamen of Portunus (*flamen Portunalis*).[3] In the official hierarchy the flamen of Quirinus occupied the fourth place, ranking below the flamen of Jupiter (the Flamen Dialis) and the flamen of Mars; at the head of all marched the Sacrificial King, and the rear was brought up by the Pontifex Maximus. In that order they sat, or rather reclined, at solemn banquets.[4] The three great flamens (Dialis, Martialis, and Quirinalis) are said to have been instituted by Numa, the traditional fountain-head of Roman religious law.[5] On a coin of Numerius Fabius Pictor a flamen of Quirinus is represented sitting, with a helmet on his head; in his extended right hand he holds the pointed cap characteristic of a flamen, while in his left hand he grasps a spear resting on a round shield, which has inscribed on it the letters QUIRIN.[6] Perhaps the weapons of Quirinus were, like those of his priest, a helmet, shield, and spear. What duties the flamen of Quirinus had to perform in the service of his god we do not know; but we do know that he had to discharge certain functions in the worship of other gods with whom Quirinus, so far as we are aware, had little or nothing to do. Thus he offered a public sacrifice to Acca Larentia, a curious figure in early Roman history, who,

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 292, vi. 860. As to the temple of Mars outside the walls, see note on *Fasti*, vi. 191 (Vol. IV. pp. 148 *sq.*).

[2] Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 70.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Persillum", pp. 238, 239 ed. Lindsay.

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Ordo sacerdotum", p. 198 ed. Lindsay.

[5] Livy, i. 20. 2. But according to Plutarch (*Numa*, 7. 4), Numa only added the flamen Quirinalis to the existing flamen Dialis and flamen Martialis.

[6] E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 484.

according to one account, was the nurse of Romulus ;[1] the sacrifice to her was doubtless offered to her at the Larentalia, her festival in December.[2] Again, the flamen of Quirinus prayed to the quaint God of Mildew (*Robigo*) at his festival, the Robigalia.[3] Once more, the flamen of Quirinus, along with the Vestal Virgins, sacrificed to Consus at his buried altar in the Circus Maximus on the twenty-first of August.[4] On another occasion, at the time of the Gallic invasion in 390 B.C., the flamen of Quirinus helped the Vestal Virgins to conceal and carry away the holy things which might otherwise have fallen into the hands of the enemy.[5]

It has been suggested by Professor L. Deubner that the war-god Quirinus, whose name is probably derived from the Sabine *curis* or *quiris*, " a spear ", was originally a spear personified or deified, in short, a fetish spear.[6] He points out that in the Regia or House of the King there was set up a spear, which was called Mars and was therefore identified with the war-god ;[7] and further that a general, who was about to conduct a war, used to enter the chapel of Mars and shake the sacred shields (*ancilia*) and the god's spear, saying, " Mars, awake ! "[8]

The view that Quirinus was of old simply a sacred or fetish spear is supported by analogies ; for in Africa such spears appear to be common. Thus among the Kwottos of Northern Nigeria the King of Panda has " a sacred magic spear, called Hukuti, on the good offices of the spirit of which the success of the King's troops in war was believed to depend. An official bearing the title of Idibo (= Hausa Baban Sarki—chief royal eunuch) had the custody of this spear, which, like the sacred staff, was kept in a special hut dedicated to it. A new chief was usually initiated into the ownership of Hukuti fourteen days after he had obtained possession of the sacred staff. The King was blindfolded on

[1] Aulus Gellius, vii. 7. 5-8.
[2] See Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 55-58, with the note.
[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 906 *sqq.*, with the note.
[4] Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 5.
[5] Livy, v. 40. 7-8 ; Valerius Maximus, i. 1. 10.
[6] L. Deubner, " Die Devotion der Decier ", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, viii. Beiheft (1905), pp. 74-76.
[7] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 19. 1.
[8] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 3.

the first occasion of having the spear given into his hand, as it was considered that otherwise he might be blinded by the potency of the spear. After the bandage over his eyes had been removed, a propitiatory sacrifice of a white bull was offered by the king to the spirit of the spear. A similar thanksgiving sacrifice was offered on the conclusion of a successful war." [1] As a general rule the King of Panda did not himself march with the army to war; only if things went ill with his troops he would, as a last resort, be invited to join in the fight. In such circumstances he would appear, surrounded by a bodyguard of twelve slaves " and holding the royal magical spear Hukuti, regarded as having the power, if anything had, of causing consternation in the ranks of the enemy. The mode of using the spear was to strike the ground three times with it, at the same time calling on the spirit of the spear to grant victory to the King of Panda's arms." [2]

Again, among the Barundi of Tanganyika Territory (East Africa) a sacred spear plays a great, almost the principal, part in ritual. The spirit of the god Kiranga or Indagarra or Riangombe is believed to dwell in the blade of the spear, according as the weapon has been dedicated to one or other of these deities. A priest has charge of the spear: prayers are addressed to the spirit residing in the blade: hymns are chanted in its honour; and straw is laid down as an offering to it. Such adorations of the spear are performed on many occasions, such as the birth of a child, a marriage, or a serious illness.[3] Among the Lango, a Nilotic tribe of Uganda, sacred spears, called Spears of God (*tong jok*), are made by direction of the deity, whose name is Jok. They are kept in

[1] J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, " Ethnological Notes on the Kwottos of Toto (Panda) District, Keffi Division, Benue Province, Northern Nigeria ", *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxvii. No. cviii. (July 1928) p. 382.

[2] J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, " Ethnological Notes on the Kwottos of Toto (Panda) District, Keffi Division, Benue Province, Northern Nigeria ", *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxvii. No. cvii. (April 1928) p. 280. In the same article (p. 281) the writer informs us that formerly the kings of Panda were regarded as incarnate divinities; oaths were sworn by their sacred names, and their whole life was hedged in with numerous taboos; for example, they might not look on running water, nor on blood, nor on a corpse, nor (at any rate in public) on the sun and moon.

[3] Hans Meyer, *Die Barundi* (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 134 *sq.*; J. M. M. van der Burgt, *Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi* (Bois-le-Duc, Hollande, 1903), pp. 515 *sqq.*

special shrines called *ot abani*, except when they are being used in ceremonies; but the prophet of the deity may employ one of them in hunting.[1] Among the Dinka, a people of the Upper Nile, sacred spears are kept in the shrines of their high god Dengdit, whose name means "Great Rain", and they play an important part in ceremonies performed for the purpose of producing rain.[2]

The festival of Quirinus, the Quirinalia, is mentioned by Varro and Festus, but beyond saying that rites were performed and holiday kept in honour of Quirinus at it they throw no light on the ritual, though both of them, like Ovid, record the Festival of Fools, which fell on the same day.[3]

The temple of Quirinus naturally stood on the Quirinal hill, which was supposed to take its name either from him or from Cures, the city from which the Sabines were said to have originally come to Rome; the temple was not far from the Quirinal Gate (*Porta Quirinalis*).[4] Before the coming of the Sabines the name of the hill is said to have been Agonus.[5] At first the god's house would seem to have been a simple chapel.[6] It was esteemed one of the most ancient shrines in Rome. Within the holy precinct grew two sacred myrtle-trees, which were said to be older than the shrine itself; one was called the Patrician and the other the Plebeian myrtle-tree, and with them apparently the destinies of the two political orders were believed to be bound up. For so long as the patrician party, represented by the Senate, continued dominant, the Patrician myrtle flourished and put forth fresh shoots, whereas the Plebeian myrtle shrivelled and shrank; but after the internecine civil war known as the Marsic or Social War (90–89 B.C.), which undermined the power of the Senate, the Patrician myrtle withered away, while the Plebeian myrtle grew strong.[7]

[1] J. H. Driberg, *The Lango* (London, 1923), p. 238.

[2] C. G. Seligmann, in J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, iv. 707, 712.

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 13; Festus, *s.v.* "Quirinalia", pp. 304, 305 ed. Lindsay. As to the Festival of Fools see *Fasti*, ii. 513 *sqq.*, with the note.

[4] Festus, *s.vv.* "Quirinalis porta" and "Quirinalis collis", pp. 303, 304, 305 ed. Lindsay; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 51.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Quirinalis collis", p. 304 ed. Lindsay.

[6] Festus, *s.v.* "Quirinalis porta", p. 303 ed. Lindsay, "*Quirini sacellum*"; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 51, "*Quirini fanum*".

[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 120-121.

This is a conspicuous example of a world-wide superstition which connects the fortunes of individuals, of families, and of dynasties with the fortunes of certain particular trees, and from the state of the trees prognosticates the health, vigour, and prosperity or the decay, downfall, and death of the persons, the families, and the dynasties. It is a common custom in Africa and other parts of the world to plant a tree at the birth of a child, and to imagine that the child will flourish or dwindle with the tree. The custom is said to be still observed by families in Russia, Germany, England, France, and Italy.[1] Elsewhere I have cited many instances of such beliefs in the sympathetic relation between persons and trees;[2] here I may illustrate them by a couple of examples which I have not cited before. In some tribes of Central Celebes it is customary to plant a coco-nut palm on the spot where a child's afterbirth has been buried. "Such a tree is regarded as the child's double. If the tree dies, the child for whom the tree was planted must also die."[3] Among the Kpelle, a negro tribe of Liberia, hunters and women are believed to stand in close relations of sympathy to certain particular banana-trees. Beside a man's hut is often to be seen a banana-tree, carefully fenced in, which bears a special name. It is thought to bring the man good luck in the chase, to sharpen his sight, so that he sees the game afar off, and to direct his bullet, so that he never misses. At every new moon the hunter brings his banana-tree an offering of a boiled fowl and rice, and he offers it a portion of every animal he kills. Still more intimate is the relation between Kpelle women and banana-trees; and with them, as with the hunters, the tree on which a woman's fate depends may either have been planted at birth or acquired during life. "In the first case, immediately after the birth of a girl a banana-tree is planted and carefully guarded and tended, for the girl's growth and welfare go hand in hand with that of the banana-tree; should the tree begin to ail, the girl also is threatened with illness." Should a grown-up

[1] A. de Gubernatis, *Mythologie des Plantes* (Paris, 1878-1882), i. pp. xxviii *sq.*

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. pp. 159-168.

[3] N. Adriani en A. C. Kruijt, *De Bar'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes* (Batavia, 1912–1914) ii. 49.

girl or a woman fall sick, a diviner may be called in, who may prescribe the planting of a banana-tree as a cure for the sickness. Thereupon a banana-tree is planted behind the house, and an offering of boiled fowl and rice is made to it and repeated at the appearance of the new moon every month. Most of the offering is eaten by the family at a sacrificial meal, and the house-father prays to God or to the banana-tree, or to both together, to bless and preserve the family. The benefits which a woman expects from her banana-tree are health, an easy delivery, and offspring—as many children as there are bananas on the tree. Among the Kpelle " other sacred trees are planted and treated in exactly similar fashion. They are true life-trees which impart to men some of their own power of growth, fertility, and length of life. If such a tree dies, the man loses a great part of his vital energy, he suffers as it were a grievous loss of blood, from which he can hardly recover." [1]

However, to find parallels to the Patrician and Plebeian myrtle-trees it is not necessary to go as far as Celebes and Liberia ; they lie to our hand in ancient Rome itself.

When Nero died by his own hand, with the clatter of the hoofs of the pursuing cavalry in his ears,[2] the line of the Caesars came to an end ; but, as usually happens in such cases, the wiseacres said that they had known how it would be long before. They pointed to two signs which had plainly announced the extinction of the dynasty to all who had eyes to see. One of them was this. Immediately after her marriage with Augustus it chanced that Livia, on her way to her estate at Veii, received in her lap a white hen dropped by an eagle flying overhead. In the hen's beak there was a sprig of laurel, and as the thing was deemed a portent, it was resolved to rear the hen and plant the laurel. This was done, and so prolific did the hen prove that down to this very day, says the ancient historian, the place is known as the Chicken-farm (*ad Gallinas*). As for the sprig of laurel, it shot up into a grove, from which the Caesars regularly cut the laurels to adorn their triumphs, taking care always to plant fresh laurels in place of those which they had destroyed.

[1] Diedrich Westermann, *Die Kpelle, ein Negerstamm in Liberia* (Göttingen and Leipzig, 1921), pp. 221 *sq.*

[2] Suetonius, *Nero*, 49. 2.

But it was always observed that when an Emperor died the laurel which he had planted invariably withered. In the last year of Nero's reign the whole of that laurel grove died from the root upward, and the whole of that chicken-farm came to an untimely end. And as if that were not enough to bring the truth home to the most sceptical, the temple of the Caesars was struck by lightning, which knocked off the heads of all the Emperors and dashed the sceptre from the hands of Augustus.[1] These portents were naturally interpreted as the finger of Providence visibly pointing to the extinction of the imperial line of the Caesars.

As the fortune of the Caesars was thus bound up with a laurel, so it would appear that the fortune of the Flavians, who succeeded them after a brief interval of turbulence and civil war, was bound up with an oak. For thrice when Vespasia, the mother of Vespasian, was with child, an old oak in the garden, which was sacred to Mars, put forth a fresh bough, and these boughs manifestly foretold the fates of the lady's three children. For the first bough was puny and quickly withered, like the infant girl born soon afterwards, for she died within the year. The next bough was sturdy and long, portending great good fortune for the child that was coming into the world; but when Vespasia was gone with child for the third time, the old oak put forth a bough like a tree. The happy father announced to his mother that a grandson was born to her who would one day be Emperor; but the old dame only laughed and wondered that her son should have lost his wits while she, at her age, kept hers intact. Yet the prediction came true, for her grandson was the Emperor Vespasian.[2]

With these trees on which the fate of Roman Emperors was believed to hang we may compare the tree with which the destiny of the Chinese Emperors was believed to be bound up. It grew in the little private garden of the Emperors at Peking, and while all the other trees in the garden were clipped and distorted into a variety of grotesque shapes, it alone was suffered and trained to shoot up straight and leafy to its full height, because it was looked on as the life-tree of the dynasty, and as it flourished or withered and died, so,

[1] Suetonius, *Galba*, 1.

[2] Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 5. 2.

it was thought, would the line of the Emperors stand or fall. At the beginning of the twentieth century, while the Emperors still sat on the throne, the tree was aged and so decayed that it could only be supported by many artificial props. Now that the dynasty has fallen, the tree has doubtless fallen also.[1]

At a lower level of barbaric culture we may compare the barkcloth trees which, at the accession of a new king of Uganda, used to be planted by the priests of the principal deities near the main entrance to the royal precinct; "the trees were carefully guarded and tended, because it was believed that as they grew and flourished, so the king's life and power would increase".[2]

But to return to the chapel of Quirinus on the Quirinal. A regular temple (*aedis*) of Quirinus is mentioned in 435 B.C., and it must have been a spacious building since it was used for a meeting of the Senate.[3] It is noticed again in 329 B.C., when we hear of a chapel of Sangus (Sancus) which stood opposite it.[4] In 293 B.C. the Consul L. Papirius Cursor dedicated a new temple of Quirinus, which had been vowed by his father in his dictatorship.[5] In 206 B.C. it was struck by lightning,[6] and in 49 B.C. it was consumed by fire,[7] but it must have been at least temporarily restored soon afterwards, for in 45 B.C. the Senate voted to set up a statue of Julius Caesar in the temple.[8] Augustus rebuilt the temple and dedicated it in 16 B.C., adorning it with seventy-six columns.[9] It was built in the Doric style with eight columns at each of the ends and fifteen at each of the long sides.[10] Attached to the temple was a colonnade haunted by a crowd of loungers, as we learn from Martial,[11] whose house or lodging was in the neighbourhood.[12] The temple is mentioned by Ovid along with the temple of Julius Caesar.[13]

[1] *Die Woche*, 31st August 1901, p. 3, with an illustration showing the garden and the tree. Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. pp. 167 *sq.*

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, (London, 1911), p. 202.

[3] Livy, iv. 21. 9.

[4] Livy, viii. 20. 8.

[5] Livy, x. 46. 7.

[6] Livy, xxviii. 11. 4.

[7] Dio Cassius, xli. 14. 3.

[8] Dio Cassius, xliii. 45. 2-3.

[9] Dio Cassius, liv. 19. 3; *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 5, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 24 ed. Diehl[4].

[10] Vitruvius, iii. 2. 7.

[11] Martial, xi. 1. 9 *sq.*

[12] Martial, x. 58. 10.

[13] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 8. 51-52.

No remains of the temple of Quirinus have come to light, but archaic inscriptions containing dedications to Mars and Quirinus, which were found to the north of the ancient Old Way (*Alta Semita*), seem to show that the temple stood somewhere on the ground now occupied by the Royal Gardens on the Quirinal, but opinions differ as to whether it stood in the very centre of the Gardens or towards their eastern end.[1] The Old Way (*Alta Semita*), which is mentioned only in the two topographical lists of the fourth century A.D. (the *Notitia* and *Curiosum Urbis*), ran along the ridge of the Quirinal hill in a north-easterly direction to the Colline Gate (*Porta Collina*). Its line is marked by the modern Via del Quirinale and the Via Venti Settembre, beneath which some of the ancient pavement has been laid bare in modern times.[2] The mention of the temple of Quirinus in both the ancient lists [3] proves that the edifice existed down to the fourth century of our era at least. It is uncertain whether the temple occupied the site of the ancient chapel of the god. Wissowa is of opinion that it did; but the mention of the chapel (*sacellum* or *fanum*) by Varro and Festus, as if it existed in their day,[4] points rather to the chapel being separate from and independent of the temple. This conclusion is confirmed by the observation that Varro speaks both of the chapel (*fanum*) and of the temple (*aedis*) within a few lines of each other, as if the two buildings were different.[5] The remark of Pliny, also, that among the most ancient shrines (*delubra*) of Rome was that of Quirinus,[6] is surely more applicable to a chapel of almost immemorial

[1] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 409 *sq.*; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* [2], p. 484. Compare the map of the VIth Region, *Alta Semita*, in R. Lanciani's *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, fig. 165, facing p. 230; also the map in L. Homo's *La Rome Antique* (Paris, 1921), p. 240. For the dedications to Mars and Quirinus see H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3140, 3141.

[2] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, ii. 549, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 418; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* [2], p. 484.

[3] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, ii. 549.

[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 51; Festus, *s.v.* "Quirinalis porta", p. 303 ed. Lindsay.

[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 51-52.

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 120, "*Inter antiquissima namque delubra habetur Quirini*".

antiquity than to the splendid modern temple built by Augustus.[1]

The question of the day on which the temple of Quirinus was dedicated is also uncertain, and different views have been taken on it by modern scholars, notably by Mommsen and Wissowa. The entries in the Caeretan and Farnesian calendars ("*Quirino in colle*") seem to indicate February 17 as the day of the dedication of the temple;[2] but on the other hand the same entry ("*Quirino in coll*") in the Venusian calendar[3] under June 29 points just as clearly to June 29 as the day of the dedication of the temple, and this latter date is confirmed by the express statement of Ovid.[4] Accordingly scholars are generally agreed that the difference of date is to be explained by supposing that one of the dates was the day on which the old temple was dedicated by L. Papirius Cursor in 293 B.C., and that the other was the day on which the restored temple was dedicated by Augustus in 16 B.C. Mommsen held that February 17 was the day of the dedication of the old temple in 293 B.C., and that June 29 was the day of the dedication of the restored temple in 16 B.C., and on the whole the arguments in favour of this view seem to preponderate.[5]

At some date, we cannot say when, Quirinus, the old god of the Sabines on the Quirinal hill, was identified with the deified Romulus, and from the last century of the Republic onwards the identification was so habitual that Quirinus would seem to have been almost regarded as a synonym for Romulus.[6]

[1] On the chapel and the temple of Quirinus see O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 285 *sq.*; G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 144-153; *id.*, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iv. 14 *sq.*, *s.v.* "Quirinus"; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 154 *sq.*; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 407-409; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], p. 488.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 212, 250, 310. See above, p. 396.

[3] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 221, 320.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 795-796.

[5] Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] p. 310; G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 144 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 154 *sq.* See note on *Fasti*, vi. 796 (Vol. IV. pp. 343 *sq.*).

[6] Compare, for example, Cicero, *De officiis*, iii. 10. 41, "*Pace vel Quirini vel Romuli dixerim*"; Virgil, *Aen.* i. 292, "*Remo cum fratre Quirinus*"; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 3. 15 *sq.*; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 120, "*Quirini, hoc est ipsius Romuli*". Juvenal even speaks of Romulus and Remus as "the twin Quirini" (xi. 105, "*geminos sub rupe Quirinos*"). See further G. Wissowa in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iv. 15-17, *s.v.* "Quirinus".

Ovid accepts the identification in the present passage (lines 475, 476) and elsewhere.[1]

II. 481. **For when the father, lord of arms, saw the new walls and the many wars waged by the hand of Romulus; "O Jupiter," he said.**—The poet now proceeds to narrate the apotheosis of Romulus, beginning in true poetic style, with a sort of prologue in heaven, wherein the war-god Mars, the father of Romulus, addresses Jupiter and invites his consent to the deification, to which the supreme god nods a gracious assent. Elsewhere Ovid has told the same story more briefly, including the speech of Mars to Jupiter.[2]

II. 487. **there will be one whom thou wilt exalt to the blue welkin.**—This line is borrowed from Ennius.[3] Ovid repeats it in the duplicate of this passage in the *Metamorphoses*.[4] Ennius repeats the expression *ad caeli caerula templa*, "to the blue spaces of the sky", in another passage of his writings.[5] Lucretius seems to have borrowed from Ennius the expression "the blue of the sky".[6] Ancient writers, so far as I remember, seldom mention the blueness of the sky, and in general they were much more sparing in the use of colour epithets than the moderns, though there seems to be no reason to think that they were less sensitive than ourselves to distinctions of colour.

II. 491. **There is a place which the ancients call the She-goat's Marsh.**—The usual tradition of the death of Romulus, which Ovid sets forth in the following passage, was that he suddenly disappeared in a great storm of thunder, lightning, and rain as he was holding a public assembly or reviewing his troops at a place outside the city called the She-goat's Marsh, and there was a general agreement that the day on which this happened was the Nones (the seventh) of July, which hence took the name of *Nonae Caprotinae*, "the Nones of the Goat". This is the tradition recorded by Livy, whom Ovid seems to have had here specially in view; but neither

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 199, iii. 41, iv. 56.

[2] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 805-828.

[3] Ennius, quoted by Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 6, "*Unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli | templa.*

[4] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 814.

[5] Ennius, quoted by Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 20. 41, "*Quamquam multa manus ad caeli caerula templa | tendebam*".

[6] Lucretius, i. 1090, "*Caerula caeli*"; compare v. 771, "*Caerula mundi*".

Livy nor Ovid mentions the day on which the king was said to have mysteriously vanished. That day (the Nones of July) is first mentioned by Cicero, and it is attested by Plutarch and other late writers.[1] The poetical version of the disappearance, accepted by Horace and Ovid, was that Romulus had, like Elisha, been swept up to heaven in a chariot and horses by his father Mars.[2] But a darker rumour, to which Ovid barely alludes, whispered that the king had been torn or cut in pieces in the Senate-house by the senators, who had smuggled the bloody fragments of his mangled body from the scene of the murder by concealing them under their robes, and had buried them secretly in the earth.[3] This rumour was noticed by Livy, who, after recording the orthodox tradition that Romulus had been swept up to heaven in a whirlwind, adds, "I believe there were some even then who secretly accused the senators of having torn the king to pieces with their own hands; that very obscure report also got abroad, but present fear and admiration of the man lent fame to the other".[4] Varro said that Romulus was buried behind or in front of the Rostra.[5] In general harmony with this statement, a scholiast on Horace tells us that "most people say that Romulus was buried in the Rostra and that to commemorate it there were two lions there, just as we see lions on tombs to this day, and that, they say, is why speeches are made from the Rostra in honour of

[1] Livy, i. 16; Cicero, *De re publica*, i. 16. 25; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 805-829; Solinus, i. 20; Aelius Lampridius, *Commodus*, 2. 2; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 2. 13-14; Florus, i. 1. 16-18; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 56. 2; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 27-29, *Camillus*, 33. 7, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 8. Among these writers, the place of the disappearance (the Goat's Marsh) is mentioned by Livy, Solinus, Aurelius Victor, Florus, and Plutarch; the date of the disappearance (the Nones of July) is mentioned by Cicero, Solinus, Aelius Lampridius, and Plutarch. Compare J. B. Carter, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iv. 198-202, *s.v.* "Romulus".

[2] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 3. 15-16; Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 496, *Metamorph.* xiv. 819-825. Compare Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 56. 2.

[3] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 56. 4; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 27. 5. According to Plutarch, the murder was committed by the senators in the temple of Vulcan.

[4] Livy, i. 16. 4.

[5] Porphyrio on Horace, *Epod.* xvi. 13, p. 169 ed. Meyer, "*Hoc sic dicitur, quasi Romulus sepultus sit, non ad caelum raptus aut discerptus. Nam Varro post rostra fuisse sepultum Romulum dicit*". See further the passage of Pseudo-Acro, quoted in the next note.

the dead ".[1] The place of the supposed grave was in the Comitium and went by the name of the Black Stone;[2] however, some thought that the Black Stone marked the grave, not of Romulus, but of his foster-father Faustulus, while others held that the man buried there was Hostilius, grandfather of King Tullus Hostilius. The view that the grave was that of Faustulus rather than of Romulus is recorded also by the Greek antiquary Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a contemporary of Ovid, who writes that, "some say that the stone lion which lay beside the Rostra in the best place of the Roman Forum was set over the body of Faestulus (Faustulus), he having been buried by those who found him on the spot where he fell".[3] However, in another passage Dionysius seems to accept the view that the grave was that of Hostilius, for he tells us that Hostilius "was buried by the kings in the best place of the Forum, being deemed worthy of a tombstone with an inscription that attests his valour".[4] On the other hand Horace would seem to have shared the opinion of Varro that Romulus had been laid to his last rest in the Forum; for though in a lyrical effusion, with his singing robes on him, he had chanted the flight of Romulus in the fiery chariot to heaven, in a sadder and more serious, almost a prophetic mood, he had foretold the coming of a day when a barbarian cavalry would ride victorious, with a clatter of horse-hoofs, through the streets of Rome and insolently scatter the bones of Romulus that still lay sheltered from the sun and wind.[5]

[1] Pseudo-Acro, *Scholia in Horatium vetustiora*, ed. O. Keller, p. 435 (on Horace, *Epod.* xvi. 13. 14), "*Plerique aiunt in Rostris Romulum sepultum esse et in memoriam huius rei leones duo ibi fuisse, sicut hodieque in sepulchris videmus, atque inde esse, ut pro Rostris mortui laudarentur . . . Nam et Varro pro Rostris fuisse sepulchrum Romuli dicit.*"

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Niger lapis", p. 184 ed. Lindsay, "*Niger lapis in Comitio locum funestum significat, ut ali, Romuli morti destinatum, sed non usu ob<venisse ut ibi sepeliretur, sed Fau>stulum nutri<cium eius, ut ali dicunt Hos>tilium avum Tu<lli Hostilii Romanorum regis>, cuius familia e<Medullia Romam venit post destruc>tionem eius*". The passage is mutilated in the text of Festus; the words printed in angular brackets are not in the text of Festus as edited by Lindsay, but have been supplied conjecturally by Detlefsen. See Ch. Huelsen, *Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Forum Romanum. 1898–1902* (Rome, 1903), p. 27 note [1].

[3] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 87. 2.

[4] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 1. 2.

[5] Horace, *Epod.* xvi. 11-14.

In the early part of 1899 the memorable excavations conducted in the Forum by the great Roman archaeologist Giacomo Boni revealed the site where ancient tradition laid the grave of Romulus or Faustulus or Hostilius. At the southern edge of the Comitium there was discovered a quadrangular pavement of black marble, some 13 feet long by 10 feet wide, enclosed and protected on the south, east, and west by a rude kerb of marble slabs set in sills of travertine. This black pavement lies on the same level as the Caesarian pavement of the Comitium and faces squarely towards the Caesarian Senate house (*Curia Iulia*), from which it is distant about 100 feet to the south. The surface of the black marble pavement has suffered damage from fire and other causes, but the inner fitting of the large blocks to each other is very exact. Beneath this pavement, at a depth of about five feet, were found two groups of ancient structures, side by side, both built of tufa. One of these structures consists of two parallel bases, distant about 3 feet from each other and united at their southern end by a course of squared blocks of tufa. The bases themselves rest on single courses of tufa like that which unites them on the south. Thus the two bases, with the line of masonry joining them, form three sides of a rectangle, measuring about 12 feet by 9 feet. The central space between the two bases is not paved and is empty except for a single quadrangular block of tufa, which stands between the two bases, near their northern extremities. On the two bases were found the remains of two pedestals of tufa with curved profiles, except at the south, where the ends were cut off square. Of these two pedestals the one on the western base is preserved almost entire, but of the one on the eastern base only two blocks remain. There is no trace of what they supported. The orientation of this rectangle (referred to by archaeologists as the *sacellum* or shrine) is not the same as that of the black marble pavement above it; it faces 30 degrees to the east of north. The structure, whatever it was, rests on a pavement of broken tufa at a depth of about 6 feet 7 inches below the black marble pavement; but in the empty space between the two bases there is, as we have seen, no pavement, only a bottom of earth and ashes. At the back (south side) of this

structure is a quadrangular platform of tufa with no trace of a superstructure. It has sometimes been regarded as an altar.

Immediately adjoining the rectangle or shrine on the west is another group of tufa structures, resting on the same pavement of broken tufa and at the same depth beneath the pavement of black marble. It faces due north and is approached on this side by three steps. On the highest of these steps, at the point next to the shrine, stands the stump of a round pillar, or rather cone (for it tapers upward) of yellowish tufa, which has been broken off at a height of about 20 inches. Behind it, to the south, stands the lower part of a quadrangular pillar of brown tufa, set in a shallow socket cut for it in the pavement. Its top has been broken off at the same level as the top of the round pillar. The four edges of this quadrangular pillar are bevelled. Carved on the four sides and on one of the bevelled edges of the pillar is an archaic inscription in letters resembling the Greek. As the inscription reads vertically, not horizontally, and the top of the pillar is wanting, no single line is complete, which naturally adds much to the difficulty of interpreting it. Further, in harmony with its archaic character, the inscription is in the style called *boustrophedon*, that is, it reads from right to left and from left to right in alternate lines. It is judged to date from the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C., hence from the period of the kings or the early years of the Republic. It appears thus far to have resisted all attempts at interpretation ; however, one significant word which seems to stand out clearly is the word for king (REGEI) in the dative, but whether the king in question is one of the real old kings or their successor the nominal King of the Sacred Rites (the Sacrificial King), we cannot say. Other words which can be made out are *iouxmenta*, " waggons and animals to draw them " ; *kalator*, " a public servant " ; and *sakros esed* (*sacer esto*), " let him be sacred or accursed ". From these last words it has been inferred that the inscription contained a *lex sacrata* or rule pertaining to religious matters ; and indeed at the ancient date to which the inscription belongs hardly anything else would have been engraved on stone.

All these ancient structures of tufa were found buried

under a mass of rubbish, composed, in its lower layer, of sand and gravel from the Tiber and, in its upper layer, of earth and ashes mixed confusedly with many fragments of bones of animals, potsherds, terra cottas, and figurines and objects of various sorts made of bronze, which appear to date from the sixth to the first century B.C. It has sometimes been thought that these miscellaneous objects were votive offerings deposited by worshippers at the shrine or the grave, but, though many of them may have been votive offerings originally, it seems probable that in their present position they are merely part of the rubbish collected from various quarters and thrown in to bury the ancient monuments at the time when they were to be covered by a pavement at a higher level.

The question of the interpretation and history of these ancient monuments has given rise to much discussion, and no generally accepted conclusion has been reached. What seems fairly certain is that the quadrangular structure, which archaeologists call the shrine (*sacellum*), was what Varro regarded as the tomb of Romulus, though others held it to be the tomb of Faustulus or of Hostilius. The two lions which adorned the tomb may have rested on the two parallel pedestals, which were well adapted to receive them. If the original Black Stone mentioned by Festus was, as seems probable, a single block, perhaps of basalt, it may have stood on the quadrangular block of tufa which still lies in the empty space between the two pedestals. That empty unpaved space may have been the grave or the cenotaph. The quadrangular pillar may be the monument of Hostilius, the grandfather of King Tullus Hostilius; and its archaic inscription may be the one commemorative of his virtues which is mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

At some time these ancient structures were partially destroyed, as we may see by the broken state of the two pillars, and were buried under the pavement. But when and on what occasion was this done? Some have thought that the destruction was the work of the Gauls when they captured Rome in 390 B.C.; but the more probable and more generally accepted view seems to be that the monuments remained visible and in their original state down to the first century before our era, when they may have been seen by Varro;

and that they were then dismantled and buried under the soil to make room for those extensive alterations in the Comitium and the position of the Rostra, which were inaugurated and carried out by Julius Caesar and Augustus. With regard to the date when the pavement of black marble was laid down over the ancient structures, opinions are divided. Some think that it forms part of the Caesarian pavement of travertine which surrounds it, and may therefore date from the time when that pavement was laid down in the first century B.C. But a serious objection to this view is that the pavement of black marble does not exactly cover the ancient monuments which lie beneath, and it would therefore seem to have been laid down when the exact position of these monuments was forgotten. Now in front of the Church of S. Adrian, which corresponds to the ancient Senate-house (*Curia*), there was found in November 1899 a large marble base with an inscription recording that on the twenty-first of April (the traditionary day of the foundation of Rome) the Emperor Maxentius made a dedicatory offering " to the Unconquered Father Mars and to the Founders of his Eternal City ".[1] It is a plausible conjecture that the pious act thus commemorated may have included the laying down of the black marble pavement over the traditional site of the tomb of Romulus ; certainly no date could have been found more appropriate for such a dedication than the birthday of Rome. On this view, the black marble pavement was constructed in the reign of Maxentius, at the beginning of the fourth century of our era, and its black colour may have been chosen in memory of the original Black Stone, which had vanished long before. But the burial of the ancient monuments under a mass of rubbish must apparently have been carried out in the first century B.C., since none of the objects found in the rubbish seem to be of later date. We may perhaps suppose that the partial destruction and total concealment of these venerable relics of antiquity were perpetrated in the last

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 8935 (vol. iii. pars ii. p. xxiii), " *Marti invicto patri et aeternae urbis suae conditoribus dominus noster imp. Maxent*[*iu*]*s p.f. invictus Aug. dedicata die xi. kal. Maias per Furium Octavianum v.c., cur. aed. sacr.*" The abbreviations *p.f.* and *v.c.* stand for *pius felix* and *vir clarissimus*. See Sir J. E. Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy* (Cambridge, 1919), pp. 305, 310.

years of the Republic before the reign of Augustus, who, as a staunch conservative in all the forms, if not in the substance, of the historical and religious past, would hardly have consented to the mutilation and effacement of monuments associated in popular tradition with the earliest ages of Rome.[1]

We have seen that, according to the general tradition, the death or disappearance of Romulus happened on the seventh of July, and that the festival celebrated by women on that day (the *Nonae Caprotinae*) appears to have referred to the fertilization of the fig-trees, with which Romulus was mysteriously connected.[2] But according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus the king's disappearance took place on the day called the *Poplifugia* or Flight of the People,[3] which from the Maffeian, Amiternine, and Antian calendars is known to have been the fifth of July.[4] Similarly Plutarch, though he dates the disappearance of Romulus on the seventh of July (the *Nonae Caprotinae*),[5] nevertheless affirms that the day was also called *Poplifugia* or Flight of the People.[6] On the strength of these statements Schwegler identified the day of the *Poplifugia* with the *Nonae Caprotinae*,[7] that is, with the seventh of July; but we cannot thus cavalierly dismiss the evidence of the ancient calendars as to the distinction of the two days, all the more that the distinction between them is clearly assumed by Varro, who explains both as if they were independent.[8] Schwegler's identification of the two festivals was rightly rejected by Mommsen.[9]

[1] As to these monuments, their interpretation and history, see E. Petersen, *Vom alten Rom*[4], pp. 30-33; *id.*, *Comitium, Rostra, Grab des Romulus* (Rome, 1904); O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2], pp. 363-367; Ch. Huelsen, *Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Forum Romanum, 1898–1902* (Rome, 1903), pp. 24-31; *id.*, *The Roman Forum*[2], translated by J. B. Carter, pp. 105-113; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*[2], pp. 241-250; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain et les Forums Impériaux*[6], pp. 77-83, 242-245; L. Homo, *La Rome Antique*, pp. 84 *sq.* References to the literature on the subject are given by Huelsen, Platner, and Thédenat.

[2] See above, pp. 343 *sqq.*

[3] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 56. 5.

[4] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 225, 244, 248, 320.

[5] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 27. 3, *Camillus*, 33. 6-7, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 8.

[6] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 29. 2.

[7] A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 532.

[8] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 18.

[9] Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 320-321.

As to the ritual observed at the festival of the Flight of the People on the fifth of July we know nothing, apart from a tantalizing allusion of Varro to "vestiges of flight" observed in the rites of that day, which he says he illustrated in his lost work *Antiquities*.[1] But Warde Fowler may have been right in suggesting that there was perhaps a connexion between the rites of the two days, which were "separated by an interval of one day, as is the case with the three days of the Lemuria, the two days of the Lucaria in this month (July), and in other instances".[2] Adopting this suggestion we may conjecture that the ritual of the Flight of the People on the fifth of July was somehow related to the disappearance or death of Romulus on the seventh of July, though why the people should have fled before instead of after the catastrophe is difficult to divine. Can it be that some warning of what was about to happen to the king was given to the people before the event, and that they fled to avoid the dreadful spectacle of his death or execution?

With that instinct for inquiring into strange stories and customs which made him in a sense the Father of Folk-lore, Plutarch compared the mysterious end of Romulus with the mysterious ends of Aristeas and Cleomedes, which were reported by Greek tradition.[3] It is said that Aristeas of Proconnesus died in a fuller's shop of that city, but that when they came to the shop to bury him, he was not to be found, either dead or alive. But seven years later he appeared again in the city and composed a poem, after which he vanished a second time. Two hundred and forty years later he put in an appearance at Metapontum in Italy and commanded the people to set up an altar of Apollo with a statue of himself (Aristeas) beside it; and he stated that he, Aristeas, had formerly been a raven and attended Apollo in that character. Having delivered himself of this message, he vanished for the third time.[4] As for Cleomedes, he was a native of Astypalea and a boxer of gigantic strength, whose story in some respects resembles that of Samson; for going mad he went into a school and pulled down the pillar which

[1] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 18.
[2] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 174.
[3] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 28. 4.
[4] Herodotus, iv. 14-15.

supported the roof, thus killing all the children in the school. Being pelted with stones by the people for this massacre, he took refuge in a chest and drew down the lid on himself. But when his pursuers broke open the chest, no Cleomedes was to be found in it. So by the direction of the Delphic oracle the people worshipped the deceased boxer with sacrifices as the last of the heroes.[1]

The case of Cleomedes has at least this much in common with that of Romulus that after his disappearance he received divine, or at all events heroic, honours. But a closer parallel to the Romulus legend is furnished by the legends of the disappearance of ancient African kings, which have the further advantage of suggesting a sufficient reason for the sudden disappearance of the monarchs from this sublunary sphere.

Thus the Shilluk, a black nation of the Upper Nile, who possess a well-organized monarchy of great antiquity, have a tradition that Nyakang or Nyikang, the first king who reigned over them in their present country, grew weary of his people's ingratitude, arranged a festival of four days, and availing himself of a sudden whirlwind disappeared without leaving a trace of himself behind. On this tradition the Catholic missionary, Father Hofmayr, who reports it and is well acquainted with the people, remarks: "Nyikang was apparently hurled by the whirlwind into the Nile; but I incline rather to the view that the ruler, in accordance with ancient custom, committed suicide or was killed by violence by his rivals and his body sunk in the Nile. The best narrators of history among the Shilluk cannot give any sure information as to the manner of his death, for the persons then present had every motive, in the case of a murder, to keep it strictly secret, so that we may really believe them when they affirm that they know nothing about Nyikang's end. The historical fact is simply the disappearance of Nyikang during the dancing-festival which is said to have taken place at Akurua."[2] Thus Nyikang, like Romulus, is said to have mysteriously disappeared in a storm,

[1] Pausanias, vi. 9. 6-8; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, v. 34. 1-5; Suidas, *s.v.* Κλεομήδης.

[2] W. Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk* (St. Gabriel, Mödling bei Wien, 1925), p. 45.

leaving behind him a strong suspicion that he had been put to a violent death, and like Romulus he was deified after his decease; his shrines are to be seen in many parts of the country. The missionary, who has lived long among the people and given the fullest account of Nyikang, believes that he was an historical personage and a real king.[1] We may believe the same of Romulus.

Nor was Nyikang the only Shilluk king who thus vanished without leaving a trace. His son Cal, who reigned after him, and his grandson Dak, who reigned after his father Cal, similarly vanished and were seen no more; and with reference to their deaths also Father Hofmayr observes that "the mysterious manner of the disappearance of the first Shilluk kings is to be traced to suicide or murder";[2] for, as Dr. C. G. Seligman, who knows the Shilluk well, reminds us, "although there is not the least doubt that the kings of the Shilluk were killed ceremonially when they began to show signs of old age or ill health, it is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly what was done, and there is no doubt that a good deal of Shilluk folk-lore is enshrined in the accounts commonly given of the killing of the *ret*"[3] (king).

Again, the Dinka, another black people of the Upper Nile, worship a great god Dengdit, whose name means literally "Great Rain", from *deng*, "rain". Commonly the Dinka regard Dengdit as a god pure and simple, but the Adero clan of the Niel Dinka, who have the rain for their totem, say that Dengdit ruled over them for a long time in human form, and that when he was very old he disappeared in a great storm.[4] Nothing certainly could be more natural and appropriate than that the Great Rain (*Dengdit*) should disappear in a great storm; but we may suspect that his disappearance is to be explained in the same way as the disappearance of the early Shilluk kings, namely, by his violent death; for among the Dinka the rain-maker (*bain*),

[1] W. Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, pp. 45 *sqq*. As to the disappearance and history of Nyikang (Nyakang) see also C. G. Seligman, in J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, xi. 459 *sq*.

[2] W. Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, pp. 59 (with the note), 63.

[3] C. G. Seligman, in J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, xi. 460, *s.v.* "Shilluk".

[4] C. G. Seligman, in J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, iv. 707, *s.v.* "Dinka".

who is a very important and much-honoured personage, is not allowed to die a natural death of sickness or old age, but is killed, generally by being laid in a grave and buried alive. The Niel Dinka, who claim to have been ruled by the Great Rain in person, say that they strangle their rain-maker in his own house, having first prepared his grave. Yet they take every care to guard the rain-maker from accidental death; for if he should die suddenly as the result of accident, some sickness would surely occur. Much worse would it be if the rain-maker were to die a natural death of illness, but Dr. Seligman's informant assured him that such a misfortune had never happened, and he ought to know, for his own father and father's brother had both been killed in the regular manner.[1]

Similarly among the Banyoro or Bakitara, of the Uganda Protectorate, who are ruled by an ancient and once powerful dynasty of kings, several of the early kings, whose names are remembered, are said to have disappeared, and the people can give no rational account of their disappearance.[2] Yet we may surmise that their disappearance is to be explained in the same way as the disappearance of the old kings and rain-makers of the Shilluk and the Dinka; for in former times "the Banyoro, in common with other known tribes of Africa, would not allow their king to lie ill of any serious sickness. They sought to end his life while he was in full strength: indeed, the king himself would, when he felt his strength declining through age, or when he feared he was about to fall ill, end his life by taking poison. The king's chief wife kept herbs ready to hand and prepared a cup at his bidding; he swallowed the drug and in a few moments he was dead."[3]

Again, among the Baganda, whose monarchs were for long the most powerful in Central Africa, tradition ran that when the first king, Kintu, was an old man, "he went into

[1] C. G. Seligman, *op. cit.* iv. 711.

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 6-8; *id.*, *The Bakitara or Banyoro* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 88, 323-327.

[3] J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, p. 50, compare p. 14. The custom was attested for the Banyoro at an earlier date by Emin Pasha. See *Emin Pasha in Central Africa, being a Collection of his Letters and Journals* (London, 1888), p. 91. The custom has now fallen into abeyance. See J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, p. 121.

the forest and disappeared. As it was unlawful to say that the king was dead, the chiefs said that he had disappeared. The burial took place secretly, a pit was dug behind the enclosure of the house, and the body of Kintu wrapped in a cow-hide was placed in it and left. No earth was thrown into the pit, but thorns were put round it and over the body, as a protection against wild animals." [1] Further, Kintu's son Cwa, who succeeded his father on the throne, is said to have been lost, when he was an old man, in the plains of Davula.[2]

I have conjectured that Romulus may have been solemnly put to death on the seventh of July at the ceremony for the fertilization of the fig-trees, which appears to have been held on that day. Some slight confirmation of the conjecture is perhaps furnished by the practice of the Jukun, a people of Northern Nigeria, ruled by kings or chiefs whom they revere as demi-gods. Yet the semi-divine king was only allowed to rule for seven years, at the end of which he was ceremonially slain at the harvest festival, which took place at Puje and, significantly enough, at the royal graveside. A few years ago "the chief refused to hold this festival through fear possibly that he might have to submit to the ancient rite".[3] The reason why the king or chief was slain at the harvest festival appears to be given by the statement that "the chief of the Wukari Jukun is also regarded as having a peculiar connection with the crops, and as he rides out each year to the harvest festival at Puje he is hailed as 'The giver of corn', 'Our millet', 'Our beans', and so on".[4] Further, the Jukun king or chief was believed to control the rain. "When the corpse of the Jukun chief was taken out for burial, mounted on a horse, some millet was placed in his right hand and in his left a gourd of water. As the chief rode off to take his long journey a loud wail arose from his assembled people, who besought the dead chief not to leave them thus bereft of corn and rain; and so the horse was turned back again, and the dead chief's hands

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), p. 214.

[2] J. Roscoe, *l.c.*

[3] C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1925), i. 255, ii. 60, 163.

[4] C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii. 46.

were made to shower their contents in the direction of his subjects. There are many Jukun traditions which ascribe to the king control over the elements." [1] Thus even in death the Jukun king was thought able to send down the rain and to make the corn to grow. May not a like power to fertilize the figs have been ascribed to the dead Romulus? May not the storm of thunder and rain in which he vanished have been conjured up by his magical power of rain-making in life and in death? If the conjecture be deemed extravagant, I would remind the reader that among the Alban kings, from whom Romulus was thought to be descended, there was one named Romulus, Remulus, or Amulius Silvius, who is said to have set up for being a god in his own person, the equal or superior of Jupiter. To support his impious pretensions he constructed machines whereby he mimicked the clap of thunder and the flash of lightning. But he paid the penalty of his impiety, for he perished, he and his house, struck by a thunderbolt in the midst of a dreadful storm; and swollen by the rain the Alban Lake rose in flood and drowned his palace.[2] And we must not forget that beside the temple of Mars, outside the walls of Rome, there was kept, down to historical times, a certain stone which used to be dragged into the city in time of drought as a means of causing rain; the ceremony was thought to bring down the water of heaven at once.[3] If a stone from the temple of Mars could thus draw down showers on the thirsty earth, might not a like power have been attributed to the god's own son Romulus?

II. 496. **The people fled.**—Similarly, in describing the

[1] C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii. 62. As to the rain-making powers ascribed to the Jukun king see further *id.* i. 255, ii. 163.

[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 71; Diodorus Siculus, in Eusebius, *Chronic.* bk. i. coll. 287, 289 ed. Schoene; Diodorus Siculus, vii. 3*a* and 4, ed. L. Dindorf; Zonaras, vii. 1; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 18; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 616-618; *id.*, *Fasti*, iv. 50; Livy, i. 3. 9. The king's name is variously given by ancient authors. He is called Romulus by Livy, Remulus by Ovid, Aremulus by Aurelius Victor, Amulius by Zonaras, etc.

[3] Festus, *s.vv.* "Aquaelicium" and "Manalem lapidem", pp. 2, 115 ed. Lindsay; Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Trulleum", p. 877 ed. Lindsay; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 175; Fulgentius, *Expos. serm. antiq.*, *s.v.* "Manales lapides", in *Mythographi Latini*, ed. A. van Staveren (Leyden and Amsterdam, 1742), pp. 769 *sq.*

great storm in which Romulus vanished, Plutarch says that "the mass of the people scattered and fled, but the nobles gathered together"; [1] and Dionysius says that in the darkness of the storm "the people scattered from the place of assembly and their ruler was abandoned by his guard".[2] In writing thus Ovid, like Plutarch and Dionysius, clearly had in mind the festival called the Flight of the People (*Poplifugia*) and associated it with the disappearance of Romulus. But, as we have seen, the Flight of the People (*Poplifugia*) took place on the fifth of July and therefore two days before the traditionary disappearance of Romulus on the seventh of July.[3] Nevertheless that three so well-informed writers as Ovid, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch should all have associated the Flight of the People (*Poplifugia*) with the disappearance of Romulus goes far to confirm the view that the two events were closely connected, though in the absence of exact information as to the ritual observed at the Flight of the People we cannot say with certainty what the connexion was.

II. 497. **the senators were falsely accused of murder.**—It was said that the senators cut or tore Romulus to pieces in the Senate-house or the sanctuary of Vulcan, carried the fragments of his mangled body away under their robes, and buried them secretly.[4]

II. 499. **But Julius Proculus was coming from Alba Longa.**—The annunciation of the divinity of Romulus by Proculus Julius is first recorded by Cicero,[5] though no doubt the story was much older. It is also reported by Livy, Plutarch, and other writers,[6] though not by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. According to our author, Proculus Julius was coming to Rome from Alba when he had, by bright moonlight, the vision of the deified Romulus, and Plutarch describes the visionary, the apostle of the new god, as a colonist from Alba. Cicero does not mention the man's connexion with Alba, but says that he was a rustic fellow, and

[1] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 27. 7.
[2] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 56. 5.
[3] See above, pp. 415 *sq.*
[4] See above, p. 409.
[5] Cicero, *De re publica*, ii. 10. 20, *De legibus*, i. 1. 3.
[6] Livy, i. 16. 5-8; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 28. 1-4; Florus, i. 1. 18; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 2. 13-14.

that Romulus appeared to him as he was walking on the Quirinal hill near the spot where in the time of Cicero the house of Atticus stood. The message which Romulus sent to the Roman people by the mouth of Proculus Julius was, according to Cicero, that he was now a god named Quirinus, and that a shrine or temple should be built for him on the Quirinal hill on the spot where he revealed himself to his worshipper.[1]

II. 508. **And bid them cultivate the arts their fathers cultivated, the art of war.**—Similarly Livy puts in the mouth of Romulus the words, " So let them cultivate the art of war, and let them know and tell their children after them that no human power can stand against the Roman arms ".[2] Probably the poet and the historian alike were thinking of the splendid passage in which Virgil puts a similar injunction into the mouth of Anchises in the lower world.[3]

II. 512. **the rites observed by our fathers come round on fixed days.**—Ovid here refers to the festival of Quirinus, the Quirinalia, celebrated on the seventeenth of February, which he clearly regarded as a festival of the deified Romulus. The ancient deity Quirinus was apparently forgotten, cast into the shade by the new god whose former humanity brought him closer to the hearts of his worshippers.

II. 513. **Learn also why the same day is called the Feast of Fools.**—Ovid now proceeds to explain why the day of the Quirinalia, February 17, was also called the Festival of Fools. His explanation is this. Shortly before the Quirinalia there was celebrated the Fornacalia or Festival of Ovens in honour of Fornax, the Goddess of Ovens, which was held separately by each ward (*curia*) in Rome. But this festival was moveable; hence as it did not always occur on the same day of the year, it is not mentioned in the ancient calendars, which naturally record only the festivals held on fixed days. Notice of the festival accordingly was given out year by year to the different wards (*curiae*) by the Prime Warden (*Curio Maximus*), who had a general authority

[1] Cicero, *ll.cc.*

[2] Livy, i. 16. 7, " *Proinde rem militarem colant sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse* ".

[3] Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 847-853.

over all the wards : these notices were inscribed on tablets, one for each ward, which were posted up in the Forum for all to read. But some people failed to see or to remember the notices, or for some other reason omitted to attend the festival. All such defaulters were allowed to repair their omission by performing their devotions to the Goddess of Ovens on the day of the Quirinalia (February 17) instead of on the day of which the Prime Warden had given notice. But for their carelessness or forgetfulness or ignorance in not celebrating the Festival of Ovens on the proper day, such persons were called Fools, and the day on which they repaired their fault was named the Festival of Fools. This explanation of the name the Feast of Fools as applied to the day of the Quirinalia (February 17) agrees substantially with the explanations given by Festus and Plutarch, and it is confirmed by Varro, although he does not mention the festival under that name.[1]

II. 519. **Yet spelt the ancients sowed, and spelt they reaped.**— I follow the traditional interpretation in translating *far* by "spelt", which is a species of wheat (*Triticum spelta*, Linnaeus). But botanists are not agreed on this identification. According to Sir W. T. Thiselton-Dyer, *far* is rice-wheat, the *Triticum dicoccum* of botanists, the common cereal of ancient Egypt. He tells us that spelt was the food of the Alemanni but was unknown to the Romans till the fourth century of our era.[2] De Candolle left the question open, but observed that "as spelt has not been found among the lake-dwellers of Switzerland and Italy, and as the former cultivated the allied varieties called *T. dicoccum* and *T. monococcum*, it is possible that the *far* of the Latins was one of these ".[3] According to Pliny, *far* was the first food of the

[1] Festus, *s.vv.* "Quirinalia" and "Stultorum feriae", pp. 304, 305, 418, 419, 420 ed. Lindsay ; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 13 ; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 89. As to the Fornacalia and the Festival of Fools see O. Gilbert, *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, ii. 129 *sqq.* ; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] p. 197 ; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], ii. 9 *sq.* ; Steuding, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 1499-1500, *s.v.* "Fornax" ; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 302-306 ; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 158.

[2] Sir W. T. Thiselton-Dyer, in *Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by Sir J. E. Sandys[3], p. 71.

[3] A. de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (London, 1884), p. 363.

ancient Latins, and the Romans long used it in the form of porridge (*puls*) and not of bread.[1] Varro also thought that porridge was the most ancient of foods prepared from cereals.[2] According to Verrius Flaccus, *far* was the only kind of corn employed by the Romans for three hundred years.[3] Its great antiquity was vouched for by its constant use in religious ritual, which of all human institutions is probably the most conservative of primitive usage. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that just as the Greeks regarded barley as the oldest of cereals and regularly began their sacrifices with an offering of barley, so the Romans esteemed *far* the most ancient of cereals and began every burnt sacrifice with an offering of *far*.[4] A conspicuous example of the use of *far* in ritual was the ancient and solemn ceremony of marriage which took its name (*confarreatio*) from the wedding-cake made of *far* (*farreus panis*) that was offered to Farrean Jupiter as part of the ceremony.[5] Pliny observes that in religious rites there was nothing more solemn than the bond created by *confarreatio*, and that the cake made of *far* was carried before the bride at her wedding.[6]

II. 520. **of the cut spelt they offered the first-fruits to Ceres.**— As the goddess of corn, which she had graciously bestowed on men, Ceres naturally expected to receive a return for her bounty in the shape of the first-fruits of the harvest. Hence the Romans offered to Ceres the first ears reaped at harvest;[7] the offering was made by the priest, and until he had made it the people might not even taste the new corn.[8] To defraud Ceres of her dues by secretly cutting the crops by night or turning cattle to graze on them was a capital crime; by a law of the Twelve Tables the guilty man was condemned to be hanged till he was dead as an expiation to Ceres, and

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 83.
[2] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 105, "*De victu antiquissima puls*".
[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 62.
[4] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 25. 2.
[5] Gaius, *Institutiones*, i. 112 (p. 67 ed. Poste[4]), "*Farreo in manum conveniunt per quoddam genus sacrificii, quod Iovi farreo fit; in quo farreus panis adhibetur, unde etiam confarreatio dicitur*". Compare Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 25. 2; Festus, *s.v.* "Farreum", p. 78 ed. Lindsay.
[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 10.
[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Sacrima", p. 423 ed. Lindsay.
[8] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 8.

the guilty youth under puberty received as many lashes as the praetor thought fit, and he had besides to make good the damage or pay double the value.[1] We may conjecture, though we are not told, that these severe punishments were specially, if not exclusively, inflicted in cases where the theft of the corn was committed before the first-fruits of the crop had been offered to Ceres; for in that case the wrong was supposed to have been done even more to the goddess than to the owner of the field, and it was to her in the first place that reparation had to be offered. It is a common, indeed world-wide, belief that the crops belong to the gods or spirits, often to the spirits of the human dead, who are the true owners of the fruits of the earth, and to whom a portion in the shape of first-fruits must be offered before men are at liberty to partake of the remainder. Thus to eat of the fruits before the offering of first-fruits has been made to the gods or spirits is a very serious form of sacrilege; hence the severity of the old Roman punishment for such an offence is intelligible. At an earlier period the fruits of the earth were believed to be not so much owned as animated by divine spirits; so that to eat of them was to partake of the body of a god, in other words, it was a sacrament or communion.[2] Even the Romans had not quite emancipated themselves from this very ancient superstition, for they often used the name of the goddess of the Corn (Ceres) as equivalent to that of the corn itself or of the bread made from it, though intelligent and educated people in the later days of antiquity were able to distinguish between the corn or the bread and the deity. "When we call corn Ceres and wine Liber (Bacchus)", says Cicero, "we use a common figure of speech; but do you think that anybody is so insane as to believe that what he eats is a god?"[3] As the Romans offered the first ears reaped at harvest to Ceres, so the Greeks offered the first-

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 12.

[2] For many examples see *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *The Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 48 *sqq.*, 109 *sqq.*

[3] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 16. 41; compare *id.* ii. 23. 60, "*Itaque tum illud, quod erat a deo natum, nomine ipsius dei nuncupabant: ut cum fruges Cererem appellamus, vinum autem Liberum*"; Virgil, *Georg.* i. 297, "*At rubicunda Ceres medio succiditur aestu*"; *id.*, *Aen.* vii. 112-113, "*Ut vertere morsus | exiguam in Cererem penuria adegit edendi*".

fruits of the barley and wheat to Demeter and Persephone, the Corn-goddesses, at Eleusis, their great sanctuary. The offerings came year by year, not from Attica alone, but from all or at least many parts of the Greek world. The custom is attested by Isocrates,[1] whose evidence is amply supported and illustrated by an inscription of the fifth century B.C found at Eleusis.[2]

To the examples which I have given elsewhere of similar customs observed by people in many parts of the world, I may here add by way of illustration one or two which I have not cited before. Thus among the Bagesu, a primitive cannibal tribe on the upper slopes of Mount Elgon in East Africa, "at harvest, before any of the new corn is used for food, some of the first-fruits are gathered and sent with a little of the last year's corn and a fowl to the medicine-man, who offers them to the special deity before any one in the village may partake of the new corn. Such an offering frees the village from taboo and enables its members to begin eating the new crops of the year."[3] This description of the custom observed by these African cannibals at the present time might be applied almost word for word to the custom observed by the Romans in the time of Ovid, as that custom is described by Festus and Pliny.[4] So like is human nature under all latitudes and under all shades of complexion. The Shilluk of the Upper Nile offer the first ears of corn and the first cobs of maize to their great god or deified man Nyikang; till that offering has been made the people may not eat of the crops.[5] Among the Ba-ila speaking tribes of Northern Rhodesia, "when the early maize is ready, the people go through the ceremonies of *kusomya*: that is, before they eat any of the grain (*kusoma*) they make an offering to their divinities. The man goes to the field and plucks a few ripe ears of maize and takes them to the

[1] Isocrates, *Panegyric*, 6 *sq.*

[2] Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 83 (vol. i. pp. 104 *sqq.*); J. de Prott et L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae* (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 19 *sqq.*, No. 4; E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, Part II. (Cambridge, 1905) No. 9, pp. 22 *sqq.*

[3] J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 167 *sq.*; compare *id.*, *The Bagesu* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 14.

[4] See above, p. 425.

[5] W. Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, (St. Gabriel, Mödling bei Wien, 1925), p. 312.

village. He strips off the husks and takes the cobs to the grave of a certain ancestor. He sweeps around the grave and then kneeling before the grave, says, 'So-and-so, here is some of the maize which is ripe first and which I offer thee.' Having done this he returns to his home, and at the threshold of his hut makes another offering in the same way: afterwards hanging some of the cobs over the door, or in the rafters."[1] In Klonu, a town of Southern Togo (West Africa), the people believe that yams are the gift of a god named Azago, whom they identify with a certain great tree. Hence they think that no one should partake of the new yams without the leave of the tree-god, and that if any man were secretly to commit that sacrilege, he and his whole family would die. So when the new yams are ripe the people have to wait for a day fixed by the priests on which they say, "The god Azago will eat the yams to-day." When the day has been announced, the people of the town prepare their sacrifices. The rich buy sheep, goats, and swine, and the poor buy fowls. On the morning of the day these animals are killed and the yams cooked. Then everybody goes to the worshipful tree, and the priest lays a portion of the yams and the flesh under the tree and prays, saying, "Azago! to-day thou hast eaten the yams, allow thy children to eat them also". On returning home the people celebrate the annual festival of the new yams, which lasts a week.[2] Among the Lushais of Assam, "a little of the first fruits of each crop is always placed on the wall under the eaves, above the spot where the water tubes are stacked, as an offering to the cultivator's parents".[3] Once more, the Birhors, a very primitive tribe living in the jungles of Chota Nagpur (India), "all agree in abstaining from eating the corolla of the *mohua* (*Bassia latifolia*) until the first-fruits are offered to the ancestor-spirits".[4]

[1] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), ii. 179 *sq.*

[2] C. Spiess (missionary), "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Religion und der Kultusformen in Süd-Togo (Evhe-Gebiet)", *Baessler-Archiv*, ii. (1912) p. 64. For other African examples of such sacrifices of first-fruits see H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, Second Edition (London, 1927), i. 396 *sqq.*; D. R. Mackenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde* (London, 1925), p. 120.

[3] J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans* (London, 1912), p. 65.

[4] Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Birhors* (Ranchi, 1925), p. 112.

II. 525. **So they made the oven into a goddess of that name (Fornax).**—The only other ancient author who mentions Fornax, the Goddess of Ovens, is Lactantius, and he, as a Christian apologist, speaks of her only in derision.[1] But we need not on that account, with Wissowa, refer her origin to the misdirected ingenuity of later times.[2] On the contrary, analogy speaks strongly in favour of her great antiquity, for a people like the early Romans who created a deity for doors (*Forculus*), another for thresholds (*Limentinus*), another for hinges (*Cardea*), another for cradles (*Cunina*), and another for drains (*Cloacina*),[3] could have had no difficulty in inventing one for ovens (*Fornax*). The state of mind in which the deification of such familiar objects was possible resembles that of Hindoos at the present day, who worship the material implements by which they earn their livelihood. Thus potters worship their wheel at the Divali or Festival of Lamps, when they abstain from work. They make offerings to it in fulfilment of vows, and if a goat is sacrificed they sprinkle its blood on the wheel. When a potter uses a wheel for the first time, he offers sweet porridge to it; and if he has no children or they die young, he vows his next child to the wheel, and makes offerings to it when his wish has been granted. Writers worship their books, pen, and inkstand. Goldsmiths make offerings to their fire-pots, blowpipe, and pincers. Oil-men worship their oil-mill. Curriers worship the knife with which they scrape the hair from their hides, and they swear by the shoemaker's last. Weavers worship their loom; the water-carrier worships his goat-skin bag; the barber his scissors, mirror, razor, and nail-parer; the carpenter his adze, chisel, and saw; the fisherman his boat and nets. In the Bombay Presidency the Dasahra festival, which seems to mark the autumn equinox, is the day on which people especially pay their devotions to the implements of their various crafts. On that day the corn-sieve, the winnowing-basket, the rice-pounder, the

[1] Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 20.

[2] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* [2], p. 158.

[3] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 8 (Forculus, Limentinus, Cardea, Cunina, Cloacina); Tertullian, *De idolatria*, 15, *De corona militis*, 13, *Contra Gnosticos Scorpiace*, 10 (Forculus, Limentinus, Cardea); Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 20 (Cunina); Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iv. 9, 11 and 12 (Limentinus).

plough, and the wood-bill receive the worship of such as handle them in their daily avocations. In the Punjaub farmers worship their oxen in August, and shepherds worship their sheep at the full moon of July.[1]

II. 527. **the Prime Warden (Curio Maximus).**—It is said that Romulus, alone or in conjunction with his Sabine colleague Tatius, divided the Romans into three tribes called the Ramnes or Ramnenses, the Titienses, and the Luceres or Lucerenses; further he subdivided each tribe into ten wards (*curiae*).[2] Each of the wards (*curiae*) was presided over by a warden (*curio*), who was also charged with the duty of performing the sacrifices.[3] Of these thirty wardens one was called the *Curio Maximus* or Prime Warden and had authority over all the wards and wardens.[4] Among his duties, as we learn from the present passage of Ovid, was that of giving notice of the day on which the moveable Feast of Ovens (Fornacalia) would be held; and the notices were posted up in the Forum, one for each of the thirty wards (*curiae*).

II. 527. **the Feast of Ovens (Fornacalia).**—Festus says that "the Feast of Ovens (Fornacalia) was instituted for the purpose of toasting the spelt, because a sacrifice used to be made at the oven (*fornax*) which was in the bakehouses".[5] The feast is said to have been instituted by Numa for the purpose of toasting the spelt; indeed, according to one account the very practice of toasting spelt was introduced by that pious king, because he thought that spelt was not fit to be used for religious uses except in the toasted state.[6] It has been sug-

[1] W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 186 *sq.*; *id.*, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 331; R. E. Enthoven, *The Folklore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), p. 325. As to the Dasahra festival see R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces* (London, 1916), iv. 13.

[2] Cicero, *De re publica*, ii. 8. 14; Festus, *s.vv.* "Novae curiae", "Sex Vestae sacerdotes", "Turmam", "Turma", "Titiensis", pp. 180, 182, 468, 475, 484, 485, 503 ed. Lindsay; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 7; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 20. 1-2. In another passage Festus says (*s.v.* "Curia", p. 42 ed. Lindsay) that to the thirty wards (*curiae*) instituted by Romulus there were afterwards added five. But this appears to be a mistake. See J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] 197 note [7].

[3] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 84; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 7. 3.

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Maximus Curio", p. 113 ed. Lindsay.

[5] Festus, *s.v.* "Fornacalia", p. 82 ed. Lindsay.

[6] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 7-8.

gested that the Feast of Ovens was the festival at which the new corn was eaten for the first time ;[1] but the date of the feast, some time in February, seems far too long after harvest to admit of the supposition. It is simpler to suppose that the festival was celebrated, as the name suggests, in honour of the ovens, and that the sacrifice at the oven mentioned by Festus consisted simply in offering toasted spelt to the oven for its own consumption, just as in India potters offer sweet porridge to their wheel when they use it for the first time. If Hindoo potters worship their wheel, weavers their loom, tailors their scissors, and fishermen their boat and nets,[2] why should not Roman bakers have worshipped their oven ? Human nature is much the same all the world over and in all ages. In German folk-tales and legends we read of persons kneeling down before the domestic oven and worshipping it.[3] Such a domestic worship of ovens by members of the family was probably far older than the professional worship of it by bakers ; for the baker's trade is a comparatively modern institution, being one of the fruits of that division of labour which is unknown in primitive society. It is said that down to the year 174 B.C. there were no bakers at Rome ; people baked their own bread, the work being done chiefly by women.[4]

II. 533. **Honour is paid also to the tombs. Appease the souls of your fathers and bring small gifts to the piled-up pyres.**—Ovid now proceeds to describe the ceremonies in honour of dead kinsfolk which formed an important feature in the ritual of the month of February. This aspect of February has already been noted by the poet.[5] The days devoted to the worship of the dead in February were called *dies ferales*[6] or *dies parentales*.[7] They began at the sixth hour of the Ides (the thirteenth) of February and lasted nine or ten days till the twenty-first or twenty-second day of the month, according as we exclude or include the festival of the

[1] L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*[3], ii. 9.
[2] See above, p. 429.
[3] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*[4], i. 523.
[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 107.
[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 33-34.
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 34 ; compare *Fasti*, v. 486 "*ferali tempore*".
[7] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 548, "*parentales dies*".

Caristia on February the twenty-second.[1] A general name for the whole period seems to have been Parentalia.[2] During these days magistrates went about in plain clothes, the temples were shut, no fires burned on the altars, and no marriages were contracted.[3] The principal commemoration of the dead fell on the twenty-first of February and bore the name of the Feralia, as we know from the Caeretan, Maffeian, Farnesian, and Philocalan calendars.[4] Ovid names the Feralia (line 568), but expresses himself somewhat ambiguously as to its date, though he says definitely that it was the last day for the propitiation of the dead. The festival is mentioned also by Varro and other ancient writers, but without any indication of the day or even of the month in which it fell.[5]

The name Parentalia applied to the festival indicates that it was a commemoration, not so much of the dead in general, as of dead kinsfolk in particular, and especially of dead parents. This is confirmed by the opening words of Ovid in the present passage : " Appease the souls of your fathers ". The same implication is conveyed by the verb *parentare*, which, from meaning " to sacrifice to dead parents ", was extended to cover sacrifices to the dead in general, whether these were kinsfolk or not.[6] The verb is used in its proper sense in a letter of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi. Remonstrating with her son Caius on his revolutionary legislation, which was plunging the commonwealth into civil strife and disorder, she wrote : " Stand for the office of

[1] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 29, p. 87 ed. Wuensch. The expression of Lydus ἄχρι τῆς πρὸ ὀκτὼ Καλενδῶν Μαρτίων leaves it doubtful whether he included the Caristia on February 22 among the days sacred to the dead ; but on the whole it seems more probable that he did. As to the Caristia see Ovid, below, *Fasti*, ii. 617 *sqq.*

[2] The Rustic Calendars, in *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 280, 309. The Parentalia is mentioned also in inscriptions. See H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 7258, 7267, 8366.

[3] Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 29, p. 87 ed. Wuensch ; Ovid in the following passage, lines 527-564.

[4] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 310.

[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 13 ; Festus, *s.v.* " Feralia ", p. 75 ed. Lindsay ; Livy, xxxv. 7. 3 ; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 4. 14.

[6] Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* vii. 17, " *Civibus Romanis . . . parentarent* " ; Livy, xxiv. 21. 2, " *vociferatumque ferociter parentandum regi sanguine coniuratorum esse* ". However, in both these passages the verb *parentare* is used in the metaphorical sense of exacting a bloody vengeance rather than in its proper sense of offering a regular sacrifice to the dead.

tribune when I am dead; so far as I am concerned, you will do as you like when I can feel no longer. When I am dead, you will sacrifice (*parentabis*) to me and invoke the parent god. Will you not then be ashamed to ask for the prayers of those gods whom in their lifetime you abandoned and deserted?"[1]

From Ovid's account of the rites of the Parentalia we gather that they were observed at the grave and not in the house, for he speaks of honour paid to the tomb, of gifts laid on the pyre, and of potsherds left in the middle of the road, that is, near the tombs which lined the highways. The inference is confirmed by a reference of Cicero to the worship at the tomb,[2] and it is proved by an epitaph in which we read that a certain man left a sum of money to a college of naval engineers "in order that from the income they may celebrate the Parentalia and the Festival of Roses (*Rosaria*) every year at his tomb".[3] Thus it would seem that some people were not content to be remembered only at the winter festival of the Parentalia; they wished their friends to think of them also when the roses were in bloom and to scatter roses on their grave. The same pathetic wish and injunction to remember the dead both at the Parentalia and at the Festival of the Roses (*Rosalia*) meet us in other epitaphs.[4] Even two commemorations in the year did not satisfy the craving of some people to live after death in the memory of the survivors. We possess an inscription in which it is recorded that a certain man, whose name is lost, left a property to

[1] Cornelius Nepos, p. 123 ed. C. Halm (Leipzig, 1871). The letter is a fragment from the lost books of Cornelius Nepos.

[2] Cicero, *Philipp.* i. 6. 13, "*Adduci tamen non possem ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum immortalium religione, ut, cuius sepulcrum usquam exstet ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur*".

[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 7258, "*Ex cuius reditu parental. et rosar. quotann. at sepulchrum suum celebrent*".

[4] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 8370, 8373. The Festival of the Roses (Rosalia or Rosaria) is the subject of two learned papers by Professor Martin P. Nilsson, of which, through the kindness of the author, I possess offprints. One of them ("Das Rosenfest") is a lecture delivered at Stockholm, October 19, 1914; the other ("Rosalia") is an article contributed to a dictionary of Greek and Roman religion, which was planned but till now (1929) has not been published. From these papers I learn that the festival was of a popular and unofficial character, that its date varied, and that it is frequently mentioned in inscriptions of Imperial date from the time of Domitian onward, being often coupled with the Parentalia.

his freedmen and freedwomen in order that from the revenue they should sacrifice four times a year in his memory, to wit, on his birthday, on the Day of the Roses, on the Day of the Violets, and on the Parentalia; and, moreover, that on the Kalends, Nones, and Ides of every month a burning lamp with incense should be laid on his tomb.[1] From another inscription we learn that the Day of the Violets was the twenty-second of March,[2] the day on which a pine-tree wreathed with violets was carried into Rome in honour of Attis.[3]

Another festival in honour of dead kinsfolk, the Lemuria, fell in May and is described by Ovid under that month;[4] and it is to be observed that, whereas the three days of the Lemuria (May 9, 11, 13) are all marked as unlucky (*Nefasti*) by the letter N in the ancient calendars, the Feralia is not so marked in them. Hence it has been inferred that the Lemuria was the more ancient of the two festivals.[5] The broad distinction between them would seem to be that at the Parentalia (which included the Feralia) in February the spirits of departed kinsfolk were worshipped at their graves, but that at the Lemuria in May they were worshipped in their old homes, to which they were believed to return for the days of the festival. This belief in the return of the dead to their old homes once a year is world-wide,[6] and we are apt to think of it as more archaic than the custom of honouring the departed at their tombs. Yet on the other hand it is to be remembered that graves are much older than houses; and the contents of prehistoric graves seem to show that men took thought for the comfort of their dead long before they built permanent abodes for the living.[7] We cannot, therefore,

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 8366.

[2] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 7213, line 15 (vol. ii. pars ii. p. 740).

[3] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 260, 313; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 58, p. 113 ed. Wuensch; Julian, *Orat.* v. p. 168 C; Sallustius, *Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, iv. p. 8 ed. Nock; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 7, 16, and 39 (who alone mentions the wreaths of violets on the tree).

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 421 *sqq.*

[5] Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.² p. 309.

[6] *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. ii. pp. 51-83, "Feasts of All Souls".

[7] Compare M. C. Burkitt, *Our Forerunners* (London, N.D.), pp. 154 *sqq.*; W. J. Sollas, *Ancient Hunters*³ (London, 1924), pp. 225 *sq.*, 447.

conclude that attentions bestowed on the souls of deceased kinsfolk in houses are necessarily older than similar attentions paid to them at their tombs.

Of the ritual observed by the Romans in honour of the dead in February we know almost nothing but what Ovid tells us in the present passage. However, a note in the calendar of Philocalus, under February 13 (the Ides), mentions that on that day the Vestal Virgin (doubtless the Senior Vestal) performed ceremonies in honour of the dead.[1] It was an ingenious and probable conjecture of Mommsen[2] that in doing so she placated the ghost of Tarpeia, the traitress who admitted the Sabines to the Capitol and was crushed to death under the weight of the shields or the golden ornaments which were heaped on her as the wages of her treachery.[3] For Varro says that Tarpeia was a Vestal Virgin,[4] and we are told that she was buried where she fell, and that libations were offered every year to her perturbed spirit.[5] This was natural enough, for it is a very common belief that the ghosts of persons who have been put to a violent death are particularly malignant; their thread of life having been cut prematurely short, they are actuated by a sense of injustice which leads them to turn, not only on their slayers, but on the living in general with a blind fury which does not always discriminate nicely between the innocent and the guilty, and which they themselves, in calmer moments, might be the first to regret.[6] Of such unquiet ghosts Tarpeia would seem to have been one, and we need not wonder that the Romans were at pains to appease her wrath every year on the thirteenth of February.

II. 538. **a sprinkling of corn, a few grains of salt.**—Arnobius mentions salted corn among the offerings made to the powers of the lower world, who included the spirits of the dead.[7] The Penates were appeased with the same simple offerings.[8] Salt and lentils were also commonly offered by

[1] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 258, 309, *Virgo Vesta(lis) parentat.*
[2] Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.² p. 309.
[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 261 *sq.*, with the note (above, p. 128).
[4] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 41.
[5] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 40.
[6] For examples I may refer to *Psyche's Task* ², pp. 113 *sqq.*
[7] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 20.
[8] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 23. 19-20.

the Romans to the dead ; hence it was deemed an omen of death when by chance salt and lentils were served out as rations to the Roman army under Crassus after the passage of the Euphrates.[1]

II. 539. **bread soaked in wine and some loose violets.**— It was a custom to pour wine on or into the grave,[2] that the dead might drink of it and be refreshed. In Roman tombstones there is often a circular cavity, the bottom of which is pierced with holes ; the liquid poured into it ran through the holes and was led by a tube into the urn, where it moistened the dry and calcined bones.[3] However, with the spread of a barren and paralysing scepticism, people in the later days of antiquity ceased to believe that the dead drank wine in the grave. This incredulity is expressed very frankly in some Greek verses quoted in a Latin epitaph which was found outside the Aurelian gate at Rome. In these verses the dead man invites the passer-by to stand and listen to him. Having thus engaged his attention, he informs the wayfarer that in hell there is no ferry-boat and no ferryman, no Aeacus with the keys in his hand, no dog called Cerberus ; that all the dead beneath are bones and ashes, nothing more ; and that by pouring wine on the ashes he will only make mud, the dead will never drink of it.[4] Lucian similarly scouts the Greek custom of pouring wine into the grave and crowning the tombstone with flowers.[5] In another passage the same satirist describes how Menippus, newly arrived in the lower world, desires his conductor Hermes to show him the handsome men and fair women of the days of old. In reply Hermes points to a heap of bleaching bones and grinning skulls ; and being asked to single out Helen, he picks up a skull from the heap and says, " This skull is Helen ". " And was it for this ", asks Menippus, " that a thousand ships were manned from all the land of Greece, that so many Greeks and barbarians fell, and so many cities were laid waste ? " [6]

[1] Plutarch, *Crassus*, 19. 5.
[2] Festus, *s.v.* " Resparsum ", p. 319 ed. Lindsay.
[3] F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (London, 1922), p. 50.
[4] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 8156.
[5] Lucian, *De luctu*, 19.
[6] Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead*, 18.

The only flowers which Ovid notices as strewed on graves were violets, and we have seen that some people desired in death to be remembered by the living on the Day of the Violets.[1] But the favourite flower to deck the grave would seem to have been the rose. In a storm at sea Propertius professes to regret that fate had not let him die at home, where loving hands would have laid his bones to their last rest on a bed of roses ;[2] and in an epitaph composed by Ausonius for a happy man, the poet makes the dead say, " Sprinkle my ashes with wine and oil of fragrant spikenard, and to the balm add crimson roses. My tearless urn keeps a perpetual spring."[3] Romans often left property to pay for scattering roses on their graves.[4] So common was this tribute of flowers to the dead that even men who had earned the fear and hatred of their fellows by their crimes were not in death denied this last token of sympathy and almost of regret. That the tomb of Catiline was crowned with flowers is mentioned by Cicero, who had sent the rebel's accomplices to their doom in the dungeon ;[5] and though the death of Nero was greeted by the populace with a wild outburst of joy, some were found to deck his grave for a long time with spring and summer flowers,[6] among which no doubt were violets and roses.

II. 543. **This custom was introduced into thy lands, righteous Latinus, by Aeneas.**—Ovid supposes that the custom of annually worshipping the souls of dead kinsfolk was introduced into Latium by Aeneas when he settled in the country. Herein our author follows Virgil, according to whom Aeneas paid funeral honours to his father Anchises in Sicily a year after his parent's death, and expressed a wish that, when his city should be founded, the same rites should be yearly repeated. Among the ceremonies described by Virgil on that occasion were the pouring of libations of wine, milk, and blood, and the scattering of purple flowers : the sacrificial victims were sheep, swine, and black cattle.[7] In a note on

[1] Above, p. 434.
[2] Propertius, i. 17. 19-22.
[3] Ausonius, *Epitaph.* xxxi. 1-3.
[4] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 8369, 8371, 8372, 8374. See above, p. 433.
[5] Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 38. 95.
[6] Suetonius, *Nero*, 57. 1.
[7] Virgil, *Aen.* v. 42-103.

this passage Servius suggests that the purple flowers were in imitation of blood.[1]

II. 545. **He to his father's spirit solemn offerings brought.**—The word here translated "spirit" is *genius*. The Roman Genius was, properly speaking, a man's guardian god who was born with him and lived with him.[2] But the word was also applied, as by Ovid in the present passage, to the spirit or soul of a man after death, and in this sense it is coupled with *Manes* or *Di Manes* in epitaphs.[3]

II. 550. **the funeral fires that burned without the city.**—The Roman dead were burned and buried outside the city. A law of the Twelve Tables forbade the burying and burning of the dead within the walls.[4] Writing in exile, far from Rome, Ovid expressed a wish that though after his death his ghost must wander among Sarmatian ghosts, his bones might be carried in an urn to Rome and buried outside the walls of the city that he loved. He even wrote the epitaph that was to be graved on his marble tombstone, bidding the passer-by to pray, "Soft may the bones of Naso lie!"[5]

II. 557. **But while these rites are being performed, ye ladies change not your widowed state.**—From what follows we learn that maids as well as widows were bound to abstain from marrying during the days of February in which the rites in honour of the dead were being performed. Similarly it was deemed unlucky to marry in May, and some people explained the superstition with reference to the ceremonies which were observed in that month for the purpose of propitiating the souls of deceased kinsfolk.[6]

II. 558. **let the nuptial torch of pine wait till the days are pure.**—The days during which the ceremonies in honour of the dead were performed might be deemed impure or polluted by an atmosphere of death; hence women are exhorted to defer their marriage till these days are over. When the bride

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 79.
[2] Censorinus, *De die natali*, iii. 1.
[3] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 8049, 8050, 8051.
[4] Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 23. 58.
[5] Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 3. 61-76, particularly 70, "*Inque suburbano condita pone solo*".
[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 487 *sq.*, with the note.

was led in procession to her husband's house, she was preceded by a boy carrying a torch, which should be made of whitethorn, that being esteemed the most auspicious wood for the purpose. In accordance with a common rule of Roman ritual, the boy who bore the torch must have both his parents alive, or, in the technical phrase, he must be *patrimus et matrimus*. The torch was kindled at the hearth in the bride's old home.[1] When the procession reached the bride's house, the friends of both families scrambled for it, each side trying to snatch it, for longer life was supposed to attend the side which got the smouldering torch. If the bride got it, she might put it under the bridegroom's bed; if the bridegroom got it, he might put it on a tomb and let it burn out there. In the former case the death of the bridegroom, in the latter case the death of the bride, would, it was believed, be hastened.[2] From this it would seem that the life of the bride was thought to be bound up with that of the lighted torch which was brought with her to her new home: if it were deposited on a tomb and allowed to burn out there, she would die soon and her husband would survive her; but if, on the contrary, she contrived to extinguish the torch before it had burned out and to place it under the marriage bed, she would live long, like the unburnt torch, and her husband would die before her. Thus the torch was a guarantee of life, a *praesidium vitae*, as Servius or his interpolator calls it.[3] This interpretation of the nuptial torch is confirmed by the exactly parallel case of what we may call the natal torch as illustrated by the story of Meleager, of whom the Fates predicted at his birth that he would live just as long as the brand then burning on the hearth. His mother snatched the brand from

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Patrimi et matrimi", pp. 282, 283 ed. Lindsay; Varro, *De vita Populi Romani*, lib. ii. quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Faxs", p. 161 ed. Lindsay, "*Cum a nova nupta ignis in face adferretur e foco eius sumtus, cum fax ex spinu alba esset et eam puer ingenuus anteferret*"; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 75, "*Spina, nuptiarum facibus auspicatissima*".

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Rapi", p. 364 ed. Lindsay, "*Rapi solet fax, qua praelucente nova nupta deducta est, ab utri<u>sque amicis, ne aut uxor eam sub lecto viri ea nocte ponat, aut vir in sepulcro conburendam curet; quo utroque mors propinqua alterius captari putatur*"; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 29, "*Quae (faces) solent praeire nubentes puellas. Corneae sane faces, quae quasi diutissimae luceant, quas rapiunt tanquam vitae praesidia. Namque his qui sunt potiti diutius feruntur vixisse.*"

[3] See the preceding note.

the fire and extinguished it, so the child survived and grew to manhood. But afterwards in a fit of anger at him his mother threw the brand into the flames, and when it was burnt out, Meleager instantly expired.[1]

As the nuptial torch should properly be made of whitethorn, and whitethorn was deemed a protection against witchcraft and other evil influences, we may suppose that the motive for carrying a torch of whitethorn before a bride was to guard her against evil spirits, sorcerers, and witches, to whose maleficent arts both bride and bridegroom are believed to be peculiarly exposed.[2] Against these baleful influences the burning torch would naturally be thought to afford a double protection by its material and by its flame; for, as everybody knows, spirits fear fire, which seems to hurt them as much as it hurts the living.[3] At Fez, in Morocco, burning candles are used to protect the bride against jinn, the evil eye, and other baleful influences.[4]

Ovid speaks of the nuptial torch as made of pinewood (*pinea taeda*), although the proper wood for it, as we have just seen, was said to be whitethorn. We might, perhaps, be tempted to introduce a torch of whitethorn into the present passage by the easy change of *pinea* into *spinea*, which is in fact read in a manuscript that is commonly reckoned the best;[5] and the same correction, or corruption, was in fact made by the great Scaliger long ago in a passage of Varro.[6] But the use of pinewood torches at marriage is too

[1] Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 604 *sqq.*; Bacchylides, *Epinic.* v. 136 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 34. 6 *sq.*; Apollodorus, i. 8. 1-3; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lxvii. vol. ii. p. 231 ed. L. Dindorf; Antoninus Liberalis; *Transform.* 2; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 492-493; Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 534; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 445-525; Hyginus, *Fab.* 171, 174; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 481.

[2] See below, note on lines 559-560.

[3] Compare E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1911), pp. 72 *sqq.*, who has rightly explained the protective function of the nuptial torch. In Homeric times the bride was conducted to her new home with burning torches (Homer, *Il.* xviii. 491 *sqq.*). On fire as a protection against spirits see my article, "On certain Burial Customs as illustrative of the primitive Theory of the Soul", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv. (1886) pp. 76 *sq.*, 84 *sq.*

[4] E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 187.

[5] See the Critical Note on line 558.

[6] Varro, *Gerontodidascolo*, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *s.v* "Faxs", p. 161 ed. Lindsay, where Scaliger read "*spinea faxs*" for the "*pinea faxs*" of the MSS.

well attested by other writers [1] to allow us to tamper with the text of Ovid on the strength of a manuscript which has no scruple about transferring, by "the method of adhesion", a letter from the end of one word to the beginning of the next. We may suppose that later writers, unacquainted with or forgetful of the folk-lore of the whitethorn, substituted pinewood, the resin of which recommended its use for torches in daily life.

II. 559. **And O, thou damsel, who to thy eager mother shalt appear all ripe for marriage, let not the bent-back spear comb down thy maiden hair!**—The hair of a Roman bride was combed, parted, or stroked with a spear which had been stuck in the body of a slain gladiator. The spear was called a *caelibaris hasta*.[2] From this name and from the present passage of Ovid we may infer that the ceremony was only observed at the marriage of a virgin, not at that of a widow. The ancients themselves were uncertain as to the meaning of the rite and offered various theories in explanation of it. Thus Festus suggested that, just as the spear had been conjoined with the body of the gladiator, so the wife was conjoined with the husband; or the reason might be that matrons were in the guardianship of Juno Curitis, who got that name from carrying a spear, which in the Sabine tongue is called *curis*; or it might be because the spear prognosticated that the bride would give birth to brave men; or because by the law of marriage a bride is subject to her husband, for a spear is a symbol of armed dominion.[3] Plutarch thought it might be a symbol of the forcible capture of the first Roman wives; or it might, as Festus suggested, refer to the spear on which Juno Curitis was represented leaning, and so on.[4] In modern times it has been conjectured that the spear may have been used to cut the bride's hair

[1] Catullus, lxi. 15, "*Pineam quate taedam*"; Virgil, *Ciris*, 439, "*Pronuba nec castos accendet pinus honores*"; Seneca, *Medea*, 37 *sq.*, "*Hoc restat unum, pronubam thalamo feram | ut ipsa pinum*"; *id.*, III, "*Multifidam iam tempus erat succendere pinum*".

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Caelibari hasta", p. 55 ed. Lindsay; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 87; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, ii. 67. Only Festus, or rather his abbreviator Paulus, mentions the remarkable rule that the spear must have been stuck ("*stetisset*") in the body of a slain gladiator.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Caelibari hasta", p. 55 ed. Lindsay.

[4] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 87.

at marriage.[1] But there is no evidence that a Roman bride's hair was cut at marriage; and if it was so cut, and the instrument used for the purpose was a spear, why should not our authorities have said so? Why should they have said that the hair was combed or parted or stroked with the spear?[2]

Professor H. J. Rose thinks that the ceremony may have been designed to guard the bride against evil spirits which are sometimes thought to haunt the hair; and he compares a ceremonial parting of the hair which Hindoo women of high caste undergo in pregnancy for the same purpose.[3] This would give a natural and, from the primitive point of view, reasonable explanation of the ceremony; for bride and bridegroom are notoriously believed to be exposed to the machinations of evil spirits and sorcerers, and a spear is an excellent instrument wherewith to keep these maleficent beings at bay, especially a spear with which a man has been stabbed; for to primitive thinking such a use of the implement must powerfully reinforce its magical and protective power. That was why in the case of a difficult birth a Roman remedy was to take a light spear, plucked from the body of a man, and to throw it over the roof of the house in which the woman was in labour; it is said that her delivery followed immediately, always provided that the spear had not touched the ground before it was thrown over the roof. The same effect might also be produced, though perhaps not with such absolute certainty, by throwing over the roof a stone or any missile which by three distinct blows had killed a man, a boar, and a bear. Further, if an epileptic patient desired to be cured of his infirmity, all he had to do was to eat of the

[1] E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 58 *sq.*

[2] The verbs used are *comere* (Ovid), διακρίνειν (Plutarch), and *mulcere* (Arnobius).

[3] H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford, 1924), p. 205, comparing W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India* (London, 1907), p. 196, "Among high-caste Hindus a woman is regarded as in a state of taboo when the first signs of pregnancy appear, and a series of rites which provide for the ceremonial parting of her hair, a favourite haunt of malignant spirits, are performed during the fourth, sixth, or eighth month before her child is born." A similar explanation of the custom was suggested by E. Crawley. See his book, *The Mystic Rose*, New Edition, revised by Th. Besterman (London, 1927), ii. 38. Compare M. Cary and A. D. Nock, "Magic Spears", *The Classical Quarterly*, xxi. (1927) pp. 123 *sq.*

flesh of an animal that had been killed by the same iron weapon which had killed a man.[1] It is now easy to understand that, if any evil spirits were lurking in a bride's hair, the application to her tresses of a spear still dripping with the blood of a stabbed gladiator would make short work of the unwelcome intruders. Now, too, we can perhaps see why among the Konde of Nyasaland a spear with which a murder has been committed is cut off short at the haft, and the blade bent over with a stone, after which it is hung up in the roof of a house inhabited by a kinsman of the murderer.[2] The intention of breaking the spear and bending the blade is no doubt to prevent the weapon from relapsing into crime ; and the reason for hanging it up in the house of a kinsman of the murderer is probably to allow it to exercise a wholesome moral, or rather magical, influence on his feelings with a view to deter him from avenging the death of the murderer, who may be presumed to have suffered for his deed. It is to be observed that in the Roman, as in the African, custom the blade of the spear was bent back (*recurva*),[3] and doubtless for a similar reason ; the bent blade would dispel the evil spirits without wounding the bride. The Roman and the African customs seem to have at least this much in common, that both of them imply a magical virtue resident in a spear that has killed or stabbed a man.

The view that the combing or parting of a Roman bride's hair with a spear was intended to protect her against evil spirits can be supported by analogous customs still observed at marriage in Morocco. For in that country a bride is regarded as very susceptible to harmful supernatural influences, whether magical forces or evil spirits ; indeed, there is a spirit or jinnee whose special function it is to steal brides.[4] Hence various precautions are taken at marriage to protect her against these baneful powers ;[5] "a very large number of marriage ceremonies spring from the feeling or

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 33-34.

[2] D. R. Mackenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde* (London, 1925), p. 89.

[3] Elsewhere Ovid applies the same epithet (*recurvus*) to fish-hooks (*Fasti*, vi. 240), to the hooked talons of a bird (*Fasti*, ii. 251), and to the curved horns of a goat (*Fasti*, v. 119) and of a ram (*Amores*, iii. 13. 17).

[4] E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 160.

[5] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 187.

idea that bride and bridegroom are in a state of danger, and therefore stand in need of purification and of special protection against magical influences and evil spirits ".[1] Thus the bridegroom hangs his sword on the wall over the bride's head as a safeguard against evil spirits (jinn) ;[2] or he sends his sword in advance to be put on the marriage bed in order " to drive away such spirits or other evil influences " ;[3] or " he gently slaps the bride on her forehead and shoulders with the flat of his sword, so as to expel evil spirits ".[4] For the jinn are afraid of steel, and especially of weapons of that metal ;[5] hence daggers, swords, and needles are in frequent use at weddings in Morocco as a protection against these dangerous beings.[6] For example, a needle is put into the bride's right slipper by her mother to guard her against jinn.[7]

The same explanation may perhaps apply to the use of sharp weapons at some marriage ceremonies in other countries, as E. Crawley suggested.[8] For example, among the Bhils, a primitive tribe of the Central Provinces of India, " when the bridegroom reaches the bride's house he strikes the marriage-shed with a dagger or other sharp instrument. A goat is killed and he steps in its blood as he enters the shed." [9] " In Nias the chief stretches a lance four times to heaven and then swings it four times over the bride. Amongst the Bechuanas the bridegroom throws an arrow into the hut before he enters to take his bride." [10] Among the Banyankole, a pastoral tribe of the Uganda Protectorate, when a bride was about to leave her father's house, a brother of the bridegroom " climbed upon the roof of the hut and

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 321.
[2] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* pp. 244, 290.
[3] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 255, compare p. 251.
[4] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 237, compare p. 256.
[5] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 123.
[6] E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), i. 306.
[7] E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 237, compare p. 150.
[8] E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, New Edition, revised by Th. Besterman, ii. 37 *sq.*
[9] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (London, 1916), ii. 288.
[10] E. Crawley, *op. cit.* ii. 38, referring to L. Bouchal in *Globus*, lxxxiv. (1903) p. 233 ; C. R. Conder, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887) p. 83. For many other examples of precautions taken to guard bride and bridegroom against evil spirits and sorcery see E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* [5], ii. 496 *sqq.*

stuck a spear through the thatch. The bride touched the spear with her tongue, and then the tube through which the betrothal beer had been drunk was substituted for the spear, and water was allowed to trickle into the bride's mouth to prevent witchcraft being used against her." [1]

II. 567. **But this only lasts until there remain as many days of the month as there are feet in my verses.**—Ovid means that the ceremonies in honour of the dead only last till the number of days remaining over in February was equal to the number of feet in his verses. By his verses the poet probably means an elegiac couplet, the metre in which the *Fasti* is composed. But we know from his own words that he reckoned eleven feet to the couplet, namely, six feet in the hexameter and five feet in the pentameter.[2] Accordingly he appears to date the Feralia, the last day of the celebrations in honour of the dead, on the eighteenth of February. But from the ancient calendars we know that the Feralia fell, not on the eighteenth, but on the twenty-first of February.[3] The present passage has been much discussed and various attempts have been made to emend it, but none of the proposed emendations are satisfactory.[4] If the text is sound, we must apparently conclude that for some reason the poet was out in his reckoning.

II. 569. **That day they name the Feralia, because they carry (*ferunt*) to the dead their dues.**—Varro derived the name Feralia from the *infernal* powers (*inferi*) and from *ferre*, " to carry ", " because banquets are then carried to the tomb by such as have the right of making offerings there ".[5] This clear statement is another proof that at the Parentalia, which included the Feralia, the offerings to the dead were made at the tombs and not in the houses.[6] Similarly Festus says that the Feralia was a festival sacred to the worshipful dead (*Di manes*), and that the name was derived from carrying

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Banyankole* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 131.

[2] Ovid, *Amores*, i. 1, lines 27 and 30,

" *Sex mihi surgat opus numeris, in quinque residat*
Musa per undenos emodulanda pedes ".

[3] *C.I.L.* i.² p. 310. See above, p. 432.

[4] See the Critical Note on line 568.

[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 13, "*Feralia ab inferis et ferendo, quod ferunt tum epulas ad sepulcrum quibus ius ibi parentare*".

[6] See above, p. 433.

(*ferendis*) banquets; but he suggests an alternative derivation from *ferire*, "to strike", with reference to the sacrifice of sheep to the dead.[1]

II. 571. **Lo, an old hag, seated among girls, performs rites in honour of Tacita ("the Silent Goddess").**—Ovid implies that the rites which he proceeds to describe were performed on the day of the Feralia, the last day of the ceremonies in honour of the dead. Clearly the rites in question were unofficial and partook of the nature of magic rather than of religion, although the poet, in order to give them a religious colour, represents them as celebrated in honour of Tacita (the Silent Goddess), whom later on he calls Muta ("the Mute Goddess") and identifies with the Mother of the Lares.[2] According to Plutarch, who may have drawn on Varro, Tacita or the Silent Goddess was one of the Muses, and her worship was instituted by Numa,[3] the pious king on whom religious institutions were regularly fathered by the Romans when their true origin was unknown. The goddess Muta is mentioned in derision by Lactantius, who says that she was identified with the Mother of the Lares;[4] he seems to have borrowed his notice of her from Ovid, for no other ancient writer speaks of Muta. We may, indeed, conjecture that Ovid invented the name Muta in order to explain the authentic name Tacita, thinking that dumbness, or sheer physical incapacity to talk, could be the only possible explanation of silence in the female sex. He observes that even the old hag, who professed to worship the Goddess of Silence, was far from being silent herself. Some of the details of the magic rite performed by the ancient dame are obscure, but their general intention is clearly stated by her (lines 581-582); it was to ensure the silence of enemies, thereby preventing them from cursing or backbiting the persons on whose behalf the ceremony was observed. The rite was probably supposed to be doubly efficacious on a day devoted to the worship of the dead, who are notoriously silent.

II. 573. **With three fingers she puts three lumps of incense**

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Feralia", p. 75 ed. Lindsay.
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 583, 615 *sq.*
[3] Plutarch, *Numa*, 8. 6.
[4] Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 20.

under the threshold, where the little mouse has made for herself a secret path.—We might suppose that the incense was offered to the mice, in whose run it was placed. But more probably the offering was made to spirits who were supposed to haunt the threshold. For it is a common notion that the threshold is haunted by spirits.[1] Thus, for example, in Morocco and Palestine it is believed that the threshold is haunted by the much-dreaded jinn.[2] Sometimes the spirits which haunt the threshold or the doorway are thought to be the souls of the dead. It is a German superstition that in entering a new house you should not tread on the threshold, for by doing so you might " hurt the poor souls ".[3] Among the Konde of Nyasaland, if a woman goes out of the house, " she must not turn back in the doorway ; the ancestors are there ; she must go right out, and if she needs to go in again, she must do it from a pace or so from the door. The penalty is the death of the child she is carrying." [4] Sometimes the belief that spirits of the departed haunt the threshold may arise from a custom of burying the dead under it. Neoptolemus is said to have been buried under the threshold of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.[5] The custom of burying children, especially still-born children, under the threshold, is common to the peasantry of Russia and India, and in India the reason assigned for it is sometimes that in consequence of the daily passage of the parents across the threshold the child will be born again in the family.[6] The Roman custom of offering incense under a threshold on a day peculiarly dedicated to the worship of the dead suggests that it may have been originally intended in like manner to propitiate

[1] The evidence has been collected by E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, pp. 140 *sqq.*, and by me in *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 11 *sqq.*

[2] E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 219 *sq.* ; *id.*, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i. 373, quoting Baldensperger.

[3] A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube* [2] (Berlin, 1869), p. 372, § 608.

[4] D. R. Mackenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde* (London, 1925), p. 106.

[5] Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* vii. 42 (62) ; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 1655.

[6] W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India* (London, 1907), p. 202 ; E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk-tales* (London, 1908), p. 49 ; R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (London, 1916), ii. 413 ; *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xiv. *Punjab*, Part I. *Report*, by Pandit Harikishan Kaul (Lahore, 1912), p. 299 ; W. R. S. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, Second Edition (London, 1872), p. 136.

and so to hasten the rebirth of dead children buried in the doorway. The conjecture is perhaps supported by the consideration that the offering was made, not by a priest, but by a woman, who mumbled in her mouth black beans, a regular offering to the dead.

II. 575. **Then she binds enchanted threads together with dark lead.**—The reading and the meaning of this line are both uncertain. See the Critical Note. If we accept the reading in the text, which is strongly supported by the manuscripts, the most probable explanation seems to be the one suggested by R. Wünsch, namely, that the old woman had a leaden image of an enemy and tied it up with threads over which she had muttered a spell.[1] As the whole incantation aimed at tying up "hostile tongues and unfriendly mouths" (line 581), we may suppose that the threads were wound round the leaden puppet in such a way as to appear to gag its mouth. Virgil speaks of three threads of three different colours wound about a magical image,[2] and it is possible that in the present passage Ovid also mentioned three threads, though the number no longer stands in his text.[3] R. Wünsch mentions that he had in his possession a leaden puppet from Attica which had similarly been used by a witch or wizard to reinforce a malignant spell, though the treatment to which it had been subjected was even more radical. The figure represented a naked man with his arms and legs bound fast, his head knocked off, and his body pierced with two nails.[4] In 1900 there were found at Tell Sandahanna, near the site of the ancient Eleutheropolis in Southern Palestine, sixteen small figures of men and women, rudely cut in profile out of sheets of lead. All but one are naked, and all, without exception, have their hands and feet loaded with bonds and shackles, tied up in complicated knots; sometimes the hands are tied at the back, sometimes on the breast. The bonds which constrict them are formed of thick wires of lead, iron, and bronze. Further, the figures are in strangely contorted attitudes, as if writhing in agony.[5]

[1] R. Wünsch, "Zu Ovids Fasten, Buch i. und ii.", *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. lvi. (1901) pp. 392 *sq.*
[2] Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 73 *sq.*
[3] See the Critical Note on line 575.
[4] R. Wünsch, *l.c.*
[5] A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), p. 32, No. 17.

The old woman seen by Ovid was apparently maltreating a leaden puppet in like fashion with a like malignant intent.

If in the present passage of Ovid, with some old editors, we read *rhombo* instead of *plumbo*, the reference will be, not to a leaden puppet, but to a magic wheel (*rhombus*), which ancient witches set spinning as a love-charm. But the reading *rhombo* has very little manuscript support, and the sense which it yields is inappropriate, since there is no question of a love-charm in the passage; the old witch is engaged in disarming the hostility of foes rather than in attracting the affection of lovers. Besides what day could be more unsuitable for a love-charm than the Feralia, a day when marriage itself was discountenanced and all thoughts were turned to death and the dead? Elsewhere, in one of his love-poems, Ovid speaks of an old witch who set the magic wheel spinning as a love-charm by pulling at its two threads,[1] and Propertius refers to the same instrument in the same connexion.[2] Both the name and the use of the instrument were borrowed from Greece.[3] The Latin name for the magic wheel was *turbo*,[4] which also signified a whipping-top.[5] A Greek scholiast describes the *rhombus* as a little wheel,[6] and the description is confirmed by its representation on Greek vases, where it is clearly depicted as a wheel with strings attached to it in scenes which leave no doubt as to its use as a love-charm.[7] But Hesychius describes it as a small wooden instrument of conical shape fastened to a string, which was whirled at the mysteries to make a humming or booming sound.[8] Hence it has been sometimes identified with the bull-roarer, a slat of wood attached to a string, which savages

[1] Ovid, *Amores*, i. 8. 7-8.

[2] Propertius, ii. 30. 35, iii. 6. 26. But, if we can trust Martial (ix. 29. 9), Thessalian witches also used the magic wheel to draw down the moon.

[3] Theocritus, ii. 30-31; Lucian, *Dialog. Meretr.* iv. 5.

[4] Horace, *Epod.* xvii. 7.

[5] Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 378-383. Another form of the name for the whipping-top was *turben*. See Tibullus, i. 5. 3-4. Compare G. Lafaye, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, v. 1, pp. 541 *sq.*, *s.v.* "Turben et Turbo".

[6] Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 1139, iv. 144.

[7] E. Saglio, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, iv. 2, pp. 863 *sq.*, *s.v.* "Rhombos".

[8] Hesychius, *s.v.* ῥόμβος· κῶνος, ξυλήριον, οὗ ἐξήπται σχοινίον, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς δινεῖται ἵνα ῥοιζῇ. Compare Chr. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 699 *sqq.* who distinguishes κῶνος and ῥόμβος as two different sorts of spinning-top.

all over the world whirl at their mysteries, especially at the initiation of young men at puberty, believing or professing to believe that its droning sound is the voice of a mighty spirit.[1] However, it is to be observed that the bull-roarer is sometimes swung at ceremonies in honour of the dead. This is done by the Bororo of Brazil at their festivals of the dead,[2] and among the tribes of Southern Nigeria bull-roarers are sounded at the ceremonies which the Secret Societies observe at the death of a member, and at which the deceased is represented by a masked man.[3] For example, the Oro Society holds a festival in honour of the dead for seven days in May or June. During its continuance men disguised with masks and gowns represent the dead and parade the streets to the sound of the bull-roarer.[4] And in the languages of some tribes of Northern New Guinea, who use bull-roarers at their ceremonies of initiation, the same word which is applied to a bull-roarer signifies also a ghost or spirit of the dead.[5] Hence it might perhaps be supposed that in the rite described by Ovid the old woman swung a bull-roarer (*rhombus*) in honour of the dead who were commemorated at the Feralia. But to this supposition there is a fatal objection. Wherever the bull-roarer is sounded at sacred rites, women are most strictly forbidden, often under pain of death, to behold the instrument; it would be entirely contrary to the first principles of primitive etiquette that a woman should not only see but sound the mysterious implement. We cannot imagine that the Romans would have connived at such an outrage.

II. 576. **and mumbles seven black beans in her mouth.**— Black beans were offered to the souls of the dead at the Lemuria in May.[6] Their use by the old woman at the Feralia confirms the view that the three lumps of incense which she placed under the threshold were offered to the dead.[7]

[1] Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth* (London, 1884), pp. 29-44. As to the geographical diffusion of the bull-roarer see *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. pp. 228 *sqq.*

[2] K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 497-499.

[3] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1926), iii. 758.

[4] P. Amaury Talbot, *op. cit.* iii. 759 *sq.*

[5] *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. p. 242.

[6] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 436 *sqq.*

[7] See above, pp. 446 *sq.*

II. 577. **she roasts in the fire the head of a small fish which she has sewed up, made fast with pitch, and pierced through and through with a bronze needle.**—The purpose of this rite is explained by the old woman herself (line 581): it was, on the principle of sympathetic magic, to shut the mouths of enemies even as she had shut up and made fast the mouth of the little fish. We may compare some ceremonies which the Bulgarians observe during certain days in November for the purpose of protecting their cattle and themselves against wolves. Thus the housewife goes to the cattle-stall and in front of the door she sews together the back and front pieces of her skirt, and they say that she does this "in order that she may thereby sew up the wolf's throat". Further, they put the broom, the shovel, and the tongs in the oven, and shut the door of the oven, "in order that the wolf's mouth may remain shut". Also they fasten a chain to the hearth, "in order that thereby they may bind the wolf".[1] According to another account of the custom, the woman sews up her skirt with a needle and thread after dark, and when a child asks her what she is doing, she tells him that "she is sewing up the ears, eyes, and jaws of the wolves, so that they may not hear, see, or bite the sheep, goats, pigs, and calves".[2] On the same principle, in the Tver Government of Russia, a padlock is carried thrice round a herd of horses before they go afield in the spring, and the bearer locks and unlocks it as he goes, saying, "I lock from my herd the mouths of the grey wolves with this steel lock".[3]

It is to be observed that the old woman pierced the fish's head with a bronze needle. This was in accordance with the rule which prescribed the use of bronze instead of iron in religious and magical rites on the ground of its greater antiquity. Thus the hair of the Flamen Dialis might only be cut with a bronze knife,[4] and the same rule applied to Roman and Sabine priests in general.[5] When the flamens

[1] A. Strausz, *Die Bulgaren* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 350.
[2] W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*[2] (London, 1872), p. 389.
[3] W. R. S. Ralston, *l.c.*
[4] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 448.
[5] Macrobius, *Saturn.* v. 19. 14; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, i. 35, p. 16 ed. Wuensch.

offered sacrifice, their robes were clasped with bronze brooches.[1] The Etruscans used a bronze ploughshare to trace the boundary of a new city.[2] Bronze instruments were clashed when the presence of Artemis, or rather of Hecate, at the cross-roads was announced by the baying of dogs in the city ;[3] and a clangour of bronze was raised at an eclipse of the moon.[4] Tacitus has described the dismay of the Roman soldiers in Germany at an eclipse of the moon, and how they sought to aid the labouring goddess by the blare of brazen trumpets and horns, their hopes and fears alternating with the brightening or darkening of the silvery orb as the cloud-rack drifted across the sky.[5]

II. 583. **At once you will ask of me, " Who is the goddess Muta (' the Mute') ? "**—Ovid proceeds to explain the name of the goddess Muta, or rather Tacita, by a story that she was a nymph of Tiber who had been deprived of her tongue by Jupiter for officiously revealing to Juno his intrigue with Juturna. The story is found only in Ovid and may have been invented by him on the model of those Greek myths of the loves of the gods of which he has reproduced and embellished so many in his greatest work, the *Metamorphoses*.

II. 585. **Captivated by o'ermastering love of Juturna, Jupiter submitted to many things.**—Virgil alluded to the love of Jupiter for Juturna, the sister of Turnus, and her transformation into a water-nymph in return for the virginity which she sacrificed to the god.[6]

II. 597. **by all the nymphs of Tiber and by those who haunt, Ilia divine, thy wedding bowers.**—Ilia, the Vestal Virgin who bore Romulus and Remus to Mars, is said to have been thrown into the Tiber by order of her stern uncle Amulius and to have been taken to wife by the amorous river-god.[7] Horace alludes to the myth,[8] and Claudian draws a charming picture of Father Tiber in his cave, with

[1] Festus, *s.v.* " Infibulati ", p. 100 ed. Lindsay, " *Infibulati sacrificabant flamines propter usum aeris antiquissimum aereis fibulis* ".
[2] Macrobius, *Saturn.* v. 19. 13.
[3] Theocritus, ii. 35-36.
[4] Scholiast on Theocritus, ii. 36.
[5] Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 28.
[6] Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 138 *sqq.*, 870 *sqq.* As to Juturna see *Fasti*, i. 463 with the note (above, pp. 181 *sqq.*).
[7] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 273
[8] Horace, *Odes*, i. 2. 17-20.

his wife Ilia thrumming her glassy loom under the crystal flood.[1]

II. 599. **It chanced there was a Naiad nymph, Lara by name.**—As Ovid explains in the following lines, he supposed that the nymph's original name was Lala, which, if derived from the Greek *lalein*, "to talk, prattle", would mean "the talker", "the prattler".

II. 601. **Many a time Almo had said to her, "My daughter, hold thy tongue".**—The Almo was a tributary of the Tiber. In its water the image of the Great Mother Goddess was bathed at her annual festival, as Ovid mentions later on.[2] Here the poet represents the talkative nymph as a daughter of the river-god.

II. 615. **She went with child, and bore twins, who guard the cross-roads and ever keep watch in our city: they are the Lares.**—Ovid identifies the water-nymph Lara (perhaps a creation of his own) with the Mother of the Lares (*Mater Larum*), who was worshipped by the Arval Brethren in their sacred grove with a sacrifice of two ewes, while at the same time and in the same place her offspring, the Lares, received a sacrifice of two wethers,[3] in accordance no doubt with the rule that female victims were sacrificed to goddesses and male victims to gods.[4] The inscriptions which record these sacrifices to the Mother of the Lares in the sacred grove do not mention the name of the goddess, but according to Varro it was Mania.[5] Another form of her name, according to Lactantius and Ausonius, was Larunda.[6] Varro mentions Larunda as a Sabine goddess to whom the Sabine king Tatius dedicated an altar,[7] but he does not connect her with the Lares.

As Ovid here implies, the Lares were specially worshipped

[1] Claudian, *Panegyr. Prob. et Olybr.* 219-225.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 337 *sqq.*

[3] G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, pp. clxxxvi, ccxiv; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 5047, 5048. Wethers were also sacrificed to the Lares after a death. See Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 22. 55.

[4] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vii. 19.

[5] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, ix. 38. 61. Compare Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iii. 41; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 35.

[6] Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 20; Ausonius, *Technopaegn.* viii. 9, "*Nec genius domuum, Larunda progenitus Lar*".

[7] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 74.

at cross-roads (*compita*), where they bore the title of Lares Compitales.[1] Augustus ordained that the images of the Lares of the Cross-roads should be crowned twice a year with vernal and summer flowers.[2] In the time of Pliny there were in Rome itself no less than two hundred and sixty-five cross-roads guarded by images of the Lares.[3] A festival of cross-roads, named the Compitalia, was celebrated annually a few days after the Saturnalia, with which it had some features in common, the slaves being set at liberty for the occasion and even allowed to officiate at the religious services in honour of the dead.[4] It was a precept of Cato that the steward or bailiff (*vilicus*), who was at the head of the slaves, should offer sacrifices nowhere but at the cross-roads and at the hearth.[5] But the Festival of the Cross-roads was a moveable one. The date for it was announced by the praetor.[6] However, late calendars show that in the fourth century of our era the festival was fixed on the third, fourth, and fifth of January,[7] though Macrobius and Ausonius speak of the festival as if it were still moveable in their time.[8] The festival was said to have been instituted by King Servius Tullius, who was reputed to be the son of a slave woman by the Family Lar (*Lar Familiaris*), for his mother was thought to have conceived him miraculously by an emanation from the fire as she sat at the domestic hearth; so her child was fathered on the Family Lar,[9] whose image stood close by, shining brightly in the cheerful glow of the fire.[10] It was natural, therefore, that as a son of the Lar he should institute a festival in honour of the Lares, and that as a son of a slave woman he should grant special privileges to slaves at the festival.

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3634, 3635, 9252.
[2] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31. 4.
[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 66.
[4] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 14. 3-4.
[5] Cato, *De agri cultura*, 5. 3.
[6] Aulus Gellius, x. 24. 3; Festus, *s.v.* " Conceptivae ", p. 55 ed. Lindsay; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 25.
[7] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 305 *sq.*
[8] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 16. 6; Ausonius, *De feriis Romanis*, 17-18.
[9] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 204; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 14. As to the legend of the birth of Servius Tullius see Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 627 *sqq.*, with the note.
[10] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 1. 19; Horace, *Epod.* ii. 65-66; Martial, iii. 58. 22-23.

At the festival of the Compitalia cakes were offered by every family,[1] and woollen effigies of men and women and woollen balls were hung up by night at the cross-roads, an effigy for every free man and every free woman, and a ball for every slave. We are told that this was done because the day was a festival of the Lares, who were thought to be the souls of men raised to the rank of gods of the nether world; and it was hoped that these ghostly powers would spare the living and be content with the effigies and the balls.[2] Such is the account which Festus gives of the festival; his authority was probably Varro.[3] According to Macrobius, the effigies were hung up at the doors of private houses "to avert any danger that might threaten the families".[4] We may perhaps suppose that the effigies were hung up both at the cross-roads and at the doors of houses.

From these accounts it is plain that the Lares who were propitiated at the cross-roads were regarded as dangerous spirits, who aimed at taking the lives of men and women, both free and slave, but who might be induced to accept the woollen effigies and the balls as substitutes and let the living people alone. That the effigies and the balls were indeed regarded as substitutes for living people appears from the tradition that in the time of the kings boys were actually sacrificed at the Festival of Cross-roads to Mania, the Mother of the Lares, as a means of ensuring the safety of the families, but that on the expulsion of the Tarquins the cruel custom

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 14. 3.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Laneae", p. 108 ed. Lindsay, "*Laneae effigies Conpitalibus noctu dabantur in conpita, quod lares, quorum is erat dies festus, animae putabantur esse hominum redactae in numerum deorum*"; *id.*, *s.v.* "Pilae et effigies", p. 273 ed. Lindsay, "*Pilae et effigies viriles et muliebres ex lana Conpitalibus suspendebantur in conpitis, quod hunc diem festum esse deorum inferorum, quos vocant Lares, putarent, quibus tot pilae, quot capita servorum; tot effigies, quot essent liberi, ponebantur, ut vivis parcerent et essent his pilis et simulacris contenti*".

[3] We know that Varro mentioned balls hung up in honour of the Lares. See Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Strophium", p. 863 ed. Lindsay, "*Varro sesqueulixe, suspendit Laribus marinas mollis pilas*", where for the corrupt *marinas* Meursius proposed to read *manias*. But, as the context proves, the balls here referred to by Varro were not those which were hung up at the Compitalia; they were the playthings which a girl dedicated to the domestic Lares (the *Lares Familiares*) before her marriage. See E. Samter, "Der Ursprung des Larenkultus", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, x. (1907) pp. 378-380.

[4] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 35, "*Factumque est ut effigies Maniae suspensae pro singulorum foribus periculum, si quod immineret familiis, expiarent*".

was abolished by Junius Brutus in his consulship, who ordained that heads of garlic and poppies should be offered instead of human beings at the festival.[1] We need not accept this tradition as proof that human beings were ever sacrificed at the Festival of Cross-roads, but it is very good evidence that the effigies offered to the Lares or their Mother at the festival were popularly regarded as substitutes for the lives of the persons whom they represented.

Thus regarded, the effigies at the Compitalia belong to a world-wide class of vicarious sacrifices which consist in offering to dangerous spirits an effigy or other substitute for a living man, woman, or child in the hope that the spirits will accept the substitute and spare the life of the person. I have illustrated these vicarious sacrifices by many examples elsewhere,[2] but it may not be out of place to cite a few of them as parallels to the Roman custom.

Thus the Tibetans stand in great fear of innumerable earth-demons, all of whom are under the authority of Old Mother Khön-ma. In order to guard against the demons of whom she is mistress a structure resembling a chandelier is fixed above the door of the house on the outside, and in it are placed offerings of food and precious objects, together with images or pictures of a man, a woman, and a house. "The object of these figures of a man, wife, and house is to deceive the demons should they still come in spite of this offering, and to mislead them into the belief that the foregoing pictures are the inmates of the house, so that they may wreak their wrath on these bits of wood and so save the real human occupants."[3] This Old Mother Khön-ma may be compared to the Roman Mania, the Mother of the Lares.

It is often on spirits of disease that such dummies are palmed off as substitutes for the living persons, who hope thus to escape from their clutches. Thus when an epidemic is raging among the Dyaks of the Katoengouw river of Borneo, wooden images are set up at the doors of the houses in the hope that the demons of the plague will be deluded

[1] Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 34-35.

[2] *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 94-108.

[3] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet* (London, 1895), pp. 484-486.

into carrying off the effigies instead of the people.[1] In some of the western districts of Borneo, when a man is taken suddenly ill, an old woman, who acts as physician, fashions a wooden image and brings it seven times into contact with the sufferer's head; then she carries it to the spot where the evil spirit of sickness is supposed to have entered into the man, and having set it upright on the ground she invokes the spirit, saying, "O devil, here is an image which stands instead of the sick man. Release the soul of the sick man and plague the image, for it is indeed prettier and better than he."[2] Here the idea that the image is offered as a substitute for the man is perfectly explicit.

The Ewe negroes of Togoland in West Africa believe that people on earth have spiritual relations in heaven, who come and fetch them away, and that is death. Children are especially liable to be thus fetched away by their mother in heaven. So when a child is very sick, its earthly mother moulds two figures of clay, a man and a woman, and offers them to the heavenly mother in exchange for her child, saying, "O thou bearer and mother of children! instead of the child we bring thee here in exchange these clay men. Take them and withdraw thy hand from the child in this visible world." Grown-up people also, when they fall sick, will sometimes make images of clay and offer them as substitutes for themselves to the messengers of death. These images are deposited with offerings by the roadside for the messengers to fetch them.[3] Here the heavenly mother who fetches away the children is like the Mother of the Lares, who probably was in like manner supposed to gather the children to herself.

During an epidemic of smallpox these same Ewe negroes will sometimes clear a space outside of the town, where they erect a number of low mounds and cover them with as many little clay figures as there are people in the place. Pots of food and water are also set out for the refreshment of the spirit of smallpox, who, it is hoped, will take the clay figures

[1] P. J. Veth, *Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling* (Zaltbommel, 1854–1856), ii. 309.

[2] E. L. M. Kühr, "Schetsen uit Borneo's Westerafdeeling", *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xlvii. (1897) pp. 60 *sq.*

[3] J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 502-506, 512, 513, 838, 848, 910.

and spare the living folk.[1] Here the clay figures, one for each person in the place, remind us of the effigies, equal in number to the members of the family, which were hung up at the cross-roads during the Compitalia; and the cakes which every Roman family had to bake for the festival were probably in like manner destined for the consumption of the spirits at the cross-roads, like the banquets which the Greeks set out at the cross-roads for Hecate.[2]

But the substitute offered to a spirit in place of the life of a man need not always be an image or effigy; it may also be an animal. Among the Ibibio of Southern Nigeria, after a successful head-hunt, "should the slayer find that the ghost of the slain is very strong and is haunting him to his hurt, he offers a dog to the manes of his foe. If this sacrifice proves unavailing, he catches a male lizard, and, with this carefully caged, goes to a place where cross-roads meet. There, by the wayside, he makes a tiny gallows, and taking out the substitute from its prison, passes it three times round his head, crying: 'Here I give you a man instead of me. Take him and leave me free.' After this he places a thin loop of tie-tie round the neck of the lizard and hangs it upon the miniature gallows."[3]

Here the substitution is still more perfect than in the offering of effigies, for a life is given for a life. And this African custom has further points in common with the Compitalia; for, in the first place, it is, like the Compitalia, observed at a cross-road, and in the second place, the spirit to which the substitute is offered is a ghost, the ghost of a slain man. But we have seen that, according to Festus, a very good authority, the Lares who were worshipped at the cross-roads were thought to be the souls of the deified dead, and this opinion of the ancients, though it has been rejected by some modern scholars, is strongly supported by analogy; for in many countries and in many ages cross-roads have been believed to be haunted by spirits, especially by the spirits of the dead, and this belief is all the more natural since it

[1] G. Binetsch, "Beantwortung mehrerer Fragen über unser Ewe-Volk und seine Anschauungen", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxviii. (1906) p. 37.

[2] Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* i. 1; E. Rohde, *Psyche*[3], ii. 85.

[3] P. Amaury Talbot, *Life in Southern Nigeria* (London, 1923), p. 245; compare *id.*, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, iii. 866.

has often been customary to bury certain classes of persons, such as suicides, whose ghosts are more than usually dreaded, at cross-roads, sometimes with stakes through their bodies to prevent their ghosts from walking and doing people a mischief. Hence, wherever such beliefs have been held, it has been customary to take omens and to observe religious or magical rites at cross-roads for the purpose of propitiating the spirits or otherwise averting danger and ensuring benefits of various sorts.[1] In Greek lands Hecate was the goddess who presided over the dread spirits at cross-roads and over the magical rites performed there by witches and wizards.[2] Athenaeus speaks of the terrors by night at cross-roads ;[3] and in the *Characters* of Theophrastus the superstitious man pours oil on the smooth stones at cross-roads and, falling on his knees, worships them.[4] So Tibullus says that, whenever he saw a stone crowned with flowers at a cross-road, he adored it.[5]

Similar beliefs as to spirits at cross-roads and the ceremonies to be performed at them have been common in India from antiquity down to the present time,[6] and they are very far from being extinct in Europe at the present day. It is at cross-roads that witches brew their hell-broths and spin in the moonlight,[7] and dance round dances on the snow ;[8] it is standing at a cross-road by night, especially on Christmas night, that you can see the Wild Hunt ride furiously by.[9] And if at midnight on Christmas Eve you stand stock-still at a cross-road for an hour without speaking a word, you will see passing

[1] J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, iv. 330-336, *s.v.* "Cross-roads". Compare E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London, 1908), ii. 256 *sq.* ; *The Golden Bough*, vol. xii. *Index*, p. 232, *s.v.* "Cross-roads".

[2] Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 323 *sqq.*

[3] Athenaeus, iv. 31, p. 149 c.

[4] Theophrastus, *Characters*, 28, p. 162 ed. Jebb.

[5] Tibullus, i. 1. 11 *sq.*

[6] H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 267 *sq.*, 495, 497, 510, 562 note[3] (burial of kings at cross-roads) ; W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 65, 126, 127, 140, 157, 201 ; R. E. Enthoven, *Folklore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 195, 203.

[7] F. S. Krauss, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Südslaven* (Münster i. W., 1890), p. 116.

[8] P. Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien* (Leipzig, 1903–1906), i. 108.

[9] Fr. Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie* (München, 1848–1855), i. pp. 16, 63, 98, 198 *sq.*, 260 ; J. V. Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren* (Prag, Leipzig, 1864), pp. 4, 5.

before your eyes all that will happen in the coming year through famine and pestilence and war ;[1] and many ghosts of the dead are doomed to appear at cross-roads as a punishment for the sins which they failed to expiate in life.[2] In Silesia sorcerers used to be hanged in ropes made of willow-withes and buried at cross-roads.[3] That custom has probably now gone out of fashion, but in Silesia the Devil still shows himself at cross-roads in the form of a black he-goat at the midnight hour.[4] The Bulgarians believe that cattle-plague is caused by a vampyre (*ustrel*) who sucks the blood of the animals by night. So in order to rid them of the monster, two naked men produce fire by the friction of two dry branches : with that fire two fires are kindled at a cross-road haunted by wolves : the sick herd is driven between the fires, and as each cow passes between the flames, the vampyre drops from between her horns to the ground. So the cattle-plague is stayed.[5] Once more, the Bulgarians are afflicted by certain spirits of disease to whom they make offerings every Saturday in order to propitiate them. The offering consists of wood, meal, salt, and so forth, contributed by several families jointly or by the whole village ; and it includes a cake baked by a widow. These offerings are carried in the darkness of night to a cross-road by women and children, who there deposit the offerings and call on the spirits to partake of them.[6] But it would be needless to multiply examples of similar superstitions drawn from that deep substratum of paganism which in Europe everywhere underlies a thin crust of Christianity.[7]

[1] Fr. Panzer, *op. cit.* i. p. 270.

[2] A. John, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglauben im deutschen Westböhmen* (Prag, 1905), p. 179.

[3] P. Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien*, ii. 217.

[4] P. Drechsler, *op. cit.* ii. 234.

[5] A. Strausz, *Die Bulgaren* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 194 *sq.*, 198.

[6] F. S. Krauss, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 40.

[7] For some more evidence see A. Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen und Märchen* (Berlin, 1843), p. 385, No. 75 ; Fr. Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie*, ii. 70, 71, 72, 73, 272, 305, 446, 471 ; E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben* (Stuttgart, 1852), pp. 242, 463 ; Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten* (St. Petersburg, 1854), p. 134; Th. Vernaleken, *Mythen und Bräuche des Volkes in Österreich* (Wien, 1859), pp. 333-335, 340 ; I. V. Zingerle, *Sitten, Gebräuche und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes* (Innsbruck, 1871), pp. 31 (No. 217), 59 (No. 503) ; J. V. Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, pp. 22, 47, 55, 59, 132, 147, 197, 213, 214 ; A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*[2]

In Africa the like superstitions as to cross-roads appear to be widespread, though the evidence for them is far less plentiful than in Europe. We have seen that in Southern Nigeria a manslayer seeks to appease the ghost of his victim by sacrificing to him at a cross-road.[1] In the same region, after the death of a man who belonged to the highest grade of the Egbo Secret Society, the whole of his kin go out to a place where cross-roads meet. There they build a "ghost-hut", which is a small shed finely decorated and painted, and there they set out delicate food for the refreshment of the dead man's ghost.[2] Again, some people of Southern Nigeria who bury adults in the house bury children near cross-roads outside the town.[3] Among the Ibos of Southern Nigeria the bodies of suicides and of persons who have died of a malignant disease, such as leprosy or smallpox, are not buried but thrown away in the forest; however, offerings are made to them, and these are carried out of the village and usually deposited at a point where two paths meet.[4] In Uganda "children born feet first (*kija nenenge*) were invariably killed at birth, and the bodies were buried at cross-roads. The ghost of such a child was feared by all women, young and old, married and unmarried, who took the precaution to throw bits of stick or grass upon the grave, to prevent the ghost from entering into them and being reborn. The grave-mounds in the course of time became large enough to deflect the path, and to attract the notice of travellers. Suicides were burned at cross-roads, the materials from the house or the tree on which the deed was done being used as fuel. The same precautions as those just mentioned were observed by women, when passing the spot,

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(Berlin, 1869), pp. 18, 27, 65, 71, 86, 94, 148, etc.; K. Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg* (Wien, 1879–1880), ii. 107, 136, 157, 241; A. Strausz, *Die Bulgaren*, pp. 296, 358; A. John, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube im deutschen Westböhmen*, pp. 8, 66, 71, 73; P. Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien*, i. 11, 23, 27, 45, 47, 49, 139, 204, 229, ii. 99, 112, 128, 158, 191, 246, 257, 280, 299, 301, 305, 314; E. Mogk, "Mythologie", in H. Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2], iii. (Strassburg, 1900) p. 259.

[1] Above, p. 458.

[2] P. Amaury Talbot, *Life in Southern Nigeria* (London, 1923), pp. 167 *sq.*

[3] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1926), iii. 524.

[4] G. T. Basden, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria* (London, 1921), pp. 224.

in order to prevent the ghosts from entering into them, and being reborn."[1] Moreover, "any light-coloured people were buried at cross-roads, and every woman who passed the place threw grass upon the grave, to prevent the ghost from catching her and being reborn".[2] From this we see that in Uganda cross-roads were used as graveyards for the burial of persons whose ghosts were feared, especially by women, who imagined that the ghosts could impregnate them on the spot.

The Wachagga of Tanganyika Territory (East Africa) offer sacrifices at evening to "the lost spirits" at cross-roads. Among "lost spirits" are included especially the ghosts of persons who died childless; for, having left no heirs to perform the usual sacrifices in their honour, these unfortunates are apt to be exacting in their demands on other people. Hence their ghosts are feared, and it is thought that the likeliest places at which to meet them are cross-roads; for in the belief of the Wachagga the ghosts walk about the roads at night and meet each other at the points where the ways intersect. That is why, when a chief is sick, bloody sacrifices are offered for his recovery at all the cross-roads in the country.[3] Among the Kwottos of Northern Nigeria, when a man has learned the secret of a fetish from a wizard, and the wizard is dead, the disciple "must propitiate the shaman's ghost by sacrifice at the grave, or if the grave of the medicine-man is at a distant place, he must go outside the boundaries of his village to the vicinity of the meeting of the cross-roads, where, facing the road leading to the village where his benefactor was buried, he must offer sacrifice of a fowl and beer to him".[4] Among the Ila-speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia, if a sick man dreams of two ghosts fighting for the possession of him, his friends consult a diviner who, after working the oracle, tells them: "There were two ghosts fighting about him, one is a deliverer, the

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), pp. 126 *sq.*, compare pp. 20 *sq.*, 289.

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 289.

[3] B. Gutmann, "Die Opferstätten der Wadschagga", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xii. (1909) p. 98.

[4] J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, "Ethnological Notes on the Kwottos", *Journal of the African Society*, No. cv., October 1927, p. 30.

other is the one who wants to kill. Now go and make an offering to the deliverer, that he may go on delivering. And the one who did not deliver, to him also make an offering at the cross-roads, at the foot of a tree, that he may pass away." So the friends go to the cross-roads and make offerings, as the diviner had said, in order to drive the dangerous ghost away from the sick man.[1]

In this last case it should be noted that the ghost to be propitiated at the cross-roads is the dangerous one who tries to kill the sick man. Similarly at the Roman festival of the Compitalia it is the dangerous Lares who have to be bought off at the cross-roads by being induced to accept the effigies instead of the living men and women. When we compare the Roman customs and beliefs concerning cross-roads with the similar customs and beliefs which have prevailed, and still prevail, in many parts of the world, including Europe, we may reasonably suppose that the Lares Compitales which haunted cross-roads were the spirits of persons who on account of their crimes, misfortunes, difference of social rank, or for any other reasons, had not been accorded the ordinary rites of burial, and whose ghosts consequently were deemed particularly malignant and apt to wreak their vengeance by carrying off the living to the land of the dead. That was why they were offered effigies of men and women at the cross-roads in the hope that they would accept them as substitutes for the living persons, just as an African homicide offers to the ghost of his victim at a cross-road a lizard instead of himself.[2] On this hypothesis, too, we can understand why slaves were allowed to share in the festival of the Compitalia and even to sacrifice at the cross-roads. As they could never have received at death the same respectful treatment as the free-born, and may perhaps have been even buried at cross-roads, it was perfectly natural that in life they should be permitted to placate the homeless, discontented, and dangerous spirits who swarmed at such spots.

Thus it would seem that we must draw a sharp line of

[1] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Tribes of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), ii. 135 *sq.* These people also perform ceremonies at cross-roads to rid persons of ceremonial impurity or disease. See Smith and Dale, *op. cit.* i. 207, 242.

[2] See above, p. 458.

distinction between the Lares who were worshipped at the cross-roads (*Lares Compitales*) and the family or domestic Lares (*Lares Familiares*), who were worshipped at the domestic hearth; and the distinction was not only local but moral, for, roughly speaking, the Lares of the cross-roads seem to have been regarded as evil, or at least as dangerous, and the domestic Lares as generally good and beneficent, so long at least as they were treated with due respect. Thus, in the prologue to Plautus's play the *Aulularia*, the domestic Lar (*Lar Familiaris*) comes forward in person and explains to the audience that he is the Lar of the family from whose house he has just stepped out on the stage; further, he observes that he has possessed and kept the house for many years, not only in the time of its present owner, but in that of his father and grandfather before him. The grandfather, he proceeds to say, was an old miser who had secretly buried a treasure under the hearth and committed it to the keeping of the Lar. His son had neglected the worship of the Lar, who paid him out by cutting short the thread of his life. The son of this son was a curmudgeon like his father, but his daughter was a good girl, who offered wine or incense or what not to the Lar every day of her life and crowned his image with flowers; so to reward her piety the Lar had discovered the existence of the buried treasure to her father in order that he might give her a good portion at marriage.[1] From this we see that the domestic Lar was an hereditary deity in a family, who had his special seat at the hearth, and used his worshippers as they used him, showing himself friendly to the pious, but stern to such as neglected the offices of religion.

The close connexion between the Lar and the domestic hearth, beside which his image stood,[2] is further shown by a custom observed at marriage. By an old Roman law a bride was bound to bring to her husband's house three copper pennies (*asses*): one of them she carried in her hand and delivered to her husband as purchase money; one of them she carried at her foot and laid "on the hearth of the family Lares"; and one of them she carried in her purse, and this last she deposited or chinked (the reading is uncertain)

[1] Plautus, *Aulularia*, 1-17.
[2] See above, p. 454.

at a neighbouring cross-road.[1] In this custom the penny laid on the hearth is clearly an offering to the domestic Lar, though why the bride should carry it attached to her foot instead of in her hand is not plain. We may conjecture that the penny was offered to the Lar in order that through his favour the bride might become a mother. Thus the custom fits in with the old Roman legends which set forth how virgins, sitting at the hearth, were impregnated by emanations from the fire; and the story of the birth of Servius Tullius shows that this emanation from the fire was identified with the domestic Lar, for his mother was said to have conceived him through an emanation from the fire, and consequently he passed for a son of the domestic Lar (*Lar Familiaris*).[2] That the hearth was the proper place for offering sacrifices to the domestic Lar is further implied in the directions given by Cato that the steward (*vilicus*) was not to offer sacrifices "except at the festival of the Compitalia at the cross-road or on the hearth", and that the stewardess (*vilica*) was to put a wreath on the hearth on the Calends, Nones, and Ides, and to pray to the domestic Lar (*Lar Familiaris*) for plenty on the same days.[3]

But we have still to ask, What is that connexion between the fire and the begetting of children which is assumed in the Roman legends? We think of fire as a destructive agent, how did the Romans come to ascribe to it the power of procreation? A possible answer to the question is furnished by a custom of the Andaman Islanders. Among these primitive savages, when a very young child dies, "the head of the corpse is shaved and the body is decorated in the same way as that of an adult. The body is wrapped up in

[1] Varro, *De vita Populi Romani*, lib. i., quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Nubentes", p. 852 ed. Lindsay. The last clause of the passage is, "*tertium quem in sacciperione condidissent, conpito vicinali solere resenare*", where for *resenare* we should perhaps read *resonare*. Other emendations suggested are *sacrare* and *reservare*.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 204. See *Fasti*, vi. 627 *sqq.*, with the note. The story of the miraculous birth is fully told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 2), who speaks of the phantom father as "either Hephaestus (Vulcan), as some think, or the household hero" (τοῦ κατ' οἰκίαν ἥρως), where "the household hero" is clearly the domestic Lar (*Lar Familiaris*).

[3] Cato, *De agri cultura*, 5. 3 and 143. 2.

palm leaves (*Licuala*), the limbs being flexed. The fire is then removed from its customary place and a grave is dug there in the floor of the hut. In this the child's body is placed, the grave is filled in and the fire replaced above it. Not only is the camp not deserted,[1] but there seems to be an obligation on the parents not to leave the place until the bones have been dug up, or at any rate for some weeks after the death. . . . In connection with the burial of a baby beneath the hearth there is a belief that the soul of the dead baby may re-enter the mother and be born again. This would seem to be one of the reasons why the mother does not leave the camp when her baby dies." [2] In this custom we perceive a natural reason for the association of fire with the birth of children, since it is from beneath the fire on the hearth that the spirit of the dead child is thought to pass into its mother's womb in order to be born again. We have seen that in India children are often buried under the threshold of the house in order that the mother, passing over them as she goes out and in the house, may receive them again into herself.[3] The Kassonburas of the French Sudan generally bury their dead in the courtyards of their houses, but infants not yet weaned are interred at the side of the road which leads to their mother's village; for "they think that when the mother goes to her native village, the child will enter again into her womb".[4] The Mossi of the French Sudan bury little children beside the road, believing that the dead infants will be borne again by their mothers at their next confinement.[5] Some tribes of the Ivory Coast in West Africa bury dead infants for the same reason at the heaps of refuse just outside the village, because the women resort constantly to these heaps and so are likely to be again impregnated by the baby spirits waiting there for a new birth.[6] Similarly we may suppose that the reason why the

[1] After the death and burial of adults the camp is regularly deserted until the period of mourning is over.

[2] A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 109. Compare E. H. Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* (London, N.D.), pp. 73-74.

[3] See above, p. 447.

[4] L. Tauxier, *Le Noir du Soudan* (Paris, 1912), p. 319.

[5] E. Mangin, "Les Mossi", *Anthropos*, ix. (1914) p. 732.

[6] L. Tauxier, *Nègres Gouro et Gagou* (Paris, 1924), pp. 207, 224.

Andaman Islanders bury young children under the hearth is that the hearth is above all others the place where the wife sits oftenest, and where accordingly the dead children have the best chance of finding her.

If we could suppose that the ancestors of the Romans used to bury children under the hearth, we could better understand both the legends of impregnation by the fire and the association of the domestic hearth with the Lar, who was apparently an ancestral spirit watching over his descendants and bestowing fertility on their women. Now it was a tradition that the ancestors of the Romans buried all their dead in their houses, and that the worship of the domestic or family Lares was founded on this custom ;[1] and as the practice of burial in the house is common among peoples at a lower level of culture,[2] there seems no reason why we should reject the tradition that a like practice was observed by the early Romans. The ancestors of the Greeks are similarly said to have buried their dead in their houses,[3] and the tradition has been confirmed in modern times by archaeological evidence. For excavations in Aegina and at Thoricus in Attica have laid bare very ancient houses, apparently of the pre-Mycenaean period, in which there are graves beneath the floor, some of them containing the bones

[1] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 64, vi. 151, "*Apud maiores, ut supra diximus, omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur. Unde ortum est, ut lares colerentur in domibus*"; Isidore, *Origines*, xv. 11. 1, "*Prius autem quisque in domo sua sepeliebatur. Postea vetitum est legibus, ne foetore ipso corpora viventium contacta inficerentur.*"

[2] For example, among the tribes of Southern Nigeria the grave was usually dug beneath one of the rooms of the house, until the English government put a stop to the practice. See P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, iii. 471, 475, 481, 487, 494, 495, 505, 506, 524, 525; G. T. Basden, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*, p. 114. Burial in the house is common also among the tribes of Northern Nigeria. See C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1925), ii. 116 *sq.* Among the southern Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast the grave used to be dug in the earthen floor of the house, but under English rule the practice has been prohibited. See A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London, 1887), p. 239. Similarly among the Ewe-speaking and Yoruba-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast the dead used always to be buried under the earthen floors of the houses, though curiously enough among the Yorubas and the eastern Ewes the grave was so dug that the head of the corpse projected beyond the outer wall of the house. See A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave-Coast* (London, 1890), p. 158; *id.*, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave-Coast* (London, 1894), p. 158.

[3] Plato, *Minos*, 5, p. 315 D.

of the dead in large jars.[1] Instances of ancient burials in the house have also been found at Asine in Argolis, and probably at Orchomenus in Boeotia. Young children especially were buried in jars beneath the floor; eight such graves, dating from the end of the first and the beginning of the second city, were found in the last excavations at Phylakopi, in Melos, besides one which had been found before, while at the same period adults were buried outside the city. Another such grave was discovered at Cnossus, dating probably from the Middle Minoan period. The custom persisted down to the late Mycenaean age, and to the period characterized by the use of pottery ornamented with geometric patterns: the graves of children were found below the floors of the houses at Vrokastro.[2] Thus the custom of burial in the house is well attested for ancient Greece, and it is significant that the practice of burying children in the house should have continued even after it had become customary to bury adults outside the city. Probably the children so buried were expected to enter into their mothers' wombs, and to be born again.

What is true of ancient Greece may well have been true of ancient Rome. The prehistoric urns to hold the ashes of the dead, which have been found in many parts of Italy, and notably at Alba Longa, the traditional metropolis of Rome, furnish another confirmation of the tradition that the ancestors of the Romans regularly buried their dead in their houses; for these urns are modelled in the shape of round huts with conical roofs, which seem to have been the form of the most ancient Italian dwellings,[3] and this shape of the urns would seem to be most naturally suggested by a former practice of burying the dead in the house.[4]

The view that the Roman worship of the Lares at the domestic hearth sprang from an ancient custom of house-burial appears to be supported by the usages of the Celts; for a learned historian of Celtic religion tells us that

[1] See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. v. pp. 525, 591.

[2] See the evidence collected by Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund, 1927), p. 49 note [1].

[3] W. Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 50 *sqq.* See also note on *Fasti*, vi. 257, Vol. IV. pp. 184 *sqq.*

[4] Compare H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen* (Strassburg, 1905–1907), ii. 492.

"the cult of the dead culminated at the family hearth, around which the dead were even buried, as among the Aedui; this latter custom may have been general. In any case the belief in the presence of ancestral ghosts around the hearth was widespread, as existing superstitions show. In Brittany the dead seek warmth at the hearth by night, and a feast is spread for them on All Souls' eve, or crumbs are left for them after a family gathering."[1] This Celtic testimony carries all the more weight in its bearing on Roman religion because Celts and Romans were closely akin in language and probably in blood.

The view that the Lares were the spirits of the dead was certainly held by some at least of the Romans, as we see by the testimony of Festus[2] as well as of Servius. In modern times it was accepted by Fustel de Coulanges and H. Nissen,[3] and more recently it has been ably maintained by Ernest Samter,[4] with whose arguments and exposition I am in general agreement. I only differ from him in thinking that the spirits of the dead worshipped at the cross-roads (the *Lares Compitales*) were very different from the spirits of the dead worshipped in the houses (the *Lares Familiares*). According to Samter, the worshipful spirits of the dead at both places were exactly the same, being always the spirits of ancestors; each man worshipped his own ancestor individually in his house, and he also worshipped him collectively, with all the people of the district, at a cross-road.[5] But why should people thus worship the very same spirits twice over at two different places? And if, as Mr. Samter seems to think,[6]

[1] J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 165 *sq.* At Bibracte, the capital of the Aedui, Gallic graves of the first century B.C. were found beneath the houses, often under the hearth. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 1059, referring to M. Hoernes, *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* (Wien und Leipzig, 1909), ii. 128, 440.

[2] See above, p. 455 note [2].

[3] Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*[11] (Paris, 1885), p. 20; H. Nissen, *Das Templum* (Berlin, 1869), pp. 147 *sq.* K. O. Müller held that the *Lares familiares* were undoubtedly the deified spirits of dead ancestors. See K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, bearbeitet von W. Deecke, ii. 95.

[4] E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 11, 105 *sqq.*; *id.*, "Der Ursprung des Larenkultes", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, x. (1907) pp. 368-392.

[5] E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, p. 121; *id.*, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, x. (1907) p. 388.

[6] E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 142.

the worship of the domestic Lares sprang from the custom of burying the dead in the houses, why should a householder go out to a cross-road to worship the ancestor whom he had left snugly ensconced at home? And of all places why should he look for him at a cross-road, the notorious haunt of a hellish crew of evil-doers, dead or alive? Surely all the uncanny and sinister associations of cross-roads speak loudly against the supposition that the kindly ancestral spirits resorted thither and received there the homage of their descendants.

An entirely different explanation of the nature of the Lares was put forward by Wissowa.[1] He thinks that the Lares were originally the guardian spirits of the farm, and that only at a later time was their worship transferred from the fields to the house. In support of this view he appeals to the rule laid down by Cicero for his ideal state: "Let them have shrines (*delubra*) in the cities: let them have groves and seats of the Lares in the fields".[2] But here it is to be observed that Cicero is rather legislating for his ideal state than recording the usage of ancient times, though undoubtedly his language implies an intention of basing the laws on these usages. Again, Tibullus, in an address to the Lares, calls them "the guardians of my land" (*custodes agri*), to whom he promises that he will sacrifice a lamb, while round about it the swains will pray to them, "Give good crops and wine".[3] This is

[1] G. Wissowa, in W. R. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1868 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Lares"; *id.*, "Die Anfänge des römischen Larenkultes", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vii. (1904) pp. 42-57; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 166 *sqq.* Wissowa's theory was accepted by Warde Fowler. See W. Warde Fowler, "A note on the controversy as to the origin of the Lares", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, ix. (1906) pp. 529 *sq.*; *id.*, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911), pp. 75 *sq.*; *id.*, "The Origin of the Lar Familiaris", *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 57-64. Warde Fowler was better advised when, thinking for himself, he said of the family or domestic Lares that they "may have been the spirits of dead ancestors duly buried" (*Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 337). Compare Boehm, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, xii. 1, coll. 806-833. Wissowa's theory of the origin of the Lares is accepted by W. R. Halliday (*Lectures on the History of Roman Religion*, Liverpool and London, 1922, pp. 27 *sqq.*).

[2] Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 8. 19, "*In urbibus delubra habento: lucos in agris habento et Larum sedes*"; compare *id.* ii. 11. 27, "*Eandemque rationem luci habent in agris; neque ea, quae a maioribus prodita est cum dominis tum famulis posita in fundi villaeque conspectu, religio Larum repudianda est*".

[3] Tibullus, i. 1. 19-24.

unquestionably good evidence that the Lares were conceived as guardians of the fields and credited with the power of granting good crops both of corn and wine. Further, this power to foster the growth of the crops seems to be implied in the song of the Arval Brethren, the college whose special function it was to promote the fertility of the fields ;[1] for as they danced in their sacred grove they sang, " O Lares, help ! O Lares, help ! O Lares, help ! "[2] This appears to be all the valid evidence which might be quoted in favour of the view that the Lares were spirits of the field before they were domesticated in the house ; for a passage of the *Gromatici* or Land-surveyors, on which Wissowa lays stress as illustrative of the worship of the Lares at cross-roads,[3] has nothing to do with the subject, neither Lares nor cross-roads being even mentioned in it. As we shall see presently,[4] the passage in question probably relates to the worship of Terminus, the god of boundaries, at the meeting of boundaries, which Wissowa seems to have confused with the meeting of roads, though the two things have no necessary connexion. But when we have set aside as irrelevant this particular passage, there remains nothing in the others inconsistent with the view that the Lares were originally the spirits of the dead ; for among peoples of lower culture it is often an article of belief that the spirits of the dead have the power of promoting or preventing the growth of the crops ; hence it is a common custom to offer them the first-fruits of the harvest as an acknowledgement of the benefits which they have conferred on their descendants and worshippers. Of such customs I have given many examples elsewhere.[5] Here it must suffice to cite as typical the case of some Nigerian tribes who combine agriculture with the worship of ancestors. Thus among the peoples of Southern Nigeria the souls of the dead " are

[1] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 85, " *Fratres arvales dicti qui sacra publica faciunt propterea ut fruges ferant arva* ".

[2] J. Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens of early Latin* (Oxford, 1874), pp. 158, 391 *sq.*; G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, p. cciv; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 5039 (vol. ii. pars i. p. 276).

[3] G. Wissowa, " Die Anfänge des römischen Larenkultes ", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vii. (1904) p. 48.

[4] See below, note on ii. 645, pp. 488 *sqq.*

[5] *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 109 *sqq.*

deemed specially powerful in providing good crops for their relatives and friends, and this is partly no doubt because they live chiefly in the ground and can therefore effect this. . . . The close connection of the ancestors with the crops is shown by the fact that the chief services in their honour are always held at seedtime or harvest, and that among some tribes the seeds are kept in their shrines." [1] For example, " the Ijebu used to visit the graves of their ancestors in order to sacrifice to them and ask them for fertility and for money. Sacrifices are offered by Egba to their forefathers before the time of planting new farms, and prayers made to them to see that the crops grow well." [2] Among the Edo " fertility of crops is chiefly assigned to the ancestors, to whom the principal sacrifices take place either at the new yam festival or at the time of planting ".[3] In some regions " sacrifices in honour of the dead are always made at the two great festivals of the year, seedtime and harvest, when they are asked to be present and share in the offerings. . . . Many of the Ikwerri keep the seed yams and corn in the ancestral shrines." [4] Similarly in Northern Nigeria " the Champa eat the first-fruits ceremonially in the company of their ancestral spirits, burying in the ground for them a portion of the new grain. The Jukun also summon the souls of the dead at harvest-time. The Baushi associate a fruitful harvest with the spirits of their forefathers. When they bury their chief they say to him, ' You have returned to earth, next year you will be earth. Prosper therefore our crop.' " [5]

These instances show how natural to the primitive mind is the connexion between the spirits of the dead and the fertility of the earth. There is therefore no necessary inconsistency in supposing that the family or domestic Lares of the Romans were originally ancestral spirits, who, in that capacity, were invoked to bestow good crops of corn and

[1] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1926), ii. 301-302.

[2] P. Amaury Talbot, *op. cit.* ii. 307.

[3] P. Amaury Talbot, *op. cit.* ii. 308.

[4] P. Amaury Talbot, *op. cit.* ii. 318; compare *id.* pp. 309, 322, 327, 329; *id.*, *Life in Southern Nigeria* (London, 1923), p. 127 (as to the Ibibio).

[5] C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1925), ii. 48.

wine on their descendants. And in general we may say that the explanation of the Lares as spirits of the dead, conceived either as ancestral and friendly or as alien and hostile, seems best to fit the testimony of ancient writers with regard to their nature and activities. Conceived as alien and hostile, they bore the special name of *larvae*.[1] The terror of these uncanny and dangerous spirits was believed to drive men mad.[2] On the other hand the domestic or family Lar (*Lar Familiaris*) is described as the spirit of a dead man who, having received due honour at the hands of his posterity, "possesses the house in the quality of a contented and quiet divinity".[3]

II. 617. **The next day received its name of Caristia from dear (cari) kinsfolk.**—From the calendar of Philocalus we learn that the Caristia was celebrated on the twenty-second of February.[4] Under the title of *Cara Cognatio* (Dear Kindred) it is mentioned in the Rustic calendars under February, but as usual without the day of the month ;[5] and under the same title (*Kare Cognatio*) it is mentioned, with the day of the month, in "the rule of the College of Aesculapius and Hygia".[6] The festival is noticed by Valerius Maximus,[7] from whose brief account, combined with the fuller one of Ovid, we gather that it was a sort of family love-feast, attended by none but kinsfolk, and characterized by mirth and good fellowship. Martial alludes to it in a poetical letter, in which he tells a friend that he cannot offer him the

[1] Apuleius, *De deo Socratis*, 15, "*Est et secundo significatu species daemonum, animus humanus emeritis stipendiis vitae corpore suo abiurans : hunc vetere latina lingua reperio Lemurem dictitatum. Ex iisdem ergo Lemuribus qui posteriorum suorum curam sortitus placato et quieto numine domum possidet, Lar dicitur familiaris ; qui vero ob adversa vitae merita, nullis bonis sedibus, incerta vagatione seu quodam exilio punitur, inane terriculamentum bonis hominibus, ceterum malis noxium, id genus plerique Larvas perhibent.*"

[2] Plautus, *Aulularia*, 642, *Captivi*, 598 ; Apuleius, *Metamorph.* ix. 29 ; Festus, *s.v.* "Larvati", p. 106 ed. Lindsay, "*Furiosi et mente moti, quasi larvis exterriti*" ; Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 11. 17, "*Sauciabantur eius sensus circumstridentium terrore larvarum*".

[3] Apuleius, *De deo Socratis*, 15, "*Ex iisdem ergo Lemuribus qui posteriorum suorum curam sortitus placato et quieto numine domum possidet, Lar dicitur familiaris*".

[4] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 258, 310.

[5] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 280, 310.

[6] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 7213, line 13, "*VIII. k. Mart. die kare cognationis*".

[7] Valerius Maximus, ii. 1. 8.

rich fare that was customary at such feasts ;[1] and Tertullian mentions it under the title *Cara Cognatio*.[2] The festival continued to be celebrated in Christian times, for mention of it under the title of *Cara Cognatio* occurs in the calendar of Polemius Silvius, which dates from A.D. 448–449, with the addition of an explanatory note to the effect that the quarrels which may have divided kinsfolk in life should be forgotten at death.[3] The Catholic Church converted the festival into a feast of St. Peter, and as such it continued to be celebrated on the old day (February 22) as late as the twelfth century.[4]

II. 627. **Here is no place for the brothers,' scions of Tantalus.**—To illustrate the sort of persons who might not share in the loving-feast of the Caristia, where all was innocence and peace, Ovid names some of the famous criminals whose misdeeds, forming a sort of Newgate Calendar of antiquity, had long adorned the lays of poets and formed a large part of the stock-in-trade of the tragedians. The sinister procession is headed by the two ruffianly brothers Atreus and Thyestes, the sons of Pelops and grandsons of Tantalus, who are said to have been alternately kings of Mycenae. Of the two, Thyestes distinguished himself by debauching his brother's wife and committing incest with his own daughter ; but Atreus surpassed him by murdering his brother's two sons and serving their mangled bodies up on a platter to their father, who dined heartily on them before he was apprised of what he was eating.[5]

Now it is to be observed that the famous, or rather infamous, Thyestean banquet was substantially a repetition of a trick which Tantalus, the grandfather of Atreus and Thyestes, himself a king of Lydia, was said to have played on the gods. For having invited the gods to a banquet, he served up to them the mangled limbs of his own son Pelops, which he had boiled in a kettle ; and in ignorance of the nature of the dish Demeter or Thetis partook of the shoulder, so that when Pelops was restored to life the missing shoulder

[1] Martial, ix. 54.
[2] Tertullian, *De idolatria*, 10.
[3] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 259, 310.
[4] H. Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest* ² (Bonn, 1911), p. 274.
[5] Apollodorus, *Epitome*, ii. 10-14 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 88. In my notes on Apollodorus (*l.c.*) I have referred to the other ancient authorities for the familiar tale.

of flesh had to be replaced by one of ivory.[1] This ivory shoulder was afterwards shown at Elis as a relic which proved the truth of the miracle;[2] but it had disappeared before Pausanias visited the sanctuary in the second century of our era.[3]

But these were not the only Greek legends of a king's son killed and served up to be eaten. Lycaon, king of Arcadia, is said to have killed and dished up his own son Nyctimus at a banquet which he gave to Zeus;[4] though according to other accounts the victim was his grandson, or simply a child,[5] or, according to Ovid, a Molossian hostage.[6] But on the analogy of the other stories of the same type we may suspect that in the original version the slaughtered or sacrificed child was the king's own son. Again, Procne is said to have killed her son Itys and served up his dead body at table to the child's father, Tereus, king of Thrace, who thus partook unwittingly of his son's flesh.[7]

So many tales of the killing and eating of a king's son can hardly be due to a mere freak of a story-teller's fancy; they may contain a reminiscence of the very widespread custom of putting the first-born child to death and sometimes of eating it. Among Semitic peoples the custom of killing the first-born seems to have been common and to have been particularly incumbent on royal families. The same rule may have been observed by the early Greeks, or perhaps rather by the indigenous peoples whom the first Greek invaders encountered in the countries which they afterwards occupied. The motives for the barbarous practice appear to have varied; sometimes they would seem to have been

[1] Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 24 (37) *sqq.*, with the Scholia on line 37; Lucian, *De saltatione*, 54; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 152; Nonnus, *Narr.*, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, *Appendix Narrationum*, 57, p. 380; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 603 and on *Georg.* iii. 7; Hyginus, *Fab.* 83.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 34.

[3] Pausanias, v. 13. 6.

[4] Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 36, p. 31 ed. Potter; Nonnus, *Dionys.* xviii. 20 *sqq.*

[5] Apollodorus, iii. 8. 1, with my note; Suidas, *s.v.* Λυκάων; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 8; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 4; Scholia on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 89, p. 387 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

[6] Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 218 *sqq.*

[7] Apollodorus, iii. 14. 8, with my note; Pausanias, x. 4. 8-9; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 619-665; Hyginus, *Fab.* 45.

suggested by the theory of the transmigration of souls ; for some people think that the soul of a father is reborn in his son, and that the father, being thus deprived of his soul, is in a parlous state, which can only be rectified by killing the new-born child as quickly as possible and restoring the soul, which the infant had appropriated, to its original owner. And as the surest way of absorbing a person's soul is to eat his body, to which his soul is supposed to be intimately attached, it is perfectly intelligible that a man should kill and eat his first-born son in order to recover his own lost soul. Now royal families are peculiarly tenacious of ancient beliefs and customs ; accordingly it is conceivable that a reminiscence of the old murderous and cannibalistic practice survived in the royal families of Greece long after the custom had gone out of fashion with ordinary people. It is possible that in the story of the divine ogre Cronus, who swallowed his children as fast as they were born, we have another reminiscence of the same ancient usage ; for gods, like kings, are very conservative and often adhere to savage practices and modes of thought which have long been discarded by their worshippers.[1] In later times, when the original motives of the custom of killing and eating the first-born were forgotten, it was natural enough that people should regard as an atrocious crime what, in the eyes of the persons who practised it, had been nothing but a simple and perfectly legitimate reclamation of lost spiritual property.

Another motive which has sometimes led a father to sacrifice his son is the hope of prolonging his own life by offering to the gods his son as a substitute for himself. The typical case of this sort is that of Aun or On, king of Sweden, who is said to have sacrificed nine of his sons, one after the other, to Odin at Upsala and to have thereby prolonged his life for many years.[2] A similar sacrifice is reported to have

[1] As to the practice of killing, and sometimes eating, the first-born child, see E. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London, 1906), i. 458 *sqq.*; *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, pp. 166 *sqq.*; J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vi. 31 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Firstborn".

[2] "Ynglinga Saga", 29, in *The Heimskringla or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, translated from the Icelandic of Snorro Sturleson*, by S. Laing (London, 1844), i. 239 *sq.*

been sometimes offered among the Wachagga, a people of Tanganyika Territory in East Africa. "It is said that formerly when a chief was seriously ill he would first sacrifice animals in great numbers to his own ancestors, then to the ancestors of those chiefs who had been vanquished and killed, and finally to the ancestors of all those whom he had killed in war. The great chief Rongoma even sacrificed his own first-born son to Ruwa, and the same is told of other chiefs in olden days."[1] In India the sacrifice of the first-born is, or used to be, often carried out in fulfilment of a vow, for the purpose of ensuring a numerous offspring; it thus takes the form of a sort of tithe-offering to the gods in order to keep the nine-tenths for the mother. Thus "women in performance of a vow used to throw a first-born son to the crocodiles at the mouth of the Hooghly in the hope that such an offering would secure them additional offspring".[2] "It used to be the custom in Bengal for women disappointed in the hope of offspring to vow that if Ganga (the river Ganges) gave them two children they would cast one, usually the first-born, into the river, but such children were usually rescued and adopted by some relations or by a mendicant."[3] Again, "a childless woman used to vow to offer her first-born son to Siva. He visited the chief Saiva temples, and at the annual fair threw himself from a height of four or five hundred feet, and was dashed to pieces. A similar custom prevailed at the temple of Omkār Māndhāta on the Narbada."[4] A similar motive may perhaps explain the Greek legends of first-born sons served up to cannibal gods.[5]

[1] Hon. Charles Dundas, *Kilimanjaro and its People* (London, 1924), pp. 189 *sq.* Ruwa is the Supreme God of the Wachagga; he is sometimes identified with the sun. See Ch. Dundas, *op. cit.* pp. 107 *sqq.*; J. G. Frazer, *The Worship of Nature*, i. 205 *sqq.*, with the references.

[2] W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 377.

[3] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* p. 58.

[4] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* pp. 204 *sq.*

[5] In addition to the evidence referred to above I may note some other reported instances of this barbarous custom. In the Booandik tribe of South Australia "it is customary for the women to kill their first child, as they do not wish the trouble of rearing them. Others take revenge for the sufferings they undergo on the child, by allowing it to bleed to death." See Mrs. James Smith, *The Booandik Tribe of South Australian Aborigines* (Adelaide, 1880), pp. 7 *sq.* In Arosi, the western part of San Cristoval (Solomon Islands), the first-born child (whether boy or girl) is called "the unlucky or

II. 627. **for Jason's wife.** — Jason's wife was the witch Medea, whose crimes were too numerous to catalogue. To some of her escapades Ovid has already referred in this book.[1]

II. 628. **for her who gave to husbandmen the toasted seed.**— This is Ino, wife of Athamas. The poet tells the story of her crime at length later on in the present poem.[2]

II. 629. **for Procne and her sister, for Tereus cruel to them both.**—Procne and her sister Philomela were daughters of Pandion, king of Athens. Procne married Tereus, king of Thrace, and had by him a son Itys. Afterwards he seduced his wife's sister Philomela, and to prevent her from telling tales cut out her tongue. But by weaving characters on a robe Philomela contrived to tell of her betrayal to Procne, who, to be avenged on her faithless husband, killed her son Itys and served him up for supper to his unwitting father Tereus. When Tereus discovered what had been done, he pursued them with an axe, and overtook them at Daulia in Phocis, where all three were turned into birds, Procne into a nightingale, Philomela into a swallow, and Tereus into a hoopoe.[3] The story was told with variations; for example, in Latin literature Procne is usually turned into a swallow, and Philomela into a nightingale.[4] Ovid has told

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stupid one" and is, or used to be, immediately buried alive. The reason commonly assigned by the natives for the custom is that the infant is not likely to be the offspring of the mother's husband. The father digs a little grave, puts his baby into it, sets a large stone on top, and firmly stamps down the stone upon the child. See C. E. Fox, "Social Organization in San Cristoval, Solomon Islands", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlix. (1919) p. 100; *id.*, *The Threshold of the Pacific* (London, 1924), p. 177. Among the Moï of Indo-China "the mother generally kills her first-born, as no one comes forward to claim the fatherhood". See H. Baudesson, *Indo-China and its Primitive People* (London, N.D.), p. 55. With regard to the Ibo-speaking peoples of Nigeria, Mr. N. W. Thomas reports: "I have more than once heard that the first-born of every woman is killed; my informants were Roman Catholic missionaries, who certainly know the native and his ways, and my own statistics seem to bear out the statement". See N. W. Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria* (London, 1913), i. 12. It is said that in Africa the founder of a tribe must sacrifice a first-born child in order to win the favour of the local divinities. This is reported from French Guinea. See Gaillard, in *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions populaires*, v. (1924) p. 301.

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 41-42.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 853 *sqq.*; compare vi. 555 *sqq.*

[3] Apollodorus, iii. 14. 8, with my note; Pausanias, x. 4. 8-9; Hyginus, *Fab.* 45.

[4] D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, 1895), p. 14.

the story at full length elsewhere.[1] Later on in the present work he briefly alludes to it and identifies Procne with the swallow.[2] Sophocles composed a tragedy called *Tereus* on the theme; most of the extant versions of the story are believed to be derived from it.[3] The Megarians maintained that Tereus reigned in Megaris, and they showed his grave in the form of a barrow, at which they sacrificed every year.[4] Thucydides affirmed that Tereus dwelt in Daulia and that the tragedy took place there.[5] The natural situation of Daulis, at the foot of the towering slopes of Parnassus, is romantically beautiful; the place is now deserted, but its ruined walls and towers, mantled thick with ivy and holly-oak, still seem a fitting scene for a story of tragic love and death.[6]

II. 634. **that the Lares, in their girt-up robes, may feed at the platter presented to them.**—If the family Lares were indeed, as we have seen reason to believe, the ancestral spirits who dwelt at the domestic hearth and guarded the household, nothing could be more natural than that offerings should be made to them at the Caristia, the annual commemoration of the beloved dead. Persius, like Ovid, speaks of the Lares in their girt-up robes, to whom he dedicated the boss (*bulla*) which he had worn in childhood.[7] Both poets had doubtless before their eyes or their mind the images of the family or domestic Lares which stood in every house. The type is familiar to us from many bronze statuettes of Lares as well as from representations of them in wall-paintings and sculptured reliefs which have come down to us. The Lar is commonly portrayed as a youthful male figure, in a dancing attitude, with curly hair, clad in a short tunic, which is girt about his waist and does not reach to his knees; in his raised right hand he holds a drinking-horn, from which he seems to be pouring wine into a saucer or other receptacle,

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 426-674.
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 853-856, iv. 482.
[3] See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 221 *sqq.*
[4] Pausanias, i. 41. 8 *sq.*
[5] Thucydides, ii. 29.
[6] I have described the place, from personal observation, in my commentary on Pausanias (vol. v. pp. 222 *sqq.*). The scene is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful in Greece.
[7] Persius, v. 31, "*Bullaque subcinctis Laribus donata pependit*".

which he holds in his lowered left hand. Many bronze statuettes of similar type, but in a standing, not a dancing, attitude, have been found; they probably also represent Lares. It is thought that they exhibit the older conception of these minor deities, while the dancing Lares belong to the type introduced by the reform of Augustus.[1] The largest and best example of a dancing Lar in bronze is in the Capitoline Museum (Palazzo dei Conservatori) at Rome.[2] A sculptured relief in the Museo delle Terme at Rome represents a sacrifice to a domestic Lar. The Lar is seen standing on a round base, and beside it is a sacrificer bringing up a pig for the sacrifice. A flute-player is playing on a double flute, and in front of him is an altar with offerings on it. Over the altar is seen a hand belonging to a figure which is lost. From similar wall-paintings at Pompeii we may infer that the lost figure represented the Genius of the householder making an offering to his domestic Lar.[3] In the olden time the images of the Lares were rudely carved of wood and stood in wooden shrines;[4] and the offerings to them consisted of grapes, corn, honeycombs, and cakes.[5] Other offerings to them included wine, incense, pigs, and flowers.[6] The oblations to the Lar at the hearth were presented to him on a platter (*patella*),[7] as Ovid says in the present passage; it was a small vessel used for sacrifices;[8] hence for a human being to eat out of it was sacrilege.[9] The old-fashioned platter employed in sacrifice was of simple earthenware.[10]

II. 637. **"Hail to you! hail to thee, Father of thy country, Caesar the Good!"**—Ovid pays a fulsome compliment to Augustus by hailing him in the same breath with the Lares, the ancient household gods, thus plainly implying the divinity of the Emperor. Of this courtly address Horace

[1] G. Wissowa, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1891 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Lares"; J. A. Hild, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, iii. 2. pp. 947-949, *s.v.* "Lares".

[2] W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3], No. 1003 (vol. i. pp. 572 *sq.*).

[3] W. Helbig, *op. cit.* No. 1445 (vol. ii. p. 188).

[4] Tibullus, i. 10. 17-20.

[5] Tibullus, i. 10. 21-24.

[6] Plautus, *Aulularia*, 23-25; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 23. 3-4, *Sat.* ii. 3. 164-165.

[7] Persius, iii. 26, "*Cultrixque foci secura patella*".

[8] Festus, *s.v.* "Patellae", p. 293 ed. Lindsay, "*Vasula parva picata, sacrificiis faciendis apta*".

[9] Cicero, *De finibus*, ii. 7. 22.

[10] Tibullus, i. 7. 37-40.

had set the example in an ode in which, describing the blessings of the peace inaugurated by Augustus, he tells how the husbandman sees the sun setting behind his own familiar hills and returns glad at heart to his home, where over the wine he invokes the Lares and the god Augustus with a libation from the same cup.[1] Both poets were doubtless thinking of the custom of placing an image of Augustus among the images of the Lares. To this custom Ovid refers later on in the present work.[2] With the form in which the toast is drunk (*bene* with the accusative of the person) we may compare a line of Tibullus, in which his friend Messala was toasted over the wine.[3]

II. 639. **see to it that the god who marks the boundaries of the tilled lands receives his wonted honour.**—As Ovid explains in the following lines, "the god who marks the boundaries" was Terminus, whose name means no more than "boundary". He was in fact a mere personification of boundaries, and was supposed to reside in the stones or stocks which marked them. To these stones or stocks offerings were made, and the blood of the sacrificial victims was sprinkled on them. Thus the worship of Terminus was fetishism pure and simple: it was never elevated by mythology into a higher sphere: the god never contrived, if we may say so, to extricate himself from his stone or stock. His rites thus touched the lowest level in Roman religion: they would not be out of place in West Africa at the present day.

An annual festival, the Terminalia, was celebrated in honour of Terminus on the twenty-third of February, as we learn from Ovid, whose evidence is confirmed by the Caeretan, Maffeian, and other ancient calendars.[4] The celebration was both public and private. Ovid describes the private festival first (lines 643-658) and the public celebration afterwards (lines 679-682). Like so many of the religious institutions of Rome, the worship of Terminus was said to have been founded by Numa, and it is

[1] Horace, *Odes*, iv. 5. 29-36.
[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 145 *sq.*, with the note.
[3] Tibullus, ii. 1. 31-32, "*Sed 'bene Messalam' sua quisque ad pocula dicat,*| *nomen et absentis singula verba sonent*".
[4] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 212, 223, 310.

possible that the public festival owes its inception to definite legislation, though the private festival is probably of immemorial antiquity. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the pious king Numa commanded every man to mark out the boundaries of his property by stones, and he ordained that these stones should be sacred to Jupiter Terminalis (in Greek, Zeus Horios); further, he ordered that the people should assemble every year on a fixed day and offer sacrifices to the stones. "This custom", continues the historian, "the Romans religiously observe down to our own time; for they esteem the boundary stones as gods and sacrifice to them every year cakes of corn and other first-fruits of the crops, but not any living thing, for it is not lawful to put blood on the stones."[1] In his *Roman Questions* Plutarch gives a similar account of the institution of the worship of Terminus by Numa, saying that as the god was intended to be the guardian of friendship and peace, the king thought that his divinity should not be polluted by slaughter and stained with blood; hence in the old days at least the Romans sacrificed no living thing to him.[2] But in another passage Plutarch corrects, or supplements, this statement by saying that the Romans now sacrifice living things both publicly and privately to Terminus at the boundaries of their lands, but that of old the sacrifice was bloodless.[3] From Ovid's description we see that in his lifetime lambs and sucking pigs were sacrificed to the god or rather to the stones (lines 655-656, 681-682); and Horace speaks of a lamb or a kid sacrificed at the Terminalia.[4] Indeed, we may doubt whether the sacrifice had ever been bloodless; for it was an ancient custom that whenever a new boundary stone was to be set up, an animal was sacrificed and its blood allowed to drip into the hole dug to receive the stone; further, the victim was burnt and its ashes thrown into the hole, together with incense, corn, honeycombs, wine, and other things which were usually offered to Terminus. When all the offerings had been consumed by fire, the

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 74.
[2] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 15.
[3] Plutarch, *Numa*, 16. 1.
[4] Horace, *Epod.* ii. 59-60.

boundary stone was lowered into the hole and settled in its place on the still hot ashes. That was why in later times, when the ancient custom had long been obsolete, cinders, ashes, potsherds, broken glass, and copper coins were often found under old boundary stones. Before being planted in the ground, the stone was anointed and crowned with fillets and wreaths.[1] Often the stones at which sacrifices were annually offered were not planted on the exact boundary, but at any spot in the immediate neighbourhood where the sacrifice could be performed more conveniently; and for this purpose the sacrificial stones were often fixed under the shadow of fine trees.[2] For we must remember that annual sacrifices were not offered at all boundary stones without distinction, but only at a select number of them, which in the language of the ancient land-surveyors were known as sacrificial boundary stones (*termini sacrificales*).[3]

The sacrifice annually offered at the boundary stone may be regarded as a repetition of the sacrifice that was originally offered at the erection of the stone. It was no doubt intended to strengthen the divine stone or its indwelling divinity for his task of maintaining the boundary against all attempts to shift the landmarks, probably also against trespassers

[1] Siculus Flaccus, "De condicionibus agrorum", in *Gromatici Veteres*, ex recensione C. Lachmanni (Berlin, 1848), pp. 140-141, "*Aliquibus terminibus nihil subditum est, aliquibus vero aut cinus* (sic) *aut carbones aut testea aut vitrea fracta aut asses subiectos aut calcem aut gypsum invenimus. Quae res, tamen, ut supra diximus, voluntaria est. Carbo autem aut cinis quare inveniatur, una certa ratio est; quae apud antiquos est quidem observata, postea vero neglecta; unde aut diversa aut nulla signa inveniuntur. Cum enim terminos disponerent, ipsos quidem lapides in solidam terram rectos conlocabant proxime ea loca in quibus fossis factis defixuri eos erant, et unguento velaminibusque et coronis eos coronabant. In fossis autem* [*in*] *quibus eos posituri erant, sacrificio facto hostiaque immolata adque incensa facibus ardentibus, in fossa cooperti sanguinem instillabant, eoque tura et fruges iactabant. Favos quoque et vinum, aliaque quibus consuetudo est Termini sacrum, in fossis adiciebant. Consumptisque igne omnibus dapibus super calentes reliquias lapides conlocabant. Adiectis etiam quibusdam saxorum fragminibus circum calcabant, quo firmius starent. Tale ergo sacrificium domini, inter quos fines dirimiebantur, faciebant. Nam et si in trifinium, id est in eum locum quem tres possessores adstringebant, termini ponerentur, omnes tres sacrum faciebant: quotque alii in confinio domini erant, omnes ex convenientia terminos ponebant et sacrum faciebant, terminos autem convenientia possessorum confirmabat.*"

[2] Frontinus, "De controversiis agrorum", in *Gromatici Veteres*, ex recensione C. Lachmanni, p. 43.

[3] *Gromatici Veteres*, ex recensione C. Lachmanni, pp. 43, 73, 127, 221, 227, 401.

and poachers. The association of Jupiter with Terminus in this duty is clearly the attempt of a later religious age to discover a god of the ordinary pattern for a fetish stone which was a stumbling-block to orthodox theology, but which may have been worshipped long before the orthodox deities were invented. Certainly Jupiter Terminus or Terminalis was never a popular deity; he appears to be mentioned by no Latin author and only in a single Latin inscription,[1] but the testimony of so good a witness as Dionysius of Halicarnassus may be accepted as sufficient evidence of his shadowy theoretical existence.

The extreme sanctity ascribed to boundary stones is further shown by the old law, attributed to Numa, that whoever ploughed up a boundary stone was sacred, that is, accursed or tabooed, he and his plough oxen, and he might be killed with impunity, no guilt or ceremonial impurity attaching to his slayer.[2] In recording this law Dionysius says that the sacrilegious ploughman was sacred "to the god", that is, apparently, to Terminus or Jupiter Terminalis. But more probably the culprit was not devoted to any particular deity, but simply accursed and thereby put outside the pale of society and the protection of the law; in Polynesian language, he was tabooed, for which the nearest Latin equivalent is *sacer*, "sacred". For the primitive mind does not clearly distinguish between the sacred and the accursed; both are conceived of as states, so to say, of spiritual electrification which makes any contact with them dangerous; both of them, accordingly, are removed from association with the profane, the one by being consecrated and the other by being ostracized.[3] This use of *sacer*, "sacred", in the sense of "accursed" or "tabooed," was recognized both in law and in common life. "That man",

[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, xi. Pars Prior, p. 72, No. 351, "IOV. TERM.". Compare Wissowa, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, v. 381, *s.v.* "Terminus".

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Termino", p. 505 ed. Lindsay; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 74. 3.

[3] As to the equivalence of *sacer* (Greek ἅγιος) and taboo see my article "Taboo", *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, vol. xxiii., where the equivalence of the ideas was, I think, for the first time pointed out. It was accepted by my friend W. Robertson Smith and applied by him to the religion of the Semites. It has since become an anthropological commonplace.

says Festus, "is sacred (*sacer*) on whom the people has pronounced judgement on account of sorcery (*maleficium*), nor is it lawful that he should be slain, but whoever kills him is not condemned for murder; for by the first tribunician law it is provided: 'If any one shall kill him who has been made sacred by a decree of the people, he shall not be a murderer'. Hence any bad and worthless man is commonly called sacred."[1] In this sense Horace uses sacred when he quotes an oath said to have been administered by a father on his deathbed to his two ne'er-do-weel sons, "If ever I become aedile or praetor, may I be infamous and sacred".[2] And a slave in Plautus, taxed by his master with his misdeeds, replies sarcastically, "He accuse me! Very good, I am bad, I am sacred, I am wicked."[3] The same adjective sacred was familiarly applied in the same bad sense to things, as when Catullus speaks of "a horrible and sacred book" of poetry which had nearly been the death of him;[4] and Virgil denounces "the sacred thirst of gold" that goads to murder.[5] The word survives in the same sense in French profanity.[6]

With the Roman Terminus and his sacred stone we may compare an Indian ghost who performs the same useful function as guardian of boundaries. "At Poladpur in the Kolabar District (of the Bombay Presidency) the ghost *Bapa* is represented by a stone painted with red lead and oil and placed at the boundary of a field. It is the guardian of the field, and protects the owner's interests. Offerings are made to it annually. If the annual offerings are neglected, it troubles the owner of the field. It also troubles others when disturbed."[7] Another Indian god of boundaries, Mirohia by name, is worshipped by the Kurmis of the Central Provinces. He has no visible image, but every tenant offers a

[1] Festus, *s.v.* "Sacer mons", p. 424 ed. Lindsay.
[2] Horace, *Sat.* ii. 3. 179-181.
[3] Plautus, *Bacchides*, 783 *sq.*
[4] Catullus, xiv. 12.
[5] Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 56-57.
[6] As to Terminus and the primitive character of his worship see G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 136-138; *id.* in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, v. 379 *sqq.*, *s.v.* "Terminus"; E. Samter, "Die Entwickelung des Terminuskultes", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xvi. (1913) pp. 137 *sqq.*
[7] R. E. Enthoven, *Folk-lore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), p. 202.

little curds and rice and a coco-nut to him at the boundary of the field, when he begins sowing and reaping the crops.[1]

From the descriptions of Ovid and Dionysius of Halicarnassus it plainly appears that the ordinary Terminalia was a festival held at the boundaries of private lands, where the respective owners met and sacrificed to the sacred boundary stone, in order to prevent any shifting of the landmarks and to maintain peace and good fellowship between neighbours. The only exception to this is the festival at the sixth milestone on the road to the Laurentine lands,[2] for that place in the early days of Rome may have marked the boundary between the Roman and the Laurentine territories ; in other words, it may have been the frontier between Romans and Laurentes. But though, as we learn from Ovid, the god of boundaries, Terminus, was supposed to preside over the frontiers of kingdoms as well as over the boundaries of farms, there seems to be no evidence that he was worshipped at the frontiers of the empire or even of provinces. At such places Terminus was apparently replaced by the actual frontiers (*fines*), conceived as personal, conscious, and divine. Thus, when in ancient times a herald was sent to another people to demand restitution, on coming to the frontier he covered his head with a woollen bonnet and said, " Hear, O Jupiter ! Hear, ye frontiers ! Let righteousness hear ! I am the public messenger of the Roman People," and so on.[3] And two altars inscribed with dedications "to the Frontiers (*Fines*), and to the Genius of the Place, and to Jupiter Best and Greatest" have been found near the Vinxtbach, which was the frontier between Upper and Lower Germany.[4] Thus the deification of the frontiers under their proper name (*fines*)

[1] R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (London, 1916), iv. 82. Compare W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 83 *sqq.* As to the sanctity of boundaries and the religious or magical protection of them see further E. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London, 1906–1908), ii. 61, 65, 68 *sq.* ; J. A. MacCulloch, in J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vii. 789 *sqq.*, *s.v.* " Landmarks and Boundaries ".

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 679-682.

[3] Livy, i. 32. 6.

[4] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. xi. Pars II. Fasciculus I. p. 496, Nos. 7731, 7732. The full dedication ("*Finibus et Genio loci et I.O.M.*") is only preserved in the second of these inscriptions. Compare G. Wissowa, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, v. 383, *s.v.* " Terminus ".

was as naked and unabashed as the deification of the boundaries of farms under their proper name (*terminus*).

But it seems plain that worship performed at the frontiers of an empire or kingdom must differ in character and purpose from worship performed at the boundaries of fields. For while the aim of worship performed at the boundaries of fields is to prevent the encroachment of neighbours and to maintain good relations with them, the aim of worship performed at frontiers must naturally be to prevent the invasion of enemies. Of worship performed at a frontier to exclude enemies we have, apart from the brief indications I have just cited, no information in Roman religion; but we may get an inkling of the nature of such worship from the practice of an African tribe, the Wachagga of Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanganyika Territory. The people live on the slopes of the great mountain, the loftiest in Africa; and their territory is protected on the side of the plains (for higher up on the steep mountain-side they have no enemies but wild beasts between them and the eternal snow) by deep trenches crossed at intervals by bridges to facilitate intercourse with neighbours in time of peace. At each of these bridges the spirit of an ancestor, who kept watch there in life, is thought still to stand on guard invisible; and whenever war threatened, it used to be customary to offer bloody sacrifices at all these bridges and at all the passes leading into the country, whether from the steppes below or from the virgin forests above. Since peace came to these mountaineers, first under the German and now under the English flag, the need of such sacrifices in time of war is gone; but still, at the end of the rainy season, when intercourse with neighbours in the plains below is resumed, sacrifices are offered at all bridges and passes to ward off the insidious advance of an unseen foe, the spirit of pestilence. The sacrifices of cattle are offered to God in heaven, but the spirit of the dead warrior, who in life had kept watch at the head of the bridge, is invoked to intercede with the deity that he would be pleased to send disease and sickness far away.[1]

[1] B. Gutmann, "Die Opferstätten der Wadschagga", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xii. (1909) p. 98; *id., Dichten und Denken der Dschagganeger* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 187 *sq.* In the former passage the writer mentions

With these sacrifices at boundaries we may compare a sacrifice which two chiefs of the same tribe (the Wachagga) are recorded to have made at the settling of the boundary between their lands. A young girl and a lamb were buried alive at the spot, and over their bodies the treaty concerning the boundary was ratified and curses pronounced on whosoever should violate it.[1]

II. 641. **O Terminus, whether thou art a stone or a stump buried in the field, thou too hast been deified from days of yore.** — The landmarks (*termini*) were usually of stone, sometimes polished and bearing inscriptions; less commonly they were of oak or other wood, and at these wooden landmarks, as well as at those made of stone, sacrifices might be offered.[2] Hence Ovid is justified in addressing Terminus as either a stone or a stump. Between Rome and its port the landmarks were formerly of olive-wood, and it was provided that those of them at which annual sacrifices were offered should be renewed every year. Afterwards, by order of Trajan, the decayed stumps were replaced by landmarks of stone.[3] Similarly in Campania the old wooden landmarks, at which sacrifices were offered, were afterwards replaced by landmarks of stone, each inscribed with its number, Terminus primus, Terminus secundus, Terminus tertius, and so on. This was done by order of the Emperor Hadrian.[4]

II. 645. **An altar is built. Hither the husbandman's rustic wife brings with her own hands the fire which she has taken from the warm hearth.** — From a passage in one of the ancient treatises on land-surveying we learn that at points where four boundaries met there stood a temple, and at

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only the sacrifices in time of war, in the latter passage only the sacrifices in time of peace. As to the trenches which defend, or used to defend, the country, see also Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), pp. 403 *sq.* The beautiful country of the Wachagga is graphically described by the Hon. Charles Dundas (*Kilimanjaro and its People*, London, 1924, pp. 11 *sqq.*). Compare J. G. Frazer, *The Worship of Nature*, i. 212 *sq.*

[1] B. Gutmann, *Das Recht der Dschagga* (München, 1926), p. 434.

[2] Hyginus, "De generibus controversiarum", in *Gromatici Veteres*, ex recensione C. Lachmanni, pp. 126 *sq.*, 221 *sq.*, 227.

[3] "Liber Coloniarum i.", in *Gromatici Veteres*, ex recensione C. Lachmanni, pp. 222 *sq.*

[4] "Liber Coloniarum i.", in *Gromatici Veteres* ex recensione C. Lachmanni, pp. 221 *sq.*

distances of fifteen feet from it in the four directions there were four altars, one for each of the four properties which met there. The temple itself had four doorways, one towards each of the four properties, so that each of the four owners, after sacrificing at his own altar, could enter the temple without trespassing on his neighbours' land. Where three boundaries met, the temple had three doorways; where two boundaries met, the temple had two doorways;[1] and no doubt in these cases the number of the altars was three and two respectively. The writer who describes this arrangement of temple and altars at the meeting of boundaries, omits to mention the god to whom the temple and altars were dedicated; but in such a place the god could be no other than Terminus, the god of boundaries. Ovid mentions one altar only, and where only two properties met, as in the case contemplated by our author, one altar may sometimes have sufficed; or Ovid may have deemed it superfluous to enter into details which were more suitable to a land-surveyor than to a poet.

II. 654. **The company dressed in white look on and hold their peace.**—White robes were regularly worn by persons who performed or attended a sacrifice.[2] The white colour was regarded as a sign of the purity of the worshippers.[3] A solemn silence was regularly observed during the offices of religion, that no ill-omened word should mar their efficacy. On such occasions silence was proclaimed by a herald in the phrase here used by Ovid, "Pray, favour with your tongues" (*Favete linguis*), or with the words "Pray, favour" alone.[4]

[1] Dolabella, in *Gromatici Veteres*, ex rec. C. Lachmanni (Berlin, 1848), pp. 302 *sq.* "*Fines templares sic quaeri debent; ut si in quadrifinio est positus et quattuor possessionibus finem faciet, quatuor aras quaeris, et aedes quatuor ingressus habet ideo ut ad sacrificium quisquis per agrum suum intraret. Quodsi desertum fuerit templum, aras sic quaeris. Longe a templo quaeris pedibus XV, et invenis velut fundamenta aliqua. Quod si inter tres, trea ingressa habet: inter duos dua ingressa habet templum.*" Wissowa understands this passage to refer to the worship of the Lares at cross-roads (*compita*). But this seems to be a mistake; neither Lares nor cross-roads are mentioned in the passage. See above, p. 471.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 906, *Metamorph.* x. 432; Tibullus, ii. 1. 16.

[3] Tibullus, ii. 1. 13-14, "*Casta placent superis: pura cum veste venite | et manibus puris sumite fontis aquam*".

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Faventia", p. 78 ed. Lindsay, "*Faventia bonam ominationem significat. Nam praecones clamantes populum sacrificiis favere iubebant. Favere enim est bona fari, at veteres poetae pro silere usi sunt favere.*" Compare

The same rule of silence was observed for the same reason in Greek ritual.[1]

II. 659. **Thou dost set bounds to peoples and kingdoms.**—We are apparently intended to understand the following outburst of psalmody as a hymn to Terminus chanted by a tuneful choir of country bumpkins. But it needs no Bentley to perceive that the psalmist is Ovid himself. The poet could not attune his sweet notes to the gruff voices of the groundlings.

II. 663. **If thou of old hadst marked the bounds of the Thyrean land, three hundred men had not been done to death.**—It is said that the Argives and Spartans decided to settle their rival claims to the district of Thyrea by a combat between three hundred champions on each side. In the fight Othryades was the only survivor of the Spartans, and being ashamed to return home alone, he slew himself on the spot.[2] The combat was celebrated in antiquity and became a favourite theme of rhetorical declamation.[3] A later embellishment of the story, for which Herodotus was not responsible, related how Othryades, left alone on the field, collected the shields of the dead, piled them in a heap, and with his own blood inscribed a dedication to Zeus on the trophy.[4] Chagrined by their defeat, the Argives made a vow that no Argive man should let his hair grow long, and that no Argive woman should wear golden trinkets, till they had recovered Thyrea; while the Spartans, who had worn their hair short before, passed a law that in future they should wear it long in memory of their victory.[5] Ovid alludes to the name of Othryades written in blood on the trophy (line 665).

II. 667. **What happened when the new Capitol was being**

Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 45. 102; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 11; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 71; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 1. 2; Tibullus, ii. 1. 1, ii. 2. 2.

[1] Homer, *Il.* ix. 171 *sq.*; Aristophanes, *Thesmoph.* 39 *sq.*; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 263; P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*[3], p. 111.

[2] Herodotus, i. 82; Pausanias, ii. 38. 5.

[3] Chrysermus, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, iv. 361; Theseus, in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vii. 67; Suidas, *s.v.* Ὀθρυάδας; and for more evidence see Kohlmann, "Othryades", *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. xxix. (1874) pp. 463-480, xxxi. (1876) pp. 300-302.

[4] Plutarch, *Parallela*, 3; Lucian, *Charon*, 24.

[5] Herodotus, i. 82.

built? Why, the whole company of gods withdrew before Jupiter.—It is said that when Tarquin the Proud was building on the Capitol the new temple of Jupiter, which his father Tarquin the Elder had vowed, the gods whose shrines occupied the spot were invited to go elsewhere and leave the ground free for the new temple. All the rest went willingly, but Terminus and the Goddess of Youth (*Iuventus*) stubbornly refused to budge, in spite of all the entreaties addressed to them. Finally, their refusal was hailed as a happy omen that time would never shift the bounds of Rome or ravage her eternal youth. "And down to our own day", adds the historian Dionysius, "both predictions have come true in the four and twentieth generation." So, when the temple was building, it was decided to leave the two deities on the ground which they had so stoutly defended. The altar of Youth was allowed to stand in the foretemple of that portion of the new temple which was dedicated to Minerva; and the stone or altar of Terminus was suffered to stand in the shrine of Jupiter himself, fast by the image of the great deity. And just above the sacred stone an opening was left in the roof, because ritual required that Terminus or the stone (for the two were identical) should stand and receive sacrifices under the open sky.[1] So far as Terminus is concerned, the tradition may be accepted as evidence that an old boundary stone stood on the site afterwards occupied by the great temple of Capitoline Jupiter, and that to avoid the sacrilege of shifting it the stone was included within the temple. What boundaries it marked we cannot tell. Warde Fowler conjectured that it may have marked the boundary between the Palatine city and the Quirinal city, between the city of Romulus and the city of Tatius. He thinks that in the early days of Rome the Capitoline hill was neutral ground, since it certainly lay outside the ancient circuit (*pomerium*) of the Palatine city; and the Asylum, the place of refuge for broken men, was situated in the hollow between the two peaks of the hill.[2] But, as Wissowa observes, it seems un-

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 69; Livy, i. 55. 1-4, v. 54. 7; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ix. 448; Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 20; Festus, *s.v.* "Terminus", p. 505 ed. Lindsay.

[2] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 327. As to the Asylum and the *pomerium* see notes on *Fasti*, iv. 429, 819.

likely that the boundary between the cities should have run precisely on the crest of the hill.[1]

II. 679. **There is a road that leads folk to the Laurentine fields, the kingdom once sought by the Dardanian chief.**—The Laurentine Way (*Via Laurentina*) is mentioned by ancient writers,[2] but the only one who throws light on its direction is the Younger Pliny. He had a villa, which he calls his *Laurentinum* or *Laurens*, on the coast of Latium, not far from Ostia, at a distance of seventeen miles from Rome, and he tells us that he might go to it either by the Ostian or by the Laurentine Way; but that if he went by the Ostian road he had to diverge from it at the eleventh milestone, and that if he went by the Laurentine Way he had to diverge from it at the fourteenth milestone.[3] From this we learn that the Laurentine Way ran in the direction of the sea for at least fourteen miles, and that for about eleven miles it coincided with, or was parallel to, the road to Ostia. Thus it probably left Rome by the Triple Gate (*Porta Trigemina*), between the Tiber and the foot of the Aventine,[4] and it may have parted from it at the modern Osterio del Ponticello on the way to the well-known Abbey of the Three Fountains (*Abbadia delle Tre Fontane*).[5] Like other roads leading from Rome it seems to have been lined with tombs; for a slave woman of Augustus, who had given birth to five children at once on the Emperor's Laurentine estate, was accorded, by her imperial master's order, a monument on the Laurentine Way with an inscription recording her wonderful feat of motherhood, which the poor woman did not long survive; for all the five children died within a few days, and she herself either preceded or followed them to the grave.[6] We may infer that Augustus possessed a villa in the Laurentine territory, probably on the coast, for inscriptions referring to a "village of the Augustan Laurentes" (*Lauren-*

[1] G. Wissowa, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, v. 381, *s.v.* "Terminus".

[2] Valerius Maximus, viii. 5. 6; Aulus Gellius, x. 2. 2. As to the course of the Laurentine Way see Thomas Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in Classical Times* (London, 1927), pp. 209 *sqq.*

[3] Pliny, *Epist.* ii. 17. 2.

[4] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 233.

[5] K. Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome* [15], p. 448.

[6] Aulus Gellius, x. 2. 2.

tium vicus Augustanorum) or an "Augustan village of the Laurentes" (*Laurentium vicus Augustanus*) have been found;[1] and the village in question no doubt grew up in the immediate neighbourhood of the Imperial villa. The site and the ruins of the village have been discovered near the coast not far from the Grotte di Piastra, at the intersection of the two properties of Castel Fusano and Castel Porziano.[2] The villa itself may have been situated a little farther south at or near the farmhouse called Tor Paterno; for at that place, among the modern buildings, there are still standing some high pieces of well-built ancient walls, and many fine marble sculptures have been discovered. Moreover, there are remains of a paved road that led to it from the Laurentine Way, branching off from that road at the modern Castel Romano.[3] The villa seems to have been known as Laurentum,[4] just as Cicero called his Tusculan villa his Tusculanum,[5] and as Pliny called his Laurentine villa his Laurentinum or his Laurens.[6] Similarly when Cicero speaks of the grave Scipio and his friend unbending their minds by picking up shells and pebbles on the beach at Caieta and Laurentum,[7] he is speaking, not of a city of Laurentum, but of one of those sumptuous villas which, in the heyday of Roman prosperity, studded the beautiful Laurentine coast from end to end,[8] and of which the ruins, washed by the waves or unearthed by the spade on the now desolate shore, still tell of a luxury and splendour that have long passed away.[9]

The name and the ruins of the villa at Tor Paterno have apparently helped both in ancient and modern times to create the opinion that at this point of the coast was situated an ancient city called Laurentum, which was no other than the city of King Latinus that figures so prominently in the *Aeneid*. On this view the Laurentine Way ran from Rome to Laurentum and took its name from that city.

[1] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 1430, 1534, 6144, 6149, 6150, 6180. Of these inscriptions No. 1534 was found on the site of the village.
[2] J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (Paris, 1919), pp. 183 *sq.*
[3] J. Carcopino, *op. cit.* pp. 255 *sq.*, 273; Th. Ashby, *The Roman Campagna*, pp. 211 *sq.*
[4] J. Carcopino, *op. cit.* p. 260.
[5] Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 3. 13, etc.
[6] Pliny, *Epist.* ii. 17. 1.
[7] Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 6. 23.
[8] Pliny, *Epist.* ii. 17. 12 and 27.
[9] J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, pp. 250 *sqq.*

But the arguments adduced by the distinguished French scholar, M. Jérôme Carcopino, seem to demonstrate that there never was a city called Laurentum, and that the city of King Latinus was Lavinium, which occupied the site of the modern village of Prattica di Mare, distant about two and a half miles from the sea and about five miles to the south-east of Tor Paterno.[1] That this was indeed the site of Lavinium is placed beyond doubt by inscriptions found on the spot.[2] This, then, was the old capital of the Laurentes, the ancient Latin people over whom King Latinus is said to have ruled and who gave their name to the country; and it was to Lavinium, and not to a mythical city of Laurentum, that the Laurentine Way led, taking its name from the people of the country through which it ran, and not from the city at which it ended.

Such in brief is the conclusion at which M. Carcopino has arrived after a careful examination of all the evidence. Here I can only note a few of the salient facts which seem to support it. In the first place it is very significant that neither Livy nor Virgil mentions a city called Laurentum, though they often speak of the country and people of the Laurentes.[3] A similar remark applies to Ovid. He

[1] J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, pp. 171 *sqq.* M. Carcopino's conclusions are accepted by Mr. Thomas Ashby (*The Roman Campagna*, pp. 209 *sq.*). Their general result had been anticipated by H. Dessau in 1887, as M. Carcopino is careful to point out (*op. cit.* p. vi), citing the words of Dessau in *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 186; and Dessau's view was long afterwards accepted by G. Wissowa. See G. Wissowa, "Die römischen Staatspriestertümer altlateinischer Gemeindekulte", *Hermes*, l. (1915) p. 25, "*Die geschichtliche Überlieferung weiss nichts von einer altlateinischen Stadt Laurentum, sondern nur von einem Volke der Laurentes und seiner Stadt Lavinium*". It is true that Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 316) mentions Laurentum in what professes to be a quotation from the *Origines* of Cato; but as Wissowa (*l.c.*) observes, though the substance of the quotation is doubtless Cato's, the clause in which the name Laurentum occurs seems to be Servius's own; for in two other passages, in which he refers to Cato as his authority (on *Aen.* iv. 620, vi. 760), the commentator does not scruple to use the undoubtedly late form Laurolavinium for Lavinium. As to Laurolavinium see below, p. 495.

[2] J. Carcopino, *op. cit.* p. 177, referring to *C.I.L.* xiv. pp. 188-191, *passim*. As to the site see J. Carcopino, *op. cit.* pp. 325 *sqq.*; T. Ashby, *The Roman Campagna*, p. 212. The site of the ancient city is very strong, being almost entirely isolated by ravines. It comprised two low hills, of which the smaller and more northerly is now occupied by the village of Prattica and the Borghese castle. The elevation above the plain is sufficient to render the place healthy

[3] In Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 1 *sq.*, "*Ut belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce | extulit*", the word *Laurenti* is an adjective agreeing with *arce*, "the Laurentine

speaks of the Laurentine people (Laurentes), the Laurentine fields, the Laurentine woods, and so forth, but never of a city called Laurentum.[1] It is true that both Pliny and Mela mention Laurentum in their list of Latin towns ;[2] but on the other hand Mela omits to mention Lavinium, so that his Laurentum is probably a mistake for Lavinium. Pliny gives two lists of Latin towns ; in one of them the towns are arranged in geographical, in the other they are arranged in alphabetical, order. He mentions Laurentum (but not Lavinium) in the former list, and he mentions Lavinium (but not Laurentum) in the latter list.[3] The conclusion seems necessary that his Laurentum and Lavinium are one and the same ; and since Lavinium undoubtedly existed, whereas the existence of Laurentum is at best exceedingly dubious, we may infer with a good deal of probability that his Laurentum is a mistake for Lavinium. Such a mistake is easily explicable by the circumstance that under the Empire the people of Lavinium, in order apparently to emphasize their tribal as well as their urban character, often designated themselves as Laurentes-Lavinates,[4] which might easily create an impression among other people that Laurentum and Lavinium were synonymous, and consequently that you might employ either the one or the other to designate the old capital of the Laurentes. Indeed, the two names, the tribal and the urban, were fused into one in the compound name Laurolavinium, which applied, of course, to the historical Lavinium and not to the mythical Laurentum.[5]

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citadel", not a noun in the genitive governed by *arce*, "the citadel of Laurentum". See J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, pp. 275 *sqq.*

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 231, 679, iii. 93, 599, vi. 60, *Metamorph.* xiv. 336, 342, xv. 728.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 56 ; Mela, ii. 71.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 56-58, 63-64. In this last passage (iii. 64) we must read *Lavini* with the MSS. Detlefsen corrupted it into *Lanivini*.

[4] J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, pp. 273 *sq.*

[5] G. Wissowa, "Die römischen Staatspriestertümer altlateinischer Gemeindekulte", *Hermes*, l. (1905) pp. 21 *sqq.*, 27 ; J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, pp. 273 *sq.* As to the name Laurolavinium see Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 3, "*Laurolavinium constat VIII milibus a mari remotum*" ; *id.*, on *Aen.* iii. 174, "*Dii qui erant apud Laurolavinium non habebant velatum caput*" ; *id.*, on *Aen.* vi. 760, "*Cum Ascanius flagraret invidia, evocavit novercam, et ei concessit Laurolavinium, sibi vero Albam constituit*" ; *id.*, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 59, "*Latinus post mortem fratris Lavini, cum Lavinium amplificaret, ab inventa lauro Laurolavinium id appellavit*" Compare *id.*,

It is true that Strabo mentions Lavinium and Laurentum as if they were distinct cities, Laurentum lying apparently between Lavinium and Ardea; but the text of the passage is probably corrupt; a plausible emendation of it has been proposed by M. Carcopino.[1]

The Laurentine Way and the Ardeatine Way, that is, the roads from Rome to Lavinium and Ardea respectively, are mentioned together in an epitaph found at Rome, which records the virtues of the wife of a certain man Diadumenus, who was the overseer or contractor (*manceps*) for both roads.[2] According to M. Carcopino, the Laurentine Way mentioned in this inscription is not the road of the same name which started from the Triple Gate (*Porta Trigemina*) and ran for some distance parallel to the Ostian Way; it was a different road which parted from the Appian Way at the point where the Church of Domine Quo Vadis now stands; from there it ran by the modern Cecchignola, Pizzo Prete, and Castel Romano to Lavinium (the modern Prattica di Mare).[3] If that was so, it must remain doubtful on which of the two Laurentine Ways we are to look for the place at which the ancient festival of Terminus, described by our author in the following lines, was celebrated. But since the Laurentine Way which ran parallel to the Ostian Way is authenticated by the evidence of Pliny, while the other cannot certainly be identified with the Laurentine Way mentioned by other writers and in the inscription of Diadumenus, we may provisionally suppose that the place to which our author refers was on the former of the two roads, that is, on the road which, starting from the Triple Gate (*Porta Trigemina*), ran for some distance parallel to the Ostian Way.

From Ovid's statement we may infer that the place at

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on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 390, 393, vii. 31, 678, viii. 664. For examples of the double name Laurentes-Lavinates in inscriptions see H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 1429, 1430, 1886, 2741, 5005, 5008, 6183, 6187. In one inscription (Dessau, No. 5007) we find the double name in the singular, Laurens-Lavinas.

[1] Strabo, v. 3. 5, p. 232, ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν πολέων (that is, between Ostia and Antium) ἐστὶ τὸ Λαουίνιον ἔχον κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης· ἐπιμελοῦνται δ' αὐτοῦ διὰ προπόλων Ἀρδεᾶται· εἶτα Λαυρεντόν. ὑπερκεῖται δὲ τούτων ἡ Ἀρδέα. In this passage, for εἶτα Λαυρεντόν we should probably read μετὰ Λαυρεντίων with M. Carcopino (*Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, pp. 239 *sq.*).

[2] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 1472.

[3] J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, pp. 240 *sqq.* with his map.

which the festival of Terminus took place was regarded as the ancient boundary between the territory of Rome and the territory of the old Latin people, the Laurentes. Hence we learn that in the early days of its history the Roman domain extended southward for only six miles from the city. This inference is confirmed by a statement of Strabo. Speaking of the exiguous territory which Rome at its commencement commanded, he mentions a number of villages, once independent cities, which were little more than thirty furlongs from the capital; and in illustration of his statement he adds that the ancient Roman boundary was pointed out at a place called Festi, between the fifth and the sixth milestones from Rome, and that in his time the priests held a festival called the Ambarvia both there and at other places which were accounted boundaries.[1] The Ambarvia here mentioned by Strabo is the Ambarvalia, the festival of which the main part consisted in carrying sacrificial victims round the fields;[2] and the place called Festi is probably to be identified with the Grove of the Arval Brethren, which has been discovered at a place closely corresponding to the description of Strabo; for it is situated on the right bank of the Tiber a little beyond the fifth milestone from Rome. The exact spot is a vineyard on a hill (the Vigna Jacobini, formerly the Vigna Ceccarelli), immediately to the right (north) of the railway station Magliana, on the line from Rome to Porto (Ostia).[3] The priests referred to by Strabo are no doubt the Arval Brethren themselves, and the rites which they celebrated at the ancient boundaries of Rome were the Ambarvalia or its equivalent.[4] Originally, we may suppose,

[1] Strabo, v. 3. 2, p. 230.

[2] Festus, *s.v.* "Amptermini", p. 16 ed. Lindsay; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* iii. 77, v. 75; Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 5. 7.

[3] G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, pp. 11 *sq.*; W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*[3], i. 198; K. Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome*[15], p. 489. The identification of Festi with the grove of the Arval Brethren is accepted by H. Nissen (*Italische Landeskunde*, ii. 498) and H. Jordan (*Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 289, ii. 236 note *).

[4] The identity of the ritual of the Arval Brethren with the Ambarvalia was denied by Huschke and doubted by Marquardt. See Ph. E. Huschke, *Das alte römische Jahr und seine Tage* (Breslau, 1869), p. 63; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2] 200. In accepting the view of their identity I agree with Mommsen, Henzen, Jordan, Warde Fowler, Usener, and Wissowa. See G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, pp. 46-48; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 289 *sq.*, ii. 236 note *; *id.*, in L. Preller,

at this festival the sacrificial victims were carried round the whole boundaries of the Roman territory; but when, with the extension of the Roman dominion, this became impossible, the celebration of the public rites must have either fallen into disuse or been confined to one or more select places, of which the Grove of the Arval Brethren was one. But individuals would still be free to observe the ancient festival privately on their own lands.

When Ovid speaks of the Laurentine fields as "the kingdom once sought by the Dardanian chief", he refers to the coming of Aeneas, who, as a Trojan, could claim descent from Dardanus, the founder of the Trojan line. Tradition ran that Aeneas landed from his ships on the Laurentine shore and encamped on the Laurentine territory, the realm then ruled by Latinus, king of the Laurentes.[1] The kingdom afterwards devolved on Aeneas through marriage with Lavinia, the king's daughter.[2] The legend is one of many which relate how a foreigner gained a kingdom through marriage with the king's daughter. Such traditions appear to point to a custom in accordance with which the kingdom descended in the female line through women, so that the crown could only be held by a man who had married either the late king's daughter or his widow.[3] Now the history of the Roman kingship suggests that at Rome, and hence

Römische Mythologie[3], i. 420 note[2]; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 124 *sq.*; H. Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest*[2], p. 306; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 562. Mommsen's view appears to be stated in the Second Edition of his *Römische Chronologie*, p. 70, which I have not seen. I possess and have used only the First Edition (Berlin, 1858) of that work. In Festus, *s.v.* "Ambarvales", p. 5 ed. Lindsay, we must read: "*Ambarvales hostiae appellabantur, quae pro arvis a duodecim fratribus sacrificabantur*", where "*a duodecim*" is an old correction of Augustinus (approved by Mommsen, Henzen, and Jordan) for the MS. "*a duobus*". The "twelve brethren" here mentioned by Festus as the persons who sacrificed the victims at the Ambarvalia are without doubt the Arval Brethren, whose number was always twelve. See Sabinus Masurius, quoted by Aulus Gellius, vii. 7. 8. The correction of Festus is as certain as anything of the kind can be; hence the identification of the rites of the Arval Brethren with the Ambarvalia has his express authority.

[1] Livy, i. 1. 4-5; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 12. 4; Solinus, ii. 14; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 45. 1, i. 53. 3. As to the kingdom of .King Latinus see J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, pp. 266 *sqq.*

[2] Livy, i. 1. 9-11; Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, 13. 4.

[3] *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 277 *sqq.*

probably in Latium generally, the crown was thus hereditary in the female line, so that it never descended to the king's son but always or usually to the man who had married the king's daughter. At least it is very remarkable, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[1] that though the first king of Rome, Romulus, is said to have been descended from the royal house of Alba, in which the kingship is represented as hereditary in the male line, not one of the Roman kings was immediately succeeded by his son on the throne. Yet several left sons or grandsons behind them. On the other hand, one of the kings (Ancus Martius) was descended from a former king (Numa) through his mother (Pompilia), not through his father, and three of the kings, namely Tatius, the Elder Tarquin, and Servius Tullius, were succeeded by their sons-in-law, who were all either foreigners or of foreign descent. This affords some indication that at Rome the kingship was transmitted in the female line and was actually exercised by foreigners who had married the royal princesses. And if that was so at Rome, it was probably so among the Laurentes, a Latin people. Nothing, therefore, could have been more appropriate or more in accordance with ancient usage than that the foreigner Aeneas should be represented as obtaining the Laurentine kingdom by marriage with the king's daughter.

II. 685. **Now have I to tell of the Flight of the King.**— The ceremony called the Flight of the King (*Regifugium*) is marked on the twenty-fourth of February in the Caeretan and Maffeian calendars and in the calendars of Philocalus and Polemius Silvius.[2] All that we know with comparative certainty about the ritual is contained in a statement of Plutarch, who says that, after offering an ancient sacrifice in the Comitium, the King of the Sacred Rites (the Sacrificial King) fled hastily from the Forum.[3] The ancients appear to have generally interpreted the ceremony as an annual commemoration of the flight of Tarquin the Proud, the last king of Rome, from the city.[4] This current explanation of the

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 270 *sq.*, where the evidence is cited.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 212, 223, 258, 259, 310.

[3] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 63.

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Regifugium", p. 347 ed. Lindsay, "*Regifugium sacrum dicebant, quo die rex Tarquinus fugerit e Roma*"; Ausonius, *Ecl.* xxiii. *De feriis Romanis*, 13-14, "*Nec Regifugium pulsis ex urbe tyrannis | laetum Romanis fas*

rite is accepted by Ovid, apparently without misgiving, all the more readily perhaps because it affords him an excuse for an historical or poetical digression with which to relieve the tedium of the almanac. However, the explanation would seem to have met with some criticism even in antiquity; for in the Praenestine calendar, under the twenty-fourth of March, there is a note in which the author, probably the learned grammarian Verrius Flaccus, denies that Tarquin had fled from the city.[1]

In modern times scholars are generally agreed in rejecting the old historical explanation of the Flight of the King, but they are by no means agreed as to what to substitute for it. On the analogy of certain Greek rites, in which the sacrificer fled after the sacrifice, it has been suggested that the animal sacrificed by the king in the Comitium was a holy animal, and that his flight was a sort of apology for the sacrilegious sacrifice which he had offered. This theory was first proposed tentatively by Lobeck.[2] Another suggestion is that the sacrifice was a sin-offering, and that the victim, regarded as a scapegoat to which the sin had been transferred, became an object of fear and abhorrence from which the sacrificer sought to save himself by flight. On this theory the sacrifice was one of the purificatory rites from which the month of February took its name.[3]

I formerly conjectured that the rite may have been a survival of a race which in ancient times the real king of Rome had annually to run for the purpose of proving his physical fitness to discharge the duties of his office.[4] But

reticere diem"; Polemius Silvius, under February 24, *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 259, 310, "*Regifugium, cum Tarquinius Superbus fertur ab urbe expulsus*".

[1] *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 234, 289. As to this note see note on *Fasti*, vi. 727, Vol. IV. pp. 123 *sq.*

[2] Chr. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 677. The Greek analogies are mainly the ritual of the *Bouphonia* at Athens (see note on *Fasti*, i. 383, above, pp. 163 *sq.*) and the sacrifice of a calf to Dionysus in Tenedos (Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* xii. 34). As to these ritual flights compare W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* ³, edited by S. A. Cook (London, 1927), pp. 304 *sqq.*, 601 *sq.*

[3] J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 324 *sq.*; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 327-330; H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch*, p. 197. Compare S. Eitrem, "Some Roman Festivals, Expiatory and Purificatory", *Festskrift til Alf Torp* (Kristiania, 1913), pp. 80-87. As to the purificatory rites of February see *Fasti*, ii. 19 with the note.

[4] *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 308 *sq.*

since the Flight of the King on February 24 always followed immediately after the intercalary month, which was regularly inserted after February 23, I have been led, in the course of this work, to suggest a somewhat different explanation of the rite in question, namely, that the king who fled from the Comitium may originally have been a temporary king who was invested with a nominal authority during the intercalary period, whether of a month or of eleven or twelve days, while the power of the real king was in abeyance; and that at the end of his brief and more or less farcical reign he was obliged to take to his heels lest a worse thing should befall him.[1] The theory fits in with the view, which seems to be widespread, that an intercalary period is an abnormal time during which ordinary rules do not hold and consequently the ordinary government is suspended and replaced by the temporary sway of a mock king, who at the end of his nominal reign has sometimes to pay with his life for his brief tenure of a crown. On this view the king who fled from the Comitium on February 24 may be compared with the mock King of the Saturnalia who held sway during the festival of Saturn in December ;[2] and the analogy between the two would be still closer if we suppose that the mock King of the Saturnalia originally personated Saturn himself and was put to death in the character of the god at the end of a month's reign of revelry and licence; for we are expressly informed that such a mode of celebrating the Saturnalia was actually observed by the Roman soldiers at Durostorum in Lower Moesia in the early years of the fourth century of our era, before the establishment of Christianity by Constantine.[3]

[1] See the note on *Fasti*, i. 43, above, pp. 41 *sqq.*

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 15; Arrian, *Epicteti Dissert.* i. 25. 8; Lucian, *Saturnalia*, 4 and 9. Seneca compared the stupid Emperor Claudius, after his death, to a king of the Saturnalia. See Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 8, "*Si mehercules a Saturno petisset hoc beneficium, cuius mensem toto anno celebravit Saturnalicius princeps, non tulisset illud*".

[3] F. Cumont, "Les Actes de S. Dasius", *Analecta Bolandiana*, xvi. (1897) pp. 5-16; F. Cumont et L. Parmentier, "Le roi des Saturnales", *Revue de Philologie*, xxi. (1897) pp. 143-153; F. Cumont, "Le tombeau de S. Dasius de Durostorum", *Analecta Bolandiana*, xxvii. (Brussels, 1908) pp. 369-372; *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 308 *sqq.* Compare G. Wissowa, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iv. 440, *s.v.* "Saturnus" (who rejects the tradition); M. P. Nilsson, "Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xix. (1916–1919) pp. 85 *sqq.*; W. Weber, "Das Kronosfest in Durostorum", *ibid.* pp.

If that was so, we must apparently conclude that the rude soldiery on the frontiers of the empire retained or revived, in all their crude barbarity, the original features of the festival which had long been effaced in the civilized society of the capital, leaving behind them only a tradition of Saturn's earthly reign and of the human victims that had been immolated on his altars. But if the representative of Saturn was formerly put to death at the Saturnalia, it may well be that the flight of the mock king on February 24 was a mitigation of an older custom which compelled him to end his life with his reign. If the analogy here suggested between the King of the Saturnalia and the King of the Sacred Rites (the Sacrificial King) should prove to be well founded, we should be confronted with the curious coincidence of the reign of a mock king at the end both of the old and of the new Roman year, the King of the Sacred Rites reigning at the end of the old Roman year in February and the King of the Saturnalia reigning at the end of the new Roman year in December. How this duplication, if such indeed it was, is to be explained, it would be premature to speculate. As both ceremonies probably had their root in the necessity of regulating the course of the agricultural year for the benefit of farmers, we might suppose that the duplication either sprang from the union of two peoples with two different calendars, which were combined in the new system, or that it originated in successive attempts to bring the calendar more into accord with the conflicting claims of science and religion. As any systematic attempt to harmonize the solar and lunar years by intercalation betokens a fairly advanced stage of culture, we must apparently conclude that an Intercalary King, who mediated, as it were, between Sun and Moon, was a later invention than a human Saturn who gave his life to quicken the crops. But these are hardly more than idle guesses.

316-341. The two latter writers regard the soldiers' festival of Saturn at Durostorum as Oriental, not Roman; Nilsson thinks that it was the Babylonian festival of the Sacaea (as to which see above, pp. 53 *sqq.*); Weber argues that it was a Syrian festival of the Sun identified with Saturn (Cronus). The latter view is supported by F. Boll, who finds some evidence in the East of an old notion that the planet Saturn was in fact the sun seen dimly and at a great distance by night. See F. Boll, "Kronos-Helios", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xix. (1916–1919) pp. 342-346.

II. 688. **Tarquin, a man unjust, yet puissant in arms.**—Ovid may have had in mind a passage of Livy, in which the historian observes that, though Tarquin the Proud was unjust in peace, he was no mean captain in war. In proof of it Livy mentions that he was the first to make war on the Volscians—a war that was to last more than two hundred years—and that he took Suessa Pometia from them by storm.[1] And in his turn Livy may have been thinking of a saying of Cicero that though Tarquin " was an unjust and harsh master, he was nevertheless for a time attended by good fortune in the field ; for he conquered the whole of Latium in war and captured Suessa Pometia, a wealthy and affluent city ".[2] Among the strong cities of Latium captured by Tarquin, the historian Florus enumerates Ardea, Ocricolum, Gabii, and Suessa Pometia.[3]

II. 690. **had made Gabii his own by foul play.**—The following story of the treachery by which Sextus, the son of Tarquin the Proud, contrived to deliver the neighbouring town of Gabii into his father's hands, is similarly told by Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Zonaras.[4] But Dionysius calls Sextus the eldest son of Tarquin, and on this point Cicero agrees with him,[5] whereas Livy, in agreement with Ovid, calls Sextus the youngest son. On the other hand, the scourging to which, according to our author, Sextus submitted in order to lend colour to his tale is mentioned by Dionysius and Zonaras,[6] but not by Livy. Hence Ovid cannot have drawn exclusively either on Livy or on Dionysius. With the scourging of Sextus we may compare the stripes which Ulysses is said to have inflicted on himself before he made his way in disguise into Troy to spy on the enemy.[7]

II. 705. **there Tarquin received the secret message of his son, and with his staff he mowed the tallest lilies.**—The story how Tarquin conveyed his Macchiavelian advice to his son

[1] Livy, i. 53. 1-2.
[2] Cicero, *De re publica*, ii. 24. 44.
[3] Florus, i. 7. 5.
[4] Livy, i. 53-54 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 55-58 ; Zonaras, vii. 10. Compare Florus, i. 7. 6-7.
[5] Cicero, *De re publica*, ii. 25. 46.
[6] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 55. 2 ; Zonaras, vii. 10. The scourging is mentioned also by Florus (i. 7. 6).
[7] Homer, *Od.* iv. 244-251.

by striking off the heads of the tallest flowers in the garden is told by other ancient writers, who, however, substitute poppies for lilies.[1] Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, is said to have given a like cynical counsel to Periander, tyrant of Corinth, when the Corinthian despot asked him by a herald how he might best govern Corinth. In answer to the inquiry Thrasybulus took the herald with him into a cornfield and walked through it, cutting off, as he went, the tallest ears and throwing them behind him, till he had destroyed the finest of the corn, but saying nothing. The herald on his return reported to Periander that Thrasybulus must be a madman, for he had given no answer beyond damaging his own property. But Periander took the hint, and completed the massacres which his less bloody-minded predecessor Cypselus had left undone.[2] The Roman anecdote is probably copied from the Greek, with the change of poppies or lilies for ears of corn.

II. 711. **Behold, O horrid sight! from between the altars a snake came forth.**—The following story of the portent, the consultation of the oracle, and the way in which Brutus outwitted his fellow envoys is told substantially in the same way, with some variations of detail, by Livy, Valerius Maximus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Zonaras.[3] According to Livy, while Tarquin was engaged in building the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, he was alarmed by a terrible portent, for a snake glided out from under a wooden pillar in his house. Now when public prodigies occurred the custom was to fetch seers from Etruria to expiate them; but as the snake had appeared in his own house, the king thought that it portended something to himself or his family, and he resolved, therefore, to consult the Delphic oracle, then deemed the most famous in the world, though between him and it unknown lands and seas intervened. The envoys he dispatched were his sons Titus and Aruns, and with them he sent his sister's son, Lucius Junius Brutus, to amuse them by

[1] Livy, i. 54. 6-8; Florus, i. 7. 7; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 56. 3-4; Zonaras, vii. 10.

[2] Herodotus, v. 92. The Greek parallel is noticed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 56. 3) and Zonaras (vii. 10).

[3] Livy, i. 56. 4-13; Valerius Maximus, vii. 3. 2; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 69; Zonaras, vii. 11.

his oddities, for he passed for crazed in his wits; but under an air of folly he concealed a keen intelligence and a resolute will. When they were come to Delphi and offered rich gifts to the god, the princes laughed at their cousin for solemnly dedicating a walking-stick to the deity, little suspecting that the stick was hollow and contained a bar of gold, thereby symbolizing the man who dedicated it; for if he was mere wood outside, he was massy gold within. Having received the divine answer to their question, the envoys inquired which of them was fated to be the next ruler of Rome. From the depths of the oracular cave a voice came up, "Young men, whichever of you shall first kiss his mother, he will be master of Rome". The two sons of Tarquin accordingly resolved to keep the secret from their brother Sextus, who had been left at home, and to decide by lot between themselves which of them should first kiss their mother. But Brutus was wiser than his cousins, for he took the meaning of the oracle, and pretending to stumble, he fell and kissed the earth, the common mother of us all. And the oracle was fulfilled to the letter; for soon afterwards Tarquin the Proud was banished, and Lucius Junius Brutus was the first Consul of Rome.

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus the portent which drove Tarquin to consult the Delphic oracle was not a snake, but a strange epidemic which carried off many children and especially women in childbed.[1]

II. 717. **The prudent Brutus feigned to be a fool, in order that from thy snares, Tarquin the Proud, dread king, he might be safe.**—Lucius Junius Brutus was a nephew of Tarquin the Proud, his mother being Tarquinia, sister of Tarquin. His father, a man of noble descent and inherited wealth, had been murdered for the sake of his riches by Tarquin, who further caused the elder brother of Brutus to be assassinated, lest he should avenge his father's murder. Fearing to share the fate of his brother and his father, Brutus feigned imbecility in order to disarm the suspicions of his wicked uncle; and so well did he act the part that the tyrant not only spared his life but brought him up with his own sons to serve them as a laughing-stock. Not till Sextus Tarquinius wrought the deed of shame on Lucretia, which Ovid relates

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 69. 2.

in the following passage, did Brutus throw off the mask and strike a fatal blow at Tarquin and all his brood. The surname of Brutus was given him on account of his pretended idiocy; and he did not disdain the nickname in order, says Livy, that, hidden under that cloak, the soul which was to set free the Roman people might bide its time.[1] The story of Brutus and his feigned madness resembles the story of Hamlet and his wicked uncle as related by the old Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus. The resemblance has been noted before now.[2]

II. 721. **Meantime the Roman legions had compassed Ardea, and the city suffered a long and lingering siege.**—Ardea, the capital of the Rutulians, was in the regal period one of the richest cities of Latium or even of Italy. Its wealth excited the greed of Tarquin the Proud, who hoped by conquering it to replenish his treasury, which had been drained by the magnificence of his public works. An attempt to take the city by storm failed: the citizens made a gallant defence; and the Roman army was compelled to settle down to the lingering operations of a regular siege.[3] It was in these circumstances that Sextus Tarquinius, son of Tarquin the king, perpetrated the rape of Lucretia, which led directly to the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome, the abolition of the monarchy, and the establishment of the republic. Ovid tells the tragic story in the following passage, wherein he closely follows the narrative of Livy.[4] The tale is told in substantially the same way by Dio Cassius and Zonaras, and with some unimportant variations of detail by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[5]

II. 725. **Young Tarquin entertained his comrades with feast and wine.**—"Young Tarquin" is Sextus Tarquinius, the

[1] Livy, i. 56. 7-8; Valerius Maximus, vii. 3. 2; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 10. 1; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 68-69 and 77; Zonaras, vii. 11.

[2] See Saxo Grammaticus, *Historia Danica*, lib. iii. vol. i. pp. 138 *sqq.* ed. P. E. Müller (Havniae, 1839–1858); F. York Powell in *The First Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus*, translated by O. Elton (London, 1894), pp. 405-410. Saxo calls Hamlet *Amlethus*.

[3] Livy, i. 57. 1-3; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 64. 1.

[4] Livy, i. 57-59. Compare Valerius Maximus, vi. 1. 1.

[5] Dio Cassius, ii. 13-19; Zonaras, vii. 11 Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 64-67.

son of Tarquin the Proud, and the villain of the piece. In the corresponding passage of Livy it is said that to beguile the tedium of the siege "the royal youths passed their leisure hours in banquets and wassail. It chanced that once, when they were drinking in the quarters of Sextus Tarquinius, the talk fell upon their wives." [1]

II. 728. **to carry back our arms to the gods of our fathers.**—It seems to have been customary for a soldier, on returning from the wars, to dedicate his arms in a temple, probably of Mars.[2] Similarly we hear of a retired gladiator dedicating his weapons in a temple of Hercules.[3]

II. 733. **Then up and spake the man who from Collatia took his famous name.**—This was Tarquinius Collatinus, who took his surname of Collatinus from Collatia, the Latin town not far from Rome, of which his father or grandfather Egerius had been appointed governor when the place surrendered to Tarquin the Elder. Egerius was the son of Tarquin the Elder's brother; hence his son or grandson Collatinus bore the name of Tarquinius, and was a member of the royal house. Livy calls him the son of Egerius; Dionysius of Halicarnassus argues that he must have been his grandson.[4]

II. 740. **By a dim light the handmaids were spinning their allotted stints of yarn.**—So Virgil has described handmaidens spinning on a winter night by the dim light of a sputtering oil-lamp, while a mouldy fungus gathered on the wick, sign of a gathering storm.[5] With the picture which Ovid here paints of the husband surprising his faithful wife amid her busy handmaids Paley well compares the companion picture of the surprise which the absent Tibullus prays he may give his love on his return. He wishes he may find her sitting beside an old dame who is telling stories by lamplight, while she draws the yarn from the distaff, and round about them the maids ply their tasks, till sleep overcomes them and the wool drops from their tired hands.[6] A still more elaborate, indeed gorgeous, picture is painted by

[1] Livy, i. 57. 4-6.
[2] Propertius, v. (iv.) 3. 71 *sq.*
[3] Horace, *Epist.* i. 4 *sq.*
[4] Livy, i. 38. 1, i. 57. 6; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 64. 3.
[5] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 390-393.
[6] Tibullus, i. 3. 83 *sqq.*

Catullus of the Fates spinning and singing at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, their tremulous old limbs clad in white robes edged with purple, their hoary heads crowned with rosy wreaths, while their hands plied their eternal task, and their bodies swayed in time to the music of their song.[1]

II. 745. **The cloak our hands have wrought must to your master be instantly dispatched.**—It would seem that when a husband was away at the wars, his wife used to send him a new soldier's cloak, woven with her own hands, at least once a year.[2] Sometimes a betrothed maiden wove a cloak for her soldier lover.[3]

II. 788. **He was welcomed kindly, for he came of kindred blood.**—Lucretia's husband, Tarquinius Collatinus, was a Tarquin, and therefore akin to Sextus Tarquinius, her betrayer.[4]

II. 815. **Her aged sire and faithful spouse she summoned from the camp.** — According to Livy, she sent a messenger to Rome to fetch her father (Sp. Lucretius) and another messenger to the camp at Ardea to fetch her husband, and both came to her at Collatia, where the tragedy took place.[5] According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with break of day Lucretia drove to her father's house in Rome, where she stabbed herself to the heart before her husband could be summoned from the camp.[6] Dio Cassius and Zonaras, like Ovid, follow the version of Livy.[7]

II. 832. **Even then in dying she took care to sink down decently.**—No doubt Ovid had in mind the passage of Euripides in which the tragedian describes how Polyxena, falling under the sword of Neoptolemus at the grave of Achilles, with her last breath drew her drapery about her.[8] Elsewhere, in describing the same scene as Euripides, our author has introduced the same trait of virgin modesty into his description.[9] Pliny the Younger, in describing how a

[1] Catullus, lxiv. 305-322.
[2] Propertius, v. (iv.) 3. 18.
[3] Livy, i. 26. 2.
[4] See note on line 733, above, p. 507.
[5] Livy, i. 58. 5.
[6] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 66-67.
[7] Dio Cassius, ii. 11. 18-19; Zonaras, vii. 11.
[8] Euripides, *Hecuba*, 568-570.
[9] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 479-480.

Vestal Virgin, condemned to death, shrank from the touch of the executioner, who offered his hand to help her into her grave, quotes the very words of Euripides.[1] And when Caesar sank under the daggers of the assassins, his last act was to draw his robe about him so that he should fall with decency.[2]

II. 849. **With a cry Brutus assembled the Quirites and rehearsed the king's foul deeds.**—Ovid has cut short the momentous sequel of the tragedy. According to Livy, the body of Lucretia was carried into the forum at Collatia, where Brutus took advantage of the indignation excited by the spectacle to gather a band of armed and resolute men around him. Attended by them he marched to Rome, and having summoned the people to meet him in the Forum he addressed them in a passionate speech, denouncing the recent outrage and rehearsing the long list of enormities laid at the door of Tarquin and his sons. The people, roused to fury, carried by acclamation his proposal to banish Tarquin and his sons and to abolish the monarchy. The news of the revolution reached Tarquin in the camp at Ardea, where he was pushing on the siege. He hurried to Rome; but the gates were shut against him, and he never set foot within the walls again.[3] Such was, according to tradition, the origin of the Roman Republic. These events are said to have happened in 510 B.C.

II. 853. **Do I err? or has the swallow come, the harbinger of spring?**—Thus Ovid thought that a swallow might be seen as early as the twenty-fourth of February. Herein he is in close, though not exact, agreement with Columella, who under the twenty-third of February observes, "Windy weather: the swallow is seen".[4] According to W. Warde Fowler, a keen observer of the habits of birds, the date would be early now for central Italy.[5] The ancients, like ourselves, greeted the sight of the first swallow as a welcome sign of returning spring. In a lost poem Simonides hailed the bird as, "O dark-blue swallow, glorious harbinger of

[1] Pliny, *Epist.* iv. 11. 9.
[2] Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 82. 2.
[3] Livy, i. 59-60.
[4] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 22.
[5] W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 331, note [2].

fragrant spring!"[1] In a Greek vase-painting a bearded man, a youth, and a boy, representing the three ages of man, are seen with uplifted hands joyfully pointing to a swallow which is fluttering over their heads. The youth is saying, "See, a swallow!" The man is saying, "True, by Hercules!" and the boy is crying, "It's herself!" Between the boy and the man are inscribed the words "Spring is here".[2] In Rhodes children used to go from house to house in the month of Boedromion, which must have been a spring month in the island. They begged for wine, cakes, and cheese, and sang a song, "The swallow has come, has come, bringing fair seasons and fair years, with white belly and black back. Open, open the door to the swallow, for we are not old folk but children."[3] In modern Greece and Macedonia it is still customary for children on the first of March to go about the streets singing spring songs and carrying a wooden swallow, which is kept turning on a cylinder.[4] However, the Greeks sometimes said that a swallow foreboded death and sorrow.[5] At Actium, when the armies and fleets of Augustus and Mark Antony were preparing to engage, the Egyptian queen persuaded her lover to show the white feather and flee to Egypt, because swallows had built their nests on her tent and on the ship in which she sailed.[6] So may a light woman's fancy turn the scales of empire. A maxim attributed to Pythagoras warned people against receiving a swallow in their house.[7] The modern peasants of Greece pay no heed to the philosopher's warning, for they allow the swallows to nest in their houses. The first night I slept in Arcadia (at

[1] Simonides, quoted by a scholiast on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1410. For more evidence see O. Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums* (Innsbruck, 1887), pp. 309, 463; D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, 1895), p. 188.

[2] O. Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums*, p. 309.

[3] Athenaeus, viii. 60, p. 360 b-d.

[4] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*[4], ii. 636; A. Witzschel, *Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Thüringen* (Wien, 1878), p. 301; G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-lore* (Cambridge, 1903), p. 18; J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 35.

[5] Artemidorus, *Onirocrit.* ii. 66, p. 157 ed. Hercher.

[6] Dio Cassius, l. 15. 1-2.

[7] Diogenes Laertius, viii. 17; Iamblichus, *Adhortatio*, 21, p. 314 ed. Kiessling; Porphyry, *Vita Pythag.* 42; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* viii. 7. 1; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* v. 5. 27, p. 660 ed. Potter. As to this maxim see F. Boehm, *De symbolis Pythagoreis* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 32 *sq.*

the village of Tsipiana on my way from Argos to Mantinea) I was wakened in the morning by the swallows fluttering in the dark overhead, till the shutters in the glassless windows were thrown open, the sunlight streamed in, and the birds flew out.

II. 855. **Yet often, Procne, wilt thou complain that thou hast made too much haste.**—Here Ovid identifies Procne in her bird form with the swallow, though in Greek mythology she is the nightingale. In this identification he follows the general usage of Latin writers. He has already alluded to the sad story of Procne and Tereus.[1]

II. 858. **Mars urges on the swift steeds yoked to his chariot.**—A festival of horse-racing (Equirria) is marked under the twenty-seventh of February in the Caeretan and Maffeian calendars.[2] The races were said to have been instituted by Romulus in honour of Mars and were appropriately run in the Field of Mars (the Campus Martius).[3] But whenever the Field of Mars happened to be flooded, the races were held on the Caelian Hill in a piece of open ground, which also went by the name of the Field of Mars.[4] On the fourteenth of March a second festival of horse-racing (Equirria) was held in the Field of Mars.[5] Why two festivals of horse-racing should have been held at such a short interval we do not know.[6]

II. 861. **Thou Marching God (Gradivus).**—The epithet is a common title of Mars. It is derived from *gradior*, "to march",[7] the first syllable of which is short. Here and elsewhere[8] Ovid has lengthened the first syllable of *Grādivus*, following the example set by Virgil in two passages.[9] But in

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 629, with the note.

[2] *C.I.L.* i.[2] pp. 212, 223, 310.

[3] Festus, *s.v.* "Equirria", p. 71 ed. Lindsay; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 13; Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 5; Ausoniis, *Ecl.* xxiii. *De feriis Romanis*, 27 *sq.*

[4] Festus, *s.v.* "Martialis campus", p. 117 ed. Lindsay; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 519-522.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 519-522, with the note.

[6] Compare W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 330 *sq.*

[7] Festus, *s.v.* "Gradivus", p. 86 ed. Lindsay, "*Gradivus Mars appellatus est a gradiendo in bella*". Festus adds other impossible derivations. Compare Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 35.

[8] Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 820, xv. 863.

[9] Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 35, x. 542.

one passage Ovid has *Grădivus* with the first syllable short.[1] Statius, like Virgil, regularly lengthens the first syllable (*Grādivus*);[2] the frequent use of the title instead of the simple Mars suits the poet's turgid style.

II. 862. **The month marked by thy name is at hand.**—The month is March, which even in English still bears the name of the old Roman war-god. The next book of the *Fasti* is devoted to that month.

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 427.

[2] Statius, *Theb.* iii. 11, 220, 261, iv. 136, 639, v. 357, vii. 20, 105, 667, 695, viii. 708, ix. 5, 822, 825, x. 894, xi. 40, *Sylv.* iv. 2. 47, *Achil.* i. 485.

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